

PLATO'S

APOLOGY OF SOCRATES,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY THE

Rev. JOSEPH MILLS, A. B.

MINISTER OF COUIT, IN LINCOLNSHIRE.

WITH

NOTES AND AN APPENDIX

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

*Nemo Vir Magnus sine aliquo Afflatu di-vino unquam
fuit.* TULL.

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E R R A T A.

- p. 34. l. 27. for *yourselves*, read *yourself*
42. l. 23. for *whomsoever*, read *whomsoever*
73. l. 9. for *retain*, read *restrain*.



P R E F A C E.

I Have endeavoured in this Translation to keep as near the Original as I could without hurting my language; after I had finished my own, I met with an English one translated from the French of Madam Dacier, the expressions of which seem varied from the Greek, and accommodated to the turn of Madam Dacier's French, which language is much less capable than our own of representing the close and simple manner of writing of the Ancients.

The business of a Translator I will put down in the words of Mons. de Turreil. "Now a translator, says he, properly speaking, is no other than a
b "painter,

“ painter, who deals in copying. And
 “ every copyer that misplaces but the
 “ out-lines, or fashions them after his
 “ own liking, is unfaithful. He errs in
 “ the first setting out, proceeds against
 “ his own plan, for want of remember-
 “ ing that all he has to do is to produce
 “ a likeness, and if he fails of that, he
 “ does nothing. For my part then, I
 “ have my model, and I cannot follow
 “ him too closely. Whether therefore
 “ I extend or enlarge what he cuts short
 “ or abridges, whether I load with orna-
 “ ments what he leaves plain, tarnish his
 “ beauties, or cover his faults; in short,
 “ wherever I depart from his character
 “ in the words I put into his mouth,
 “ it is no longer him but myself that I
 “ describe; I deceive under a borrowed
 “ appearance, and am no longer a trans-
 “ lator, but an original”.

Different people have different ideas
 of the duty of a translator: the sentiments
 of the above gentleman on this subject
 exactly agree with mine; and I hope I
 have not entirely lost the spirit to pre-
 serve the letter.

So-

Socrates tells us in the beginning of his Apology, that he has no other view in addressing himself to his judges, than to declare to them the truth, and that he is more intent upon things than words. He studied not to deliver himself in that sublime kind of Eloquence, which prevailed so much at Athens, and determined almost every thing in their councils and assemblies. The stile he speaks in has a plainness and simplicity in it, and a venerable air of antiquity, which I have endeavoured to preserve in my translation, and how far I have succeeded, this must be decided by those, who are properly qualified to pronounce upon it.

I have written some Notes to illustrate the Apology, and have added a Postscript, shewing the want which the Heathens had of a clearer revelation of God's will. 'Tis with this disposition we should study the ancient Philosophers, for if we take up with them, and stop there, we wander in the inextricable mazes of deism, and continue to want the true food of our souls, the grace and favour of God afforded us in the gospel,

I shall conclude this Preface in the words of Dr. Clarke. “There is now; says he, no such thing, as a consistent scheme of deism in the world. The Heathen Philosophers, those few of them, who taught and lived up to the obligations of natural religion, had indeed a consistent scheme of religion so far as it went; and they were very brave and wise men, if any of them could keep steady and firm to it. But the case is not so now. The same scheme of deism is not any longer consistent with its own principles, if it does not lead men to embrace and believe revelation, as it then taught them to hope for it.”

In a word; those, who now do not embrace revelation, are not such men as Socrates and Plato were, who with reverence and modesty promoted the eternal decrees of God in the reformation of mankind.

INTRODUCTION.

WE find Socrates saying in the eleventh Section of his Apology, That calumny had before killed many other good men, and that he thought it would still do so. Calumny was the first piece of wicked policy that ever was practised in the world; the devil by detracting from the goodness and veracity of God, strove to accomplish his mischievous design of destroying the whole race of mankind. And St. Justin tells us, as cited in a discourse on Plato by Madam Dacier, “That the evil angels seeing Socrates endeavoured to reclaim men from giving them religious worship, so ordered

the matter by means of men who were corrupt, and took pleasure in vice, that this righteous man was put to death as if he had been an impious person, that lived without God in the world, and introduced new Gods." Socrates indeed could not be reconciled to the Theology of the Poets, who represent quarrels, animosities, and wars among the Gods; he could not believe with the people those fabulous stories about Jupiter putting his father Saturn in chains, because he devoured his children. On the contrary, he always strove with the utmost sincerity to have a right understanding in divine matters, and to be well instructed in religion; on this account Melitus accused him of being profane and impious, and introducing new opinions about the Deity. On the same unjust grounds did he accuse him of corrupting the youth; since Plato introduces Socrates saying, in his Dialogue entitled Theages, That advice is a sacred thing, and if it is sacred in all other occasions of life, it is much more so about the care of youth; for of all things on which a man can ask advice,
there

there is nothing more divine than that which respects the education of children. His accusation of him for being conversant in suspected sciences, and perverting justice, were equally untrue; for Socrates sought not so much to teach men natural philosophy, as to give them exalted ideas, and to engage them in the pursuit of their true happiness; he therefore did not approve of detaining the mind too much upon outward objects, and second causes, as that would hinder it, he thought, from raising itself up to God, who is the only true and first cause of all things. And as to his perverting justice; Socrates had indeed a great ability in considering subjects on all sides, and reasoning and discoursing upon them for and against; this his enemies charged him with abusing in favour of injustice, tho' he constantly employed it in the cause of justice and truth. But the true ground of all their hatred and enmity against him, was the liberty with which he reprov'd their vices. For we find, the principal of his accusers were men of vicious and corrupt lives, who thro' their prejudice laughed at his morality,

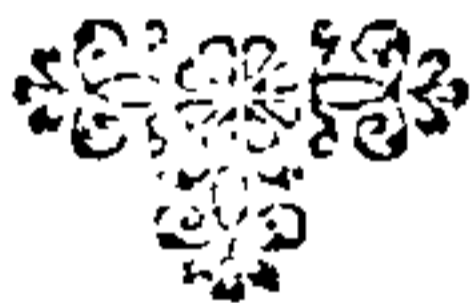
and wanted to get rid of him, thinking by that means to free themselves from rendering an account of their lives and actions to any one, as Socrates himself tells us in his Apology. Melitus, the chief of his accusers, was a young man of the town of * Pittheus, not at all known for any thing excellent or praiseworthy, and yet he pretended to accuse this great man of ignorance in the most important and sublime matters, and of corrupting his companions. Anytus, another of his accusers, was a rich man, and the first that bribed † the judges at Athens toward the latter end of the Peloponnesian war. After the thirty tyrants were expelled, and there was an inundation of injustice, licentiousness, and violence, Socrates was brought to a trial, and fell a sacrifice to the envy and hatred of his enemies. We see in this last act of his life, how admirably he supported the

* As Socrates tells us in the Dialogue called Eutyphron.

† Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus.

the character of an ancient philosopher; he employed not the arts of human eloquence, he did not intreat and supplicate the judges (as was the custom) in order to move their compassion, but waited for his sentence quietly and with a manly resignation. He speaks to his judges as he used to do in his common discourse, with great plainness and simplicity; and discovers thro' his whole defence the noblest sentiments of piety and justice. I shall close this introduction with a passage from Montaign, as cited by Madam Dacier in her argument of the Apology. "Do but observe, says Montaign, by what reasons Socrates rouzes up his courage to the hazards of war; with what argument he fortifies his patience against calumny, tyranny, and death. You will find nothing in all this borrowed from arts and sciences. The simplest may there discern their own means and power. 'Tis not possible more to retire, or to creep more low. He has done human nature a great kindness, in shewing it how much it can do of itself. His plea is plain and puerile, but of an unimaginable height,

height, and offered in the last extremity. His way of arguing is equally admirable for its simplicity and its force. 'Tis an easier matter to speak like Aristotle, and live like Cæsar, than to speak and live as Socrates did. Here lies the greatest difficulty, and the last degree of perfection, that no art can improve."



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SECTION XXI.

Socrates addressing himself to those, who acquit-

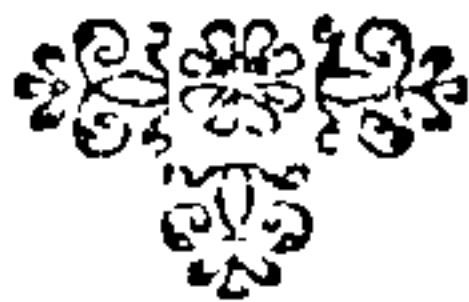
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A P O L O G Y
O F
S O C R A T E S*.

SECTION I.

Socrates professes himself not eloquent, and begs that he may employ his usual Manner of speaking.

HOW you have been affected, O Athenians, by my accusers, I know not; I was so affected by them, that I had nearly forgot myself, they spoke so persuasively, tho' I do assure you they spoke

* Socrates was a Greek Philosopher, a Man of an accomplished virtue. Paganism never afforded a more admirable example; he was born about the year of the world 3481, the 4th year of the 77th Olympiad, and 467 years before the birth of Christ; he lived 71 years. His opinions had a peculiar tendency to prepare mens minds for the truths of the gospel. He taught, that mankind could not acquire virtue but by the help of God.

spoke nothing true. But of the many falsehoods, which they have asserted, I chiefly wonder at one, that they should admonish you to beware of me, lest you should be deceived by me, as an eloquent speaker.

And that they should not be ashamed to assert this, which I shall presently confute in reality, as I am an utter stranger to eloquence; this seemed to me above all very shameful, unless they call speaking the truth eloquence. For if they say this, I confess I am an orator, but not after their manner. These then, as I said before, have said nothing true, but from me you shall hear all the truth. You shall not indeed, O Athenians, hear from me, as from them, a speech dressed up and adorned with eloquence of words and names, but with such words as offer themselves occasionally. For, I trust, that the things, which I shall say, are just: nor let any of you imagine, that I shall speak otherwise; for it would by no means become my age, O Athenians, to appear before you, as school-boys do, with a studied form of words. But this

I earnestly beg and intreat of you, that if you should hear me use in my Apology the same words that I used in the Forum and at the publick Banks, where many of you have heard me, as well as in other places, that you would not be troubled at it: for so it will be. I stand now before this Court first to be tried, being more than seventy years of age, so that I am an entire stranger to the manner of speaking used in this place. As then, if I was a real stranger at Athens, you would pardon the manner of speech in which I was brought up, so now I ask this of you, as I think, not unjustly, that you would pass over my form of speech, which may be sometimes better, sometimes worse, and consider this only, apply your attention to this, whether what I say is just, or unjust; for this is the duty of a judge; it is the duty of an orator to speak the truth.

SECTION II.

He divides his accusers into two sorts, the former and the latter.

IT is just, O Athenians, that, in the first place, I should answer my first false accusation, and first accusers, and afterwards my last accusation, and last accusers. For several amongst you have many years ago falsely accused me, whom I fear more than those, who are of Anytus's party, tho' these latter are formidable too; but the others more so, my countrymen, who have prejudiced many of you from your childhood, alledging falsehoods against me, and endeavouring to persuade you of the truth of them; namely, "that there is one Socrates, a wise man, who is an observer of what passes in the * heavens, and searches
into

* The people had an aversion to natural Philosophers, supposing that they lessened the divine power, by deducing things from natural undesigning causes and an inevitable necessity. Plutarch's Life of Nicias.

into every thing in the bowels of the earth, and can make a bad cause*, a good one". These my accusers, O Athenians, are formidable, who have spread such reports of me; for those, who hear these things, imagine, that enquirers into nature do not believe the Gods. Many have been my accusers of this sort, and they have continued a long time, and have persuaded you at an age, when some of you were most credulous, in your childhood or in artless youth, accusing a deserted cause, none making any defence for it; and what was most unreasonable of all, it was not possible to know their names and recite them, except that one of them was a Comedian †. And how many were there, who thro' envy and calumny persuaded some, who being persuaded themselves,

some

* This accusation was strangely perverse, as no man had a greater regard for justice than Socrates.

† Meaning Aristophanes, who was at the head of Socrates's first enemies, and had ridiculed him in his comedy called the Clouds.

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persuaded others! the number of these are infinite, and cannot be brought into judgement, nor confuted, and the making a defence against such is like fighting with a shadow, and striving to confute, when there are none to answer. You perceive therefore, my accusers are divided into two sorts, as I before said, those who accuse me now, and those who accused me formerly, whom I have already described, and whom you may judge, it is necessary that I answer in the first place, since you have heard them longer, and more grievously accusing me, than these of later date. Well then, I must defend myself, O Athenians, and endeavour to remove these calumnies in so short a time, which you have so long conceived against me; and I wish it may be so, if it is expedient for you and me, and that my Apology may promote any farther good; but this, I think, is a difficult matter, and I am pretty well aware of the issue of it: however, may the event be, as it shall please God. The law must be obeyed, and I must prepare for my defence.

S E C T-

SECTION III.

He answers to those things, which his former accusers alledged against him.

LET us then repeat from the beginning what was the accusation, on which the calumny against me was founded, that Melitus gave credit to, when he arraigned me. Well then, what was it they charged me with? for I must recite their accusation as if it had been made upon * oath; viz. “that Socrates acts unjustly, and too inquisitively searches into the bowels of the earth, and what passes in the heavens, that he can make a bad cause, a good one, and moreover that he instils these doctrines into others”. Such is the accusation, and such you have seen in
Ari-

* Before a cause could be brought to a formal trial, both plaintiff and defendant were obliged to swear that they would advance nothing but truth. Potter l. 1. c. 1.

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Aristophanes's comedy, for there you have the representation of Socrates carried about, and saying that he travels thro' the air, and many other trifles of the like sort*. Of which things I know neither more nor less. Nor do I say this, as despising such knowledge, if any one is skilled in matters of this sort, lest Melitus should accuse me of so great a crime; but because, O Athenians, I know nothing of these things †. And I appeal to many of you as witnesses of this, and beg of you to shew and tell one another, where at any time you have heard me thus discoursing, and there are many of you present, declare it therefore, if any of you have at any time heard me disputing on such things either more or less: and hence you shall know that there are other such like reports, which

* Socrates hints in the dialogue called Phædon, that it was not uncommon for comedians to ridicule things of a serious nature.

† Socrates considering natural Philosophy as more curious than useful, applied himself to the study of morality.

APOLOGY OF SOCRATES. 9

which many spread of me, but that none of them are true. Neither is it true, if you have heard of any one, that I undertake to teach men, and make a gain of it. But even that seems to me no small honour, if any person is able to teach others, like *Gorgias the Leontine, Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias the Eléan. For each of these going to every one of the cities, and addressing themselves to the youths of those cities, who may follow what discipline they like best in their own country without any charge; every one of these, I say, have the power to persuade those youths to forsake their former discipline, and follow them, giving them money, and thanks into the bargain. There is also another wise man from Paros, who I find, is come here. And I have met with a man, who has spent more upon Sophists than all others, Callias, I mean, the son of Hipponicus; and I asked

* In the dialogue called Theages he ridicules the high opinion, which the Athenians had of these Sophists.

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asked him, for he has two sons. Callias! says I, if your sons were young horses or oxen, we should hire one to look after them, and teach them those things, which are necessary for them to do, and make them good and excellent in their kind; and there may some such groom, or husbandman be found. But now as your sons are men, whom do you think to set over them? and who is endued with the knowledge of human and political virtues*? For, I think, as you have sons, you have considered these things. Is there, said I, such a man, or is there not? there is, says he, such a one surely. Who? said I, and from whence is he? and what salary does he require? Evenus the Parian, says he, Socrates! and his wages are five †Minæ. I judge then Evenus happy, if

* Morality among the Ancients included Politicks, or the laws and rights of civil societies, as well as Ethicks, which teaches the nature of virtue and the government of the passions. Plutarch's life of Solon.

† 50 Crowns.

if he has really this art, and teaches it diligently. For I also should boast, and set much store by myself, if I knew these things. But in truth, O Athenians, I do not know them.

SECTION IV.

He shews what gave rise to their calumnies.

SOME one then perhaps may ask, what have you being doing? Socrates! and whence did these calumnies arise against you? For certainly unless you had done something uncommon, and more than the rest of mankind, there could not be such a fame, and such a talk about you. Tell us therefore what it is, that we may not judge rashly of you. Whoever speaks thus, seems to me to demand nothing more than what is just. And I will endeavour to explain what it is, that has got me such a name, and so much calumny. Attend then; and

and perhaps some of you will think I am jesting; but, know assuredly, I will declare to you all the truth. Verily, O Athenians, for nothing else have I got this name, but for a certain sort of wisdom; what wisdom? It may perhaps be called human * Wisdom; for in this I appear to be really wise; but those, whom I lately mentioned, have perhaps something greater than human wisdom, or something that I have not, shall I say, for I am not endued with it: and if any one says I am possessed of it, he says it falsely, and to my prejudice. But do not be troubled at it, O Athenians, if I seem to say something great to you, for I will not say it on my own word only, but I will bring a witness worthy of credit. If then I have any wisdom, such as it is, I bring as a witness for it the Delphian Apollo. You undoubtedly

* Because no one understood human nature better than he, which knowledge is preferable to settling the distance of the planets, and computing the times of their circumvolutions.

edly knew * Chærephon, who was my companion from my youth, and a friend to the whole people of Athens, he † underwent the same banishment with you, and together with you returned to the city. You know very well what sort of a man Chærephon was, and how warmly he interested himself in whatever he undertook. He went once to ‡ Delphi, and ventured to consult the oracle. And do not take ill, my countrymen, what I am going to say; he asked if there were any one wiser than me? The § Pythia answered, that there was no one wiser. And concerning these things his brother will testify, since he himself is dead.

Con-

* The English translation from Madam Dacier has rendered this passage, as if Chærephon were still a live.

† He means here those, who retired from Athens to Phyle, a strong castle on the frontiers of Attica, which they fortified and defended against the thirty tyrants, whom the Lacedæmonians had set over the city.

‡ Delphi was a city of Phocis in Greece, and famous for a temple, where Apollo uttered his most celebrated oracles.

§ The priestess of Apollo was so called. Potter.

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Consider then on what account I say these things, viz. that I may declare to you from whence this calumny arose against me; for when I heard these things, I thought thus with myself, what does the oracle say? and what can it mean? for I was not conscious to myself of being wise, either more or less. What then can it mean? when it asserts, that I am the wisest. For certainly it cannot speak any falsehood, this we may not believe of the oracle. Thus I was long in doubt about the meaning of it; and at length with much difficulty I applied myself to this kind of enquiry. I went to one of those, who seem to be wise; that here, if any where, I might confute the divination, and shew by the oracle, that, that person was wiser than me; tho' you *said I was the wisest. While therefore I was examining this man: (it is not necessary to mention his name, but he was one of the Politicians) while

* By you I imagine, is mean't the priests.
The English translation from Madam Dacier has left out this Sentence.

while I was examining, and disputing with him, I found the matter to be thus; O Athenians, I saw that that man seemed to many others to be wise, and especially to himself, tho' he was not so; then I endeavoured to convince him, that he thought himself wise, when he was not. On which account I rendered myself odious to him, and many, who were present. Therefore as I was going away, I made this reflection with myself, I certainly am wiser than this man; for it appears, that neither of us know any thing of the beautiful * and good; he indeed thinks he knows something of it, when he does not; I am then so far wiser than this man, that I do not think I know those things, which I know not. After this, I went to another of those, who were accounted wiser than him; and upon examining that person, I passed the same judgement upon him; so I got his hatred, and that of many others.

S E C T.

* By the beautiful and good, he means virtue and true wisdom.

SECTION V.

*He shews what Method he took to confute
their calumnies.*

THEN from these I went afterwards to others, tho', being sensible of the hatred I had raised against me, I proceeded with some fear and concern. Yet it appeared to me necessary to prefer the divine oracle before all things, and to go about still trying to find out what the oracle meant; and in order to this, to apply to all those, who seemed to know any thing. And verily, O Athenians, (for I ought to speak the truth to you) upon strict enquiry in obedience to the oracle, I found things much in this manner; that those, who were most approved of in the opinions of men, appeared to me to be very deficient in point of true wisdom: and that those, who were least esteemed, had mostly the greatest share of real prudence. It is worth while to relate to you the researches, and pains
that

that I took (like one that works at hard labour) in order to determine the meaning of the Oracle concerning me in such a manner, that it might be clear and incontestible. After going to the Politicians, I went to the Poets, the writers of tragedies and dithyrambics * and others, as supposing myself here undoubtedly more ignorant than they. Taking therefore those poems of theirs, on which they seemed to have bestowed the most pains, I enquired into their sense and meaning, that at the same time I might learn something of them. And I am ashamed to declare the truth to you, my countrymen, yet I must declare it, and do assure you, that almost all those, who were present, spoke better than them on those subjects, which they had written upon. I soon therefore perceived this of the Poets, that they did not compose their works so much by a strength of wisdom, as by nature and a
cer-

* These hymns or dithyrambi were performed in honour of Bacchus with musick to which the chorus danced.

certain kind of inspiration*, like prophets and diviners; for these say many and excellent things, of which they know nothing themselves: in some such manner the Poets seemed to me to be affected. And moreover they thought themselves on account of their poetick art, wiser than the rest of mankind in other things, tho' they were not. I left them then with the same opinion, that I had of the Politicians. And lastly; I went to the Artificers, being conscious to myself, that I knew nothing of their trade, as I may say; but I thought they were skilled in many and excellent things; nor was I deceived in this, for they knew things, which I knew not, and so far they were wiser than me. But I found, O Athenians, the best Artificers to have the same fault, which the Poets had; for, because they understood their own art well, they imagined they understood every thing else,

* A poet must have a peculiar gift of nature, he cannot be made by art alone.

else, even the highest matters*; and this error of theirs obscured that degree of wisdom, which they had. Wherefore if I was to ask myself in the place of the Oracle, which I would chuse, to be as I am, neither knowing what they know, nor be ignorant with them, or have both these which they have? I would answer myself and the Oracle, It is better to be as I am †.

* Socrates says, in the dialogue called the First Alcibiades, that no one of any trade or profession is a wise man by his art only, and he proves this again in the Second Alcibiades.

† Socrates had a learned ignorance that knows itself.

SECTION VI.

He shews from whence he raised the enmity of many against him.

FROM this enquiry, O Athenians, arose many bitter and grievous enmities against me, from whence many calumnies ensued; however I got the name of being a wise man, because those, who were present, thought I must thoroughly understand those things, concerning which I could confute others. But it appears, O Athenians, that God only is truly wise, and this is what he would shew by this Oracle, viz. that human wisdom is to be esteemed as little or nothing; and he seems for this purpose to mention Socrates, using my name as an example; as if he should say, he, O ye people, is the wisest, who, like Socrates, knows that his wisdom is really nothing worth. I still go about therefore, in obedience to the Oracle, making diligent enquiry, and applying myself

myself to every one, whether citizen or foreigner, whom I think to be wise, and if I find him otherwise, in concurrence with the Oracle I prove him not to be so. And on account of this constant engagement, I am not able to do any thing worth mentioning, either in publick affairs, or in my own private concerns, but am in extreme poverty for the service of God*. Moreover, the youths, who follow me of their own accord, having affluent fortunes and leisure, take a pleasure in hearing me confute the rest of mankind, and often imitate me afterwards in examining others; and by this means, I believe, they find no small number of men, who think they know something, when they know little or nothing; on this account therefore, those, who are examined by them, are angry at me, not at them, and say, there is one Socrates, a most infamous man, who corrupts the youth; and if any one asks them, by doing
and

* Socrates means the pains he took to shew, that man's wisdom is nothing worth.

and teaching what? they are at a loss, and shew themselves ignorant; and lest they should be quite destitute of matter, they fly to those objections, which are commonly made to Philosophers, and say, that he searches into what passes in the heavens, and the bowels of the earth, believes not the gods, and can make a bad cause, a good one; they wilfully, I think, omit the true reason, that they are angry at being exposed for pretending to know, what they do not know: so being, I suppose, an ambitious, violent, and large party, they have, as it were, by a kind of conspiracy, joined their powers of Rhetorick to persuade and prejudice you against me, both formerly and now, by bitter calumnies; and to these have added themselves, Melitus, and Anytus, and Lycon; Melitus is incensed against me in behalf of the Poets; Anytus for the Artificers, and Politicians: and Lycon on account of the Orators. Wherefore, as I said at the first, I should wonder, if I could alter your opinion founded on such, and so great calumnies, in so short a time.

These

These things, O Athenians, which I have delivered to you, are true, neither have I* omitted any thing, or concealed any thing from you, either more or less, tho' I pretty well knew, that by doing this I should bring a greater odium upon me; and this is a sign, that what I have spoke to you is true, and that the calumny and accusation against me is as I have told you: and if now, or at any other time, you enquire into these things, you will find them to be exactly so. Concerning therefore those things, which my first accusers laid to my charge, let this be a sufficient Apology to you.

* He made his defence with so much simplicity, that he spoke rather like an accuser than a prisoner.

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SECTION VII.

Passing to his latter accusers, Anytus and Melitus, who bring him now to a trial, he shews against the former part of the libel, that Melitus neither cared for, nor understood the education of youth.

I Will endeavour next to answer the worthy Melitus, and (as he calls himself) a lover of his country, and the rest of my accusers. And again, as they are fresh accusers, I must recite the accusation they made upon oath; and it was nearly thus. "Socrates acts unjustly, corrupting the youth, and not holding the same gods, as the city does, but other new demons". Such is the accusation, and I will examine every part of it. He says then, that I act unjustly by corrupting the youth. I say on the other hand, O Athenians, that Melitus acts unjustly, because he purposely trifles, too rashly bringing men into judgement, pretend-
ing

ing to be very anxious about, and to take care of those things, which he never had the least regard for. And that this is so, I will endeavour to shew you. Come then, Melitus! tell me, have you taken the greatest care, that the youth should be made better? Melitus. I have. Socrates. Inform us then who makes them better? for certainly you must know who it is, since you take so much care about it. For finding me, as you say, a corrupter of them, you bring me before the judges, and accuse me to them. Come then, inform us, who makes the youth better, shew us who it is. What, you are silent, Melitus! you see you have nothing to say. But does not this appear shameful to you? and sufficiently prove what I said, that you have taken no care about it. But tell us, good Sir, who makes them better? Mel. The laws. Soc. I do not ask that, worthy Sir, I ask who is it knows this first necessary step, the laws? Mel. These judges, Socrates! Soc. What do you say then Melitus? that these judges can instruct the youth, and make them

them better? Mel. They can. Soc. What all the judges? or that some can, and some can not? Mel. They all can. Soc. You speak well by Juno, and mention a fine number of those, who profit the youth. But what? can this audience make them better? or can it not? Mel. Yes it can. Soc. Do the Senators too? Mel. Yes the Senators. Soc. But, Melitus, do not those who harangue in the publick assemblies corrupt the youth? or do these all make them better? Mel. Yes all. Soc. All, it seems, O Athenians, make them good and excellent, except me, I alone corrupt them. Do you say this? Mel. Yes I do, and that heartily too. Soc. You condemn me very unfortunately. Answer me this? Do you think it the same with regard to horses? Do all men make them better, and that there is only one who spoils them? or is it not quite the contrary, that there is but one who is able to make them better? or are there not very few good jockeys, but a great many, who, if they meddle with them, and use them, spoil them? Is not
this

this true, Melitus, both of horses, and of all other animals? entirely so, whether you and Anytus do, or do not allow it. The young men have certainly a peculiar happiness, if one only corrupts them, and all others improve them. But, Melitus, you sufficiently declare, that you had no regard for the youth, and plainly shew your carelessness, and that you have not well considered the things, which you accused me of.

SECTION VIII.

He shews farther that Melitus regarded not the instruction of youth.

BESIDES, I conjure you by Jupiter, Melitus! tell us, is it better to live amongst good citizens, or bad ones? answer me, my friend, for it is not a difficult question. Do not the bad always produce evil to those, that are most conversant with them, but the good
 pro-

promote the good of others? Mel. Undoubtedly they do. Soc. Is there any one then, that had rather be hurt than profited by those he lives amongst? answer me, good Sir! for the law enjoins you to answer; is there any one, that had rather be hurt? Mel. None certainly. Soc. Well then; do you bring me hither as corrupting the youth willingly or unwillingly? Mel. I say willingly. Soc. What then, Melitus, are you, who are but young, so much wiser than me an old man, as to know thoroughly, that the bad always produce evil to those they are much conversant amongst, while the good promote the good of others? and am I in such a state of dotage, as not to know even this, that if I make any of my acquaintance bad, I run the risque of suffering some evil from him? and do I bring this so great an evil upon myself willingly? as you are pleased to say. I don't believe a word of it, Melitus, nor do I think any body else does. I either then do not corrupt the youth, or if I do, I do it unwillingly; so that both ways you speak a falsehood.

hood. And if I corrupt them unwillingly*, the law does not punish such involuntary faults, but privately teaches and admonishes for them. For it is manifest, if I was better informed, I should leave off doing that, which I did involuntarily. But you avoid, and are unwilling, to teach me in a friendly manner, and inform me better; and bring me hither into judgment, where the law brings only those, who are worthy of punishment, not those, who want information. And now this, O Athenians, proves plainly what I said, that Melitus regarded the instruction of youth neither more nor less.

* They who run into errors unwittingly, shall not be arraigned in the publick court, but some adhortatory lessons of their duty are to be privately inculcated. Potter, l. 1. c. 26.

SECTION IX.

Now in the other part of the libel Melitus plainly asserts, that Socrates is an Atheist.

HOWEVER, tell us, Melitus, in what manner you affirm, that I corrupt the youth. Is it as you have written in your accusation, that I do it by teaching them not to hold the same gods, as the city does, but other new dæmons? do you say this, that it is by teaching, that I corrupt the youth? Mel. I affirm it heartily, that it is by teaching. Soc. By those gods, O Melitus, about whom we are now discoursing, I conjure you to explain yourself more fully to me, and to those who are present. For I don't thoroughly know, whether you say, I teach the youth to hold that there are some gods, (and if I think there are gods, then I am not altogether an Atheist, nor in this do I act un-

unjustly) though I do not teach them the same gods, as the city does, but others : I don't know, I say, whether you accuse me of introducing other gods, or whether you say, that I myself altogether deny the gods, and teach others to do the same. Mel. I say that you altogether deny the gods. Soc. O unaccountable Melitus ! why do you say so ? Do I not think the sun and moon to be gods*, as other men do ? Mel. By Jupiter, he does not, O judges ! for he says, that the sun is a stone, and the moon a kind of † earth. Soc. you think, friend Melitus, you are accusing Anaxagoras, and pay but little respect to these men by supposing them so void of learning, as not to know that Anaxagoras's book
of

* Those Greek Philosophers, who believed in the supreme God, did yet pay divine worship to other subordinate deities. Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion.

† The moon has been called by some a terrestrial star, and by others an olympian, or celestial earth. Plutarch's Life of Theseus.

of Clazomenæ is full of such * opinions. And do the youths learn these things of me? which they have bought perhaps some time since for a † Drachma in the Orchestra, and may laugh at Socrates, if he pretends them to be his own, especially as they are so absurd. But I conjure you by Jupiter, do you imagine that I think there is no God? Mel. None by Jupiter, not any at all. Sec. What you say, Melitus, is not to be believed, and, as it seems to me, even by yourself. For this man, O Athenians, appears to me to be quite injurious and insolent, and to have drawn up his accusation with a contumelious and unexperienced rashness: for he seems to have said to himself, I'll put together a kind of riddle, to try whether Socrates the wise man can perceive that I am
plea.

* Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ in Ionia held that the stars are of a stony substance, and heavy, and that the light they give is the effect of the action of the Æther. Plutarch's Life of Lyfander.

† 7^d $\frac{1}{2}$

pleasantly cavelling and jesting, and saying things contrary to myself, and whether I shall deceive him, and those, who hear me. For he appears to me to say things directly opposite to himself in the very words of the accusation, as if he should say, Socrates acts unjustly, not thinking there are gods, and at the same time thinking there are gods, and in this manner we find him jesting and trifling.

SECTION X.

The charge of his being an Atheist Socrates proves to be false and contradictory, because no one can think there are inferior gods, i. e. children of gods, who does not also think there are gods.

OBSERVE, my countrymen, on what grounds he says these things; and do you answer me, Melitus! But do not ye (as I intreated you at the beginning)

D ning)

ning) be troubled at it, if I make use of my usual manner of speaking. Is there any one, Melitus, who thinks there are works of men, and at the same time thinks there are no men? let him answer me, my countrymen, without perplexing himself sometimes with one thing, and sometimes with another. Does any one think, that there are no horses, and yet that there are things relating to horses? that there are no musicians, and yet things belonging to musick? There is not any one, worthy Sir! that thinks so. If you will not answer, I will make the reply myself to you, and to those, who are present. You may at least answer to this, which is more to the purpose; is there any one, who thinks there are operations of dæmons, and no such dæmons? Mel. There is not. Soc. How slowly it comes from you! tho' truth forces you to answer. Therefore don't you say, that I think and teach there are dæmons, whether they be new ones, or old ones? for that I think there are operations of such dæmons, you yourselves have confessed,
and.

and I am ready to make oath of this in my answer. But if I allow their operations, I must needs think there are such dæmons, is it not so? it is so undoubtedly; for I suppose you acknowledging it, as you make no answer. Now do we not think dæmons to be gods, or the children * of gods? do you say so, or not? Mel. We do. Soc. Does it not, if I think there are dæmons, as you allow, and those dæmons are a kind of gods, does it not follow, as I said, that you propose a sort of riddle, and ludicrously say, that I believe there are no gods, again that I think there are gods, since I think there are dæmons? and if again dæmons are a sort of spurious children of gods (whether of † nymphs, or of any others, as they are said

* Plato in his tenth book of Laws, Tom. 2. maintains an infinite number of dæmons, or angels, whom the ancients looked upon as inferior gods, and children of the supreme God.

† The people had an opinion that dæmons owed their generation to a correspondence of the gods with the nymphs, who presided over waters, and were the goddesses of woods and mountains.

said to be) what man can think there are
 children of gods, and yet no gods? It
 would be just as absurd, as if any one
 should think, that mules are the young
 of horses and asses, and yet that there
 are no horses or asses. But, Melitus,
 you seem without doubt to have drawn
 up your accusation with this intent, to
 make trial of my ingenuity, or because
 you have no real crime to alledge against
 me. And how can you persuade any
 one that has the least understanding, that
 the same man can think there are opera-
 tions of dæmons, and divine things, and
 again that the same man shall think
 there are neither dæmons, nor gods, nor
 heroes? This can be proved no other
 way. So then, O Athenians, to shew
 that I have not offended according to
 Melitus's accusation, there needs, I
 think, no farther Apology, but those
 things, which I have said, are sufficient.

SECTION XI.

He shews why he undertook so dangerous a course of life, because God had appointed him to form the Athenians to probity and honesty, which post he would not forsake upon any condition.

WHAT I said then from the first you see to be true, that there is much hatred raised against me amongst many, and this is what will cut me off, if I am cut off, not Melitus, nor Anytus, but the calumny and envy of many, which has before killed many other good men, and, I think, will still do so; for it is no wonder, if it does not stop at me. But perhaps some one may ask me, are you not ashamed, Socrates, to be engaged in such a way of life, as makes you constantly in danger of being put to death? And to this I would return this just answer; you don't say well, my friend, if you esteem life or death so highly, either of which is of small consequence;

quence; and do not rather consider, whether what you do is just or unjust, or whether you act as a good or bad man. Otherwise, according to your account, those Demi-gods, who fell at Troy, acted wrong; and among others, Achilles himself, who so much despised danger, rather than undergo any thing infamous, that when his goddess-mother spoke to him hastening to kill Hector, nearly (as I think) in these words: O son! if you should revenge the death of your friend Patroclus by killing Hector, you yourself must shortly die*, for, says she, the same fate with Hector awaits you. When he heard this, he less regarded death and danger, than to lead an infamous life without revenging his friend; and immediately answered, That he had rather die by punishing an enemy, than lead an inglorious life amongst the † crested ships, and be a useless burden

* Il. 18, v. 96.

† The ornaments wherewith the prows of the Grecian ships were beautified, resembled either helmets, or living creatures. Potter, l. 3. c. 15.

den upon the earth. Now do you think that he minded death and danger? and so truly it is, O Athenians, whether a person has chosen a post himself, thinking it the best, or is placed in it by a superior, in that, I think, he ought to remain, minding neither death, nor danger, nor any thing else, so much as committing any thing base. And I myself, O Athenians, should have acted very wrong, if, after I kept the station, which the governors appointed me, whom you set over me, both in * Potidæa, and in Amphipolis, and in † Delium, as others did, I should now, thro' fear of death, or for any other cause, desert the post, in which God placed me (as I imagined and thought he did) to philosophize ‡, and to examine myself
and

* In this expedition Socrates preserved his friend Alcibiades, who was wounded. Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades.

† At this battle Alcibiades preserved Socrates. *ibid.*

‡ It was Socrates's usual manner to take every occasion of philosophizing upon some useful subject.

and others. That would have been a heinous fault, and any one might then have justly brought me before this tribunal, as not believing the gods, disobeying the Oracle, fearing death, and thinking myself a wise man, when I was not. For to fear death, my countrymen, is nothing else than seeming to be wise, when one is not, for it is seeming to know, what one does not know. For nobody knows death, nor whether it may be the chiefest good, that can happen to man; but men fear it, as if they really knew it to be one of the worst of evils. And is not this a ridiculous ignorance, for a man to think he knows, what he does not know. And in this perhaps, my countrymen, I differ from many other men; and if I should say I am wiser in any thing, it would be in this, that not sufficiently knowing the invisible state, I accordingly acknowledge, that I do not know it. But to do injustice, and disobey superiors, whether God or man, this I know to be evil and base. Therefore I will not fear and fly from those things, which I don't know
whe-

whether they be good or not, sooner than those, which I know to be evil. Wherefore if you would even now acquit me (not giving credit to Anytus, who says, that I should either not have been brought to a trial at first, or if I was brought there, should by all means be condemned, telling you, that if I was acquitted, your sons would follow the discipline of Socrates, and be entirely corrupted) if you would say thus to me, Socrates, we do not regard Anytus, but acquit you upon this condition, that you do not spend your time in examinations, and Philosophy, and if we catch you still doing this, you shall die. If therefore, as I said, you would acquit me upon these conditions, I would answer you, O Athenians, I have a great regard and affection for you, but I must obey * God rather than you. And as long as I live,
and

* There is in this a brave resolution to do his duty in the utmost danger, much like that noble declaration of the apostles before the corrupt rulers of the Jews. Acts v. 29. We ought to obey God rather than men.

and am able, I shall not cease to philosophize, exhorting and teaching every one of you, whom I shall meet, as I used to do, in the following manner: What? good Sir! you who are an Athenian, a citizen of the largest and most famous city, for wisdom and power, do you not blush to bestow so much pains to abound in riches*; and glory, and honour? but to have prudence and truth, and the best habits of mind, you neither think of, nor regard; and if any of you contend with me, and say, that you do regard them, I will not presently let that man go, nor quit him, but will interrogate, examine, and confute him. And if he appears to me not to possess virtue, but to say that he does, I will reprove him, because he lightly esteems those things, which are of the greatest value, and makes much of those, which are nothing worth. This I will do to young and old, whomsoever I meet, whether foreigner
 or

* Earthly treasures are trifling, when compared with the value of a pious and well-disciplined mind.

or citizen, but chiefly to citizens, as you are more nearly related to me; for this, you well know, God commands. And I think no greater good could have happened to us in the city, than this my assiduity in the service of God. For I go about doing nothing else than persuading you, both young and old, not to regard your bodies, nor your money more, nor any other thing so much, as your mind, that it may excel; saying, that virtue springs not from wealth, but wealth from virtue, and all other good things arise from hence to men, both publick and private. If indeed by teaching these things I could corrupt the youth, they would then be hurtful. And if any one says, I teach any thing else, he says nothing to the purpose. And I must confess, that for the sake of these things, O Athenians, whether you believe Anytus; or not, or whether you acquit me, or not, I shall do nothing else, tho' I were to die for it many times.

SECTION XII.

That the Athenians by condemning him to death would hurt themselves rather than him.

BE not troubled, O Athenians, but as I intreated you at the beginning, hear me patiently, for, I think it will be for your advantage to hear me, I will therefore relate to you some other things, at which perhaps you may raise a clamour, but by no means do this; if you kill me being such a one as I tell you, know assuredly, you will not hurt me so much as yourselves; for neither Melitus, nor Anytus, shall hurt me, because they cannot; since, I think, it is not permitted, that a good man should be hurt by a bad one, yet he may kill* him
per-

* How agreeable is this to what we find recorded in the word of Truth! St. Matt. x. 28. Fear not them which kill the body, &c.

perhaps, or banish him, or take from him the *freedom of the city, and this he and some others may think very great evils; but I do not think so, but that that is much worse, which this man does, to endeavour to kill a man unjustly. Wherefore, O Athenians, I have not so much occasion to make an Apology for myself (tho' some may suppose it) as for you, lest, condemning me, you should offend against that office, which God has intrusted you with. For if you kill me, you will not easily find such another, actually given by God to the city, which (perhaps it may be odd to say it) may be compared to a large and generous horse, that on account of his size and weight needs spurs; such a one God seems to have raised up to the city in me, since I cease not all the day to stop you every where, exhorting, persuading, and reproving every one of you; and you wont easily get such another, O Athenians, therefore if you believe this; you
will

* This is the sense in which the Oxford Editor understands this passage.

will acquit me. But you perhaps will be out of temper, as persons awaked out of sleep, and, persuaded by Anytus, will kill me; if so, you will sleep on the rest of your days, unless God looking upon you send some one else to you. That I have been such a one given to the city by God, you may from hence perceive, for it seems to be something more than human, that I have neglected every thing of my own, and continued so many years in this negligence of my affairs, always intent upon your good, persuading every one, as a father, or an elder brother, to have a regard for virtue; and if I had reaped some fruits from this, and had received a reward, there would have appeared some human reason for my doing so: but now you see, that these my accusers, who so shamefully heaped up so many things against me, had not the front to alledge, and bring witnesses to prove that I ever required or sought for any reward; of this, I think, I bring a sufficient witness, my poverty.

SECTION XIII.

That he led a private life, and never engaged in publick affairs, he ascribes to his divine Monitor.

BUT perhaps it may be thought absurd, that I should be so busy and anxious in going about privately to consult the good of every one singly, and should never have the courage to appear in the publick assemblies to promote the good of the city in general. Now the reason of this you have often heard me declare, viz. that I had something divine and spiritual, a voice * present with me, which Melitus makes a jest of in his
ac-

* This good genius, or guardian angel of Socrates always warned him of approaching dangers, and taught him to avoid them; it restrained and controuled his own inclinations, and enabled him to divert his friends from any wrong step or design.

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accusation; but this voice* has been with me from my childhood; and its manner was, to restrain me in what I was about to do, but it never urged me on to action. And this is it, which prevented me from engaging in publick affairs, and it seemed to resist me very rightly. For, be you well assured, O Athenians, that if I had applied myself to publick business, I had perished long ago, and should not have been of the least service to you, or to myself. Do not, I beseech you, be angry at my saying the truth; no one can be long safe, who honestly opposes your, or any other common wealth, and hinders them from many unjust and iniquitous practices. It is necessary therefore, that he, who really contends for what is just, and would be ever so short a time in safety, must live privately, and not meddle with publick concerns.

* Chalcidius the Platonist relates an assertion of Heraclitus, that such as deserved it, were forewarned by the instruction of the divine power. Notes upon Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion.

SECTION XIV.

That he valued justice above all things, he shews by several of his actions.

AS a farther proof of what I say, I will bring you (what you much regard) not words, but facts; hear what happened to me, that you may perceive I never yielded to any one beyond just bounds for fear of death, and by not yielding I had nearly been cut off more than once. I will declare to you some things, which indeed are disagreeable, yet relate to your councils, and are founded on truth. I never acted, O Athenians, in the city as a magistrate, only as a* Senator. It happened that my Antiochian tribe presided, when you
con-

* Each of the ten tribes of Athens, into which the people were divided, elected, every year, out of their own body, fifty senators by lot, which composed the council of the five hundred.

condemned promiscuously the ten Generals of the army, who took not up those that were slain in the * sea-fight, unjustly indeed, as appeared to all of you afterward. I only of the senators, who presided, resisted your acting against the laws, and voted contrary to you. At which time, when the Orators were ready to accuse me, and bring me to a trial, and you yourselves joined them with great clamour, I thought I had better run any hazard for the sake of law and justice, than, being terrified by death or imprisonment, decree with you things that were unjust. These transactions were done while the city was under a popular government. Again, after that the power was lodged in the hands

* At the isles of Arginusæ, two or three little islands adjoining to the Lesser Asia, where a battle was fought against the Lacedæmonians under the Archonship of Callias. The Athenian generals, who obtained the victory, were sentenced to die, because they had not buried the dead. Plutarch's Life of Pericles.

hands of a few; the thirty* tyrants, sending for me with four others to the † Tholus, commanded me to bring Leon the Salaminian from ‡ Salamin, that he might be put to death; and many such like things they ordered to several others at the same time, wanting them to be involved in their crimes. Then I again shewed not by words only, but in reality, that I had not (if it is not unhandfome to say it) the least concern about death: but this was my chief care, that I might not do any thing unjust or impious. And that dreadful, tyrannick power, was never able to make me act unjustly. For when we came from the Tholus, the other four went to Salamin, and brought Leon; but I returned home: and probably they had killed me for
this,

* The thirty tyrants were established at Athens by Lyfander, a General of the Lacedæmonians, about the first year of the 94th Olympiad, and 402 years before the birth of Christ.

† The Tholus was a sort of clerk's office, where the senators dined. Madam Dacier.

‡ Salamin was an island in the Saronick Bay, opposite the shore of Attica.

this, had not their power been shortly after dissolved; and of these things you have many witnesses. Do you think then I could have lived so many years, if I had engaged in publick affairs, and acted as became a good man? could I have stood up for justice, and as I ought, have preferred this above all things? I could not, O Athenians, nor any other man living! but thro' my whole life, if I did any thing in publick, I behaved myself in this manner, and in private too I never yielded to any one beyond just bounds, neither to others, nor to any of those, whom my accusers call my disciples, but I never was a stipendiary teacher to any man. Indeed if any one desired to hear me discoursing and handling things relating to my own opinions, I never denied him, whether younger, or elder. I never was the man, who disputed when I had a reward, and was silent when I had none. But I put my * questions equally to rich and poor, and
if

* This method was a very good one, because if the person to whom the question was put, affirmed what was advanced to be true, he must be convinced.

if any one had a mind to make a reply, he heard what I had to say; and whether any of those were made good by it or not, I cannot justly bear the blame, because I neither promised nor taught any particular* doctrine to any one. And if any person says, that he either learned or heard any thing from me privately, which I did not make common to all others, know assuredly, he speaks not the truth.

* Socrates thought, that a person might, only by asking a man questions, without teaching him any thing at all directly, cause him to express in his answers true and exact determinations concerning matters of right and wrong.

SECTION XV.

Why the youths sought his company, whom he never corrupted.

BUT you have heard, O Athenians, on what account some delighted to spend much of their time in my company; I declared nothing but the truth to you, when I said, that men took pleasure in hearing those confuted, who thought themselves to be wise, when they were not; for it was not an unpleasant thing: and this, as I said, was enjoined me from God himself by Oracles, dreams, and every other method, which the divine will has appointed to make itself known to man. These things, O Athenians, are true, and easily to be proved. For if I corrupt some of the youths now, and have corrupted some before, it must of necessity be, that either those, who are
grown

grown old, knowing that I advised them to their hurt, when they were young, would rise up against me, accuse me of it, and demand that I should be punished; or if they were unwilling, some of their kindred, fathers, brothers, or other near relations, if their friends had actually suffered any detriment from me, would now remember it, and exact a punishment for it. And a great many of them are here; I see, first, Crito my cotemporary, and of the same Town* with myself, the father of this Critobulus; next, Lyfanius the Sphecian, the father of this Æschines; besides there is Antipho the Cephisian, the father of Epigenes; there are yet others, whose brethren I was acquainted with, Nicostratus the son of Zotidas, the brother of Theodotus; Theodotus himself indeed is dead, so that he does not want his brother's assistance; here is Paralus the son of Demodocus, brother to Theages; Adimantus the son of Aristo, and brother to Plato; lastly Æantidorus,
bro-

* The city of Athens was composed of several towns or burroughs.

brother to * Apollodorus; and I could mention many others, some one of whom Melitus ought to have produced as a witness in his accusation; but if he forgot, let him now bring him (I give him full leave) and let him tell us if he has such a one. But you will find it quite the contrary, my countrymen; for, you see, all those come readily to my assistance, whose relations Melitus and Anytus pretend, I have corrupted and injured. It is no wonder if those, who have been depraved by me, should be willing to help me; but for what reason can their near kindred older than them, who were never corrupted by me, speak in my behalf, except for the true and just one? that they know Melitus speaks a falsehood, and that I speak the truth. Well then, my countrymen, what I have to say in my defence are nearly these things, and others of a like sort.

* What Madam Dacier says here of Apollodorus, is told also of Xantippe the wife of Socrates, who, after he was condemned, said to him, alas you are condemned unjustly! What would you then, says he, have had me justly condemned?

S E C T.

SECTION XVI.

Why he made not use of the common art of moving compassion.

PERHAPS some of you may be troubled, recollecting what was his own accustomed manner, that when he had a cause of much less consequence depending, he used to intreat and supplicate the judges with many tears, bringing his children before them, and many other relations and friends, in order to move their compassion: but I will have recourse to none of these things, tho' I am, as I think, in extreme danger. Some one then taking notice of this, may be more highly provoked, and in great wrath give his vote against me. And if any of you is of that way of thinking, I shall not intreat him, but shall calmly address myself to him thus;
I

I have too, good Sir! some relations, for I was born, as Homer says, neither of an oak nor a rock*, but of men; I have kindred, O Athenians, I have three sons, one of whom is yet young, the other two are infants. Yet I shall bring none of them here, intreating to be acquitted on their account. Why then don't I do this? not out of any contumacy, O Athenians, or because I would treat you with indifference, but whether I am indifferent as to death, or not, that is another question. Because I don't think it for the credit of you and me, and the whole city; I don't think it right that I should do so, at my time of life, and with the reputation that I have acquired, whether justly or unjustly; however it is a prevailing opinion, that Socrates in some particulars exceeds many others. If therefore those amongst you,

who

* The sense of this passage, Mr. Pope says, in the *Odyssy* is, you had a father and mother; you are not, according to the old story, descended from an oak or a rock. There is also a similar passage, *Iliad* 22, v. 126.

who seemed to be eminent for wisdom or fortitude, or any other virtue, will be such, as I have often seen some, (to their shame be it spoken) when they stood to be judged, tho' they would be thought something worth, they earnestly endeavoured to move the pity of their judges, thinking they should suffer something very grievous, if they departed out of this life; as if they were immortal, if you did not kill them. But such seem to me to bring a disgrace upon the city, because it gives foreigners occasion to think, that those, who excel amongst the Athenians in virtue, and are honoured by them with magistracies and offices, are no better than women. But these things, O Athenians, as you are invested with authority, are improper for you to do, or if we desired it, to permit us: shew therefore this rather, that you much more disapprove of him, who makes the city ridiculous by introducing such lamentable scenes of compassion, than him who waits for his sentence quietly and with a manly resignation. Moreover, my countrymen, setting aside the credit of the city, it does not appear to me to be
 just

just to supplicate the judge, and to be acquitted by intreaties, but to convince and persuade; for the judge is not appointed to bestow justice as a favour, but to determine according to the law, and he hath sworn, that he will not be partial to any one, but judge as the law requires; therefore it does not become us to want you to forswear yourselves, nor you to be accustomed to it: for neither of us would thus act agreeable to religion. Do not then imagine, O Athenians, that I ought to do such things amongst you, as I think neither honest, nor just, nor holy; and this more particularly, by Jupiter, as I am accused by this Melitus of impiety to the gods. Truly if I was to go on persuading you, and endeavour to bias you by intreaties from your oath, I should then teach you to think there were no gods, and whilst I was making my defence, should in reality accuse myself of thinking there were none. But it is indeed quite otherwise, for I believe in the gods more than any of my accusers. And I leave it to you and to God to determine about me, as shall be best for you and me.

S E C T-

SECTION XVII.

Socrates being withdrawn a little from the tribunal, and in the mean time condemned by a majority of suffrages, is now brought forth again, that he may propose, as was usual, what punishment he thought himself worthy of. He then declares himself worthy of being maintained at the publick expence in the Prytaneum.

WHAT makes me not troubled, O Athenians, that I am condemned by you, among many other things, is this in the first place, that what has happened to me is no more than I expected; I rather wonder at the near equality of votes on each side, for I did not think they would have been so near, but that there would have been a much greater difference; since it seems, if three only had happened otherwise, I had been acquitted.

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ted. I have got clear of Melitus, I think, and not only got clear of him, but it is manifest to every one, that unless Anytus and Lycon had joined him in accusing me, he must have * paid a thousand drachmas, as not obtaining a fifth part of the votes. This man thinks me worthy of death. Well: and what do I think myself worthy of? that I should have according to my deserts; what should I have then? what do I think I ought to suffer or pay †? because I have not kept to myself, what I learned in my passage through life, but have neglected those things, which the world esteems, riches, œconomy, power, haranguing

* If the plaintiff failed of having a fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand drachmas, i. e. a hundred crowns. Potter, l. 1. c. 23.

† In cases where the laws had appointed penalties, a single verdict was sufficient; but in cases where the laws were silent, a second sentence was required; and before this sentence was given, it was asked of the criminal, to what value he thought his offence amounted. Potter, l. 1. c. 21.

ranguing the people in publick assemblies, and other magisterial offices; besides I have avoided those conspiracies, and seditions, which happened in the city, thinking myself born for more just employments, than to seek my safety by such matters; I did not apply myself to such things, which if I had, they would neither have profited you nor me; but I set myself to this one thing, that addressing myself to every one of you privately, I might promote, as I think, his greatest interest, by persuading every one not to mind the things that belong to him, more than himself, how he may be good and prudent; not to mind what relates to the city, before the city itself, and other things in the same manner. What then ought I to have, being such a one? something good, O Athenians, if you treat me truly according to my deserts, and such a good as is suited to me. And what is suited to a poor, beneficent man, who desires to enjoy leisure, that he may exhort you to virtue? no other reward certainly, O Athenians, is so well suited to such a man, as to be maintained
in

64. APOLOGY OF SOCRATES.

in the *Prytaneum at the publick expence, and this would be more honour to you, than if any of you conquered in the horse-race or chariot-race with two or four horses in the Olympick † games; for he only makes you seem to be happy, I strive that you may be really so; besides he wants no maintenance, I really want it. If therefore I was rewarded according to my just deserts, I think myself deserving of this, a support in the Prytaneum.

* A common-hall so called, where a daily maintenance was allowed to such as deserved well of the commonwealth. Potter, l. 1. c. 25.

† Cicero reports, that a victory in the Olympick games was not much less honourable than a triumph at Rome. Orat. pro Flacco.

S E C T.

SECTION XVIII.

He gives a reason why he lays not upon himself a fine, or banishment.

PERHAPS in saying this I may be thought too arrogant, as I was before, when I spoke of moving compassion by intreaties; the case is not so, O Athenians, only something like it. I am persuaded within myself I would willingly do injury to no one; this indeed I cannot persuade you, we have had so little time to discourse together. Tho' if you had a law, as some others have, where the sentence of death is not passed in one day only, but more is left to determine it, I think, I could then persuade you; but now it would not be easy to remove such great calumnies in so short a time. Since then I would do injury to no one, it is still more unlikely that I should do it to
F
my;

myself, and say that I am deserving of something bad, and determine any thing of that kind for myself. What then? fearing lest I should undergo what Melitus thinks me worthy of, (which, I say, I know not whether it be good or bad) in order to avoid this, shall I chuse some one of those things, which I plainly know to be bad, and think myself deserving of that? shall I chuse fetters? and why ought I to end my days in a prison, serving under the perpetual government of the * eleven? shall I chuse a fine? and remain in prison 'till it is paid. But I have a little before said, that I have not money to pay one. Shall I chuse banishment? and perhaps you will think me worthy of it. I should be too fond of life, O Athenians, if I could be so imprudent, as not to be able to foresee, that whilst you, my fellow citizens, are tired of my company and discourses, and
that

* A person convicted of a capital crime was delivered into the hands of that number of overseers of the prison, to receive the punishment due to his offence. Potter, l. 1. c. 21.

that they are so troublesome and disagreeable to you, that you have determined now to be freed from them, yet to imagine, that any others can bear with them. It cannot be so, O Athenians! My life would doubtless be very eligible to me, to be banished at my age, to be tossed from one city to another, and suffer a continual repulse! and I know very well, let me go where I will, the youths will follow me to hear my discourses, as they do here. And if I hinder them, they, persuading their elders, will expel me; and if I do not hinder them, their fathers and relations will expel me on their account. Perhaps some one may say, but can't you, Socrates, live quietly and silently in banishment, acting differently from what you do with us? it is the most difficult thing of all to persuade some of you. For whether I say, that this would be disobeying God, therefore I * cannot be silent, you will not believe me, thinking I speak ironically; or whether I say, that

* What a noble zeal he had for the service of God, and the good of mankind!

that it brings the greatest good to man, to discourse every day about virtue, and other things about which you have heard me disputing and examining myself and others, (for to lead an inconsiderate life, is scarcely living) in these things you will much less believe me, tho' they are really so, as I tell you, my countrymen, but it would take some time to persuade you of them. After all, I have not accustomed myself to be deserving of any thing bad. Had I money, I would fine myself as much as I could pay, (that would not at all hurt me) but I have not money; unless your fine should be no more than I am able to pay. I could manage perhaps about a mina* of silver, therefore I set the fine at that. But this Plato, O Athenians, and Crito, and Critobulus, and Apollodorus say, I may fix it at thirty minæ †, and they will be answerable for it; I fix it therefore at so much, and they will be sufficient securities for the money.

* Ten crowns.

† Three hundred crowns.

SECTION XIX.

They paid no regard to the fine. Socrates then speaking to those judges, who condemned him, he shews, that they hurt their reputation for the sake of a little time, by killing him, who was so old.

FOR the sake of a little time, O Athenians, you will blast your reputation, and will afford matter to those, who are willing to reproach the city, because you have killed Socrates, a wise man. For they will say I was a wise man, tho' I was not, who are ready to reproach you. If you would therefore wait a little, my death would happen without your assistance. For consider my age, how much I am advanced in years, and that the time of my death cannot be very far off. And I say not this to you all, but to those, who condemned me to die; to those it is I say these things.

Perhaps you think, O Athenians, I lost my cause for want of words, with which I might probably have persuaded you, if I had thought it incumbent upon me, to say and do every thing, to induce you to acquit me. But it is quite otherwise: I was condemned not for a want of words, but for a want of boldness and shamelessness, and not being willing to say those things to you, which would have been agreeable to you to hear, as weeping and wailing, and saying and doing many other things unworthy of me, as I said before, but such as you have been accustomed to hear from others. But I did not think from the first, that I ought to do any thing unbecoming me in order to avoid danger, nor am I at all sorry for the method of my defence; but I had rather die relying upon such a defence, than live by a contrary one. For neither by me, nor any other, is every shift to be employed at the bar or in war, by which we may escape death. In war it is manifest, death might often be avoided, if men would tamely lay down their arms, and supplicate their enemies. There are
also

also many other devices in every danger, by which a person might escape death, if he is not afraid to say and do any thing. But remember, O Athenians, that it is less difficult to avoid death, than wickedness; for wickedness runs swifter than death. I being slower on account of my age, am overtaken by the slower of the two, death; my accusers, being vehement and precipitate, are overtaken by the swifter, wickedness. And now I go hence, condemned by you, as guilty of death; they, condemned by the truth, are guilty of wickedness and injustice*: we each of us are contented with our lot. These things perhaps ought to be so, and I think they are not amiss.

* By disregarding the Oracle of Apollo, and condemning a righteous man to death.

SECTION XX.

*He foretels, that they would kill him
in vain.*

AND now, my judges who have condemned me! I have a mind to prophesy to you. For I am come to that time, when men are wont to * prophesy, when they approach near death. And I foretel to you, my countrymen, if you kill me, a † punishment will overtake you presently after my death, much worse, by Jupiter, than that which you inflict upon me. For now you have done this, thinking to free yourselves
from

* We see, in Homer, Iliad, 22. v. 359. Hector prophesying at his death that Achilles shall fall by the hand of Paris.

† He foretels here what will be the natural and necessary consequences of their wickedness and injustice.

from rendering an * account of your lives and actions to any one. But as I tell you, the direct contrary will happen to you; since there will be many, who will find fault with you, whom I have restrained, tho' you perceived it not; and the younger they are the more disagreeable it will be, and you will bear it the worse. For if you think to retain men from reproaching your lives, by killing them, you do not judge rightly; since this way of clearing yourselves is neither available, nor honest. It is both the easiest and best, not so much for a person to punish others, as to take care that he himself be good. Foretelling this then, is all I shall say to you, who have condemned me.

* Nicias says in the dialogue called Laches, that whoever conversed with Socrates, he made him by the thread of his discourse give an account of the conduct of his life, and advertised him of his faults.

SECTION XXI.

Socrates addressing himself to those, who acquitted him, he conjectures, that it must be good for him to die, because his divine Monitor never restrained him all the whole time.

AND to you, who have acquitted me, I shall speak freely of the things, which have happened to me, as the magistrates are still detained in business, and I am not yet to be led away to death. Attend to me then, O Athenians, that little time, and let us converse together; whilst we may: to you my friends I would shew what has now happened to me, and what it means. Something very wonderful has befallen me, O judges, (since I may justly call you judges) for my accustomed spiritual Monitor always frequently afore-time offered itself to me, and restrained me even in the smallest mat-

matters, if I was about to do any thing, that was not right ; but now these things have happened to me, which you see, and which any one would think and reckon to be the worst of evils ; yet this divine Monitor never opposed me going out from home in the morning, nor when I ascended this rostrum where I plead my cause, nor in any part of my discourse, which I delivered, tho' at other times frequently in the midst of my harangue it used to restrain me. But now in this whole affair, neither while I was acting or speaking did it oppose me. What then am I to imagine the reason of this ? I will tell you. It appears from hence, that what has happened to me is good. And we do not at all judge rightly, whoever of us think death to be an evil. And this to me is a great sign of it, that my Monitor would have opposed me, as usual, unless I was going to do something good.

SECTION XXII.

He builds his hopes in death upon farther arguments.

WE may conclude from hence, and have great hopes, that it is good. For death must be one of these two things, it must be either a kind of annihilation, and that the dead have no sense of any thing; or, as it is said, it is a change and passage of the soul from hence to some other place. Wherefore if the senses are entirely extinguished, and death is like that sort of sleep, when a person has no dreams, what a gain is it! and, I think, if any one was to remark that night, in which he slept so sound, that he had no dreams, and was to compare it with all the other nights and days of his whole life, and, considering the thing, say how many nights and days he passed better and pleasanter; I think
there

there is not any private person, nor even great king, that would be able to count many. If death then is something of that sort, I call it gain. For by this means the greatest length of time seems to be but one night. If again, that is true which some say, that death is a passage of the soul from hence to some other place, which those, who are departed out of this life, inhabit, what can be a greater good than this? O judges! for if any one going into this invisible state, and passing from those, who are reckoned judges here, shall find those, who are really so, and who are said to judge there, Minos, Radamanthus, Æacus, Triptolemus, and other demi-gods, who were accounted just, while they lived here, can this be a bad exchange? to converse with *Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, Homer, can any of you esteem this a small matter? I would even die many times, if these things be true. Since such company would

* This thought of meeting our friends hereafter is admirable well fitted to shew the importance of virtue in friendship.

would be highly agreeable to me, then I should be with Palamedes, and Ajax the son of Telamon, and others of the Ancients, who died by an unjust judgement: I think it would be extremely pleasant to compare my sufferings with theirs. And this would be a great thing, to pass my time there proving and examining every one, as I have done here, who was wise, and who thought himself to be so, but was not. Then how great would it be, O judges, to try the conduct of that great king, who commanded the forces at Troy, that of Ulysses, Sisyphus, and innumerable others that one might mention, both men and women; to talk with whom, and to examine by familiar converse, must be an inconceivable happiness! and that those, who are there, will not kill them for these things any more, in this they are happier than us, and in this particularly, that they are for ever immortal, if what is said be true.

SECTION XXIII.

Socrates says that these things have not happened to him by accident, but by God's appointment. And lastly, speaking to his enemies in the behalf of his sons, he goeth out of the court.

DO not you, O judges, who have acquitted me, fear death, but be of a good hope, and reflect on this one truth, that a good man cannot be hurt, neither dead nor living, and that he is not neglected by the Gods. Neither has this happened to me by accident, but it is plain to me, that to die and to be freed from my labours, is * better for me ; for
this

* Socrates did really put in practice, what he says (in the dialogue called Phædon) he had always heard, that a man ought to die in tranquility, and blessing God.

this reason my Monitor has not resisted me. And I am not angry at those, who have accused and condemned me, tho' they did not accuse and condemn me with this intention: but because they thought to hurt me; for this I blame them. And lastly, addressing myself to them, I ask this one thing, that you would, my countrymen, punish my sons, when they are grown up, if they trouble you in the same manner as I have done, but above all, if they seem to mind money, or any thing else more than virtue; or if they think themselves to be something, when they are nothing, reprove them for it, as I have done you, if they neglect what they ought to attend to, and fancy themselves worthy, when they are not. If you do these things, I shall think, that neither myself nor my sons have been treated unjustly by you. But now the time is elapsed, I must go out from hence to * die, and you to the
at-

* St Austin says in his City of God, Book 8. ch. 3. the city of Athens publickly lamented the
loss

affairs of life, but which of us have the best of it, God only knows.

loss of Socrates, whom they had publicly condemned; they then turned their indignation and revenge upon his accusers, for Antisthenes was the occasion of banishment to Anytus, and of death to Melitus.

A P P E N D I X.

IT becomes those, who are set apart for study and retirement, to employ their minds about the attainment of such things as are honest, and tend to a virtuous and happy way of life, such as serve to the improvement of their own reason and understanding, and to the promoting of virtue and piety amongst mankind.

The preceding work, which I have chosen to translate, is the Apology of Socrates before his judges, in which he appears worthy his great Wisdom and Philosophy, when he enquires into the subjects of death and an hereafter, on which points the thoughts of christians

can only be raised above him in proportion to the advantage they have of scripture and revelation. When the iniquity of the times brought this great man to his execution, how noble is it to behold him receive his sentence as if going on an agreeable journey! This steadiness and firmness proceeded from a consciousness of a well spent life, and the conjectures, which he had of a happy eternity.

I purpose treating briefly in this Appendix, first, of the knowledge, which the heathens had of religion, and their conjectures of a future state; and afterwards, of the clearer knowledge, which christians have of God by revelation, and their more assured hopes of another life. And first, of the knowledge, which the heathens had of religion, and their conjectures of a future state.

Archbishop Potter tells us in his Antiquities, that in Greece almost every city had different gods, and different modes of worship. The Grecians in general, and the Athenians in particular, were so excessively superstitious, that they would not be content to worship their

ancient deities, but frequently consecrated new ones of their own making; and beside these, assumed into the number of their own, the gods of all the nations with whom they had any commerce; in-
somuch that even in Hesiod's time they were thirty thousand. "There are, says he, thirty thousand gods inhabiting the earth, who are subjects of Jupiter, and guardians of men". Yet tho' they were so desirous of new deities, none were worshipped 'till they had been approved and admitted by the Areopagites, whose court was the most sacred and venerable tribunal in all Greece; and thence was it, that when St. Paul preached amongst them Jesus and the Resurrection, he was summoned to appear before this council, to give an account of his new doctrine. And the worshipping of strange gods was the crime for which Socrates was accused and condemned, as Laertius informs us. * Among the ancient Philosophers there were three hundred different opi-

* Deism Revealed. Vol. 1. p. 87. & 100.

opinions concerning their supreme deity, or rather as Varro says, three hundred Jupiters or supreme deities. So that Socrates, who never travelled out of Greece, nor, indeed, far from Athens, had nothing to erect a scheme of religion or morality on but the scattered fragments of truth darkened by endless superstitions, and handed down from time immemorial among his countrymen, or imported by Pythagoras, Thales, and others, who had been in Egypt and the East. These he picked out from a heap of absurdities and errors, and by the help of an extraordinary capacity, laying them together, comparing them with the nature of things, and drawing consequences from them, found reason to question the soundness of the Grecian Theology and Morality. He reasoned extremely well against the prevailing errors of his time; and acted with a firmness in the cause of virtue suitable to the strength of his nature, and the lights he enjoyed; and his Philosophy, like his divine Monitor, served to shew him what he ought to forbear and avoid. He seems to have been

an instrument, in the hand of Providence, to beat down, or at least shake the errors of Paganism. * And there have been in almost every age in the heathen world, some wise and good men, who have made it their business to study and practise the duties of natural religion themselves, and to teach and exhort others to do the like. Among the Greeks Socrates was an extraordinary example of this kind. Concerning whom we read in the preceding † Apology, how diligent he was in exhorting and teaching every one; that he did nothing else, but go continually about, persuading both old and young, not to be so much solicitous to gratify the appetites of the body, or to heap up wealth, or to raise themselves to honour, or gain any outward advantage whatsoever, as to improve the mind by the continual exercise of all virtue and goodness: teaching them that a man's true value

did

* Evid. of Nat. & Rev. Relig. p. 132.

† Sect. 11.

did not arise from his riches, or from any outward circumstance of life; but that true riches, and every real good, whether publick or private, proceeded wholly from virtue. * After him, Plato and Aristotle and others followed his example, in teaching morality. So that it may justly be supposed, that these men were raised up and designed by Providence, as instruments to reprove in some measure, and put some kind of check to the extreme superstition and wickedness of the nations wherein they lived; or at least to bear witness against, and condemn it. For this reason, some of the ancient writers of the church have not scrupled to call Socrates and Heraclitus, and others of the best heathen Moralists, by the name of Christians: this too is an observation of the excellent Blackwall on the Sacred Classics, who says farther, Perhaps the good men might carry their respects to the heathen Moralists too far; but they are certainly right when they
tell

* Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 132.

tell you, that as the * law of Moses was, as it were, a schoolmaster to bring the Jews to the faith of Christ, so found moral Philosophy was to the Gentiles a preparative and introduction to the † Gospel. ‡ And thus far may safely be asserted, that § whatever any of these men were at any time enabled to deliver wisely and profitably for the advantage and benefit of the world, even in its blindest and most corrupt state, was derived to them by a ray of that infinite goodness, which does good to all; from God the sole author of truth and wisdom. || But then it is certain the effect of all the teaching and instruction of the best Philosophers in the heathen world, was in comparison small and inconsiderable. They were not able to turn men from their absurd idolatry, to the acknowledgment and worship of the true God.

Their

* Clem. Alexand. Strom. 1.

† Justin Apol. 2.

‡ Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 133.

§ Origen in Cels. 1. 6.

|| Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 134.

Their disciples, at least the practisers of their doctrine, were in their own lifetime, * very few; as too plainly appears from the evil treatment, which, we see, Socrates met withal at Athens. And their followers quickly fell back into the common idolatry, superstition, and corruption of manners, which then prevailed in the world. These considerations so much affected Plato, that great admirer of Socrates; that he sometimes seems to give over all hopes of working any reformation in men by Philosophy; and says that a † good man, when he considers these things, would even chuse to sit quiet, and shift for himself; like a man that in a violent hurricane, creeps under a wall for his defence; and seeing the whole world round about him filled with all manner of wickedness, be content, if, preserving his single self from iniquity and every evil work, he can pass away the present life in peace, and at last die with tranquility and a good hope.

But

* Arnob. advers. Gentes, lib. 2.

† Plato de Repub. l. 6.

But farther, the Philosophers were not only unable to reform mankind, but were themselves ignorant of the first and most necessary thing of all, the * nature and attributes of God himself, notwithstanding the general helps of reason, these they confessed were very difficult to find out, and still more difficult to explain. And Socrates himself always openly professed, that he pretended to be wiser than other men, only in this one thing, that he was duly sensible of his own ignorance, and † believed that it was merely for that very reason, that the Oracle pronounced him the wisest of men. With regard to outward worship also, how this was to be performed, they could not with any certainty discover. Lactantius observes that Socrates, at the conclusion of one of the best discourses that ever was made by any Philosopher, superstitiously ordered a cock to be offered in sacrifice for him to Esculapius. Tho' Plato and the more considering Philosophers could not forbear

* Plato in Timæo. † Apol. Soc. Sect. 6.

bear frequently declaring that they * thought those rites could avail little or nothing towards appeasing the wrath of a provoked God, or making their prayers acceptable in his sight ; but that something still seemed to them to be wanting, though they knew not what. These great men had moreover much doubtfulness, and uncertainty in their conjectures concerning a future state. For Socrates speaking to his judges a little before his death, † I am now, said he, about to leave this world ; and you are still to continue in it : which of us have the better part allotted us, God only knows. And again, a little before, in the same speech to his friends, ‡ I have good hopes I am now going into the company of good men, who have departed out of this life. And if death be only as it were a passage from hence to another place ; and those things, which are told us, be indeed true ; that those, who are dead to us, do all live there : then what a glorious

ous

* Plato's Alcibiades 2. † Apol. Soc. Sect. 23.

‡ Ibid. Sect. 22. and Plato in Phæd.

ous exchange must it be! Tully * tells us, that these contemplations had such an effect upon Socrates, that when he was tried for his life, he neither desired any advocate to plead his cause, nor made any supplication to his judges for mercy; and on the very last day of his life, made many excellent discourses upon this subject; and a few days before, when he had an opportunity offered him to escape out of prison, he would not lay hold of it. Yet these great men expressed a doubtfulness on this point, as we find by Cicero speaking himself of the same subject: I will endeavour, faith † he, to explain what you desire; yet I would not have you depend upon what I shall say, as certain and infallible; but I may guess, as other men do, at what shall seem most probable: and farther than this, I cannot pretend to go.

Having thus shewn the knowledge, which the Heathens had of religion and a future state; (by availing myself of
Dr.

* Tusc. Quest. lib. 1. † Idem ibid.

Dr. S. Clarke's Citations from the wisest and best of them) I shall in the next place shew, as I propos'd, the clearer knowledge, which christians have of God by revelation, and their more assured hopes of another life. The Philosophers among the heathens, as was before observed, could not reform mankind, and turn them from their absurd idolatry to the acknowledg'ment and worship of the true God. * They had not a clear knowledge of the method of God's governing the world, his design in creating mankind, the original dignity of human nature, the ground and circumstances of men's present corrupt condition, the manner of the divine interposition necessary to their recovery, and the glorious end to which God intended finally to conduct them: all these doctrines the christian religion teaches us, and they have every one of them a natural tendency, to reform mens manners; and do all of them together make up the most consistent

sistent

* Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 138.

sistent and rational scheme of belief, in the world. Plato one of the wisest of the heathens * weakly advises men to worship inferior gods, dæmons and spirits, and condemned not the worshipping even of statues and images, dedicated according to the laws of their country; as if the honour they paid to lifeless idols could procure the favour and good-will of God the creator of all things. † The holy mysteries in the heathen religion consecrated to Ceres and Bacchus were such as Cato was ashamed to be present at. But on the contrary, the christian religion teaches us to worship God, who is a most holy being, with a pure mind, and with such actions, as are exactly suited to exalt our nature to its original perfection; we are commanded to pray for such things as are for the glory of God: and for those things that lead to eternity, we are to pray with all earnestness,

* Plato de Legib. lib. 4.

† Grotius on the Truth of the Christ. Relig. p. 112.

ness, viz. for pardon of our past sins, and for the assistance of the spirit for the future, that we may be able to resist sinful temptations, and continue in a godly course. In the christian dispensation, justice, mercy, and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other. * For what can be imagined more honourable, and worthy of the supreme Governor of the world; than to shew forth his mercy and goodness, in forgiving the sins of frail and fallible creatures, and suffering himself to be reconciled to them upon their true repentance; and yet at the same time to cause such an expiation to be made for sin, by the sufferings and death of his own Son in their nature, as might be an abundant evidence of his irreconcilable hatred against sin, a just vindication of the authority and dignity of his laws, and a sufficient and effectual warning to deter men from sin, to create in them the greatest dread and detestation of it, and
for

* Evid. of Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 198.

for ever to terrify them from venturing upon wilful transgression and disobedience? * as to the rewards which christianity promises; no age ever produced any more excellent. The Greeks, who had some hopes of another life, spoke very doubtfully concerning it, as appears from the discourse of Socrates a little before his death. And mankind could go no farther than conjecture on this point, 'till Christ discovered the true knowledge of their end, promising to his disciples and followers another life after this, in which there should be no more death, pain, or sorrow, but our bodies will be in perpetual vigour; and in brightness exceed the stars; † and our minds being then enlarged to their utmost capacities, shall have a more perfect, certain and clearer knowledge of God than we can attain to in this life, and from the sight of his glory, the love of his goodness,
and

* Grotius on the Truth of the Christ. Relig. p. 101.

† Nelson Fest. and Fasts. p. 421.

and the admiration of all his excellencies, we shall be transformed into his likenesses, both in the purity and spirituality of our souls; whence must result infinite pleasure and satisfaction, incessantly expressing itself in hymns of praise and thanksgiving. Besides, it must needs raise in us fresh transports of joy and rapture, to see our glorified Redeemer exalted to the right hand of God; and all the blessed inhabitants of heaven, will, in a degree, contribute to our happiness by their profitable and delightful conversation. And to complete our bliss, it shall never change nor have an end, but we shall pass eternity, in knowing, and loving, in praising and cheerfully obeying the source and fountain of all truth.

* We shall then, as St. Paul tells us, become unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of Angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written

* Hebr, 12, 22, 23, 24.

written in heaven, and to God the judge of all; and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediatur of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling.

P O S T S C R I P T.

When a Copy of this Book was sent down to me to examine whether there was any omission in the List of Subscribers; I was ashamed to see the shortness of the Work, and price it bears; but I comfort myself with this reflection, that *Charity is not easily provoked*. And here I beg leave to return my grateful acknowledgements to my kind Benefactors for their generous Support; and can assure them, that the Publication has been delayed no longer than was necessary to avoid cramping the efforts of my Friends, for enlarging the number of my Subscribers.



Plato. Plato's Apology of Socrates, translated into English, by the Rev. Joseph Mills, A. B. minister of coubit, in Lincolnshire. With notes and an appendix by the translator. Printed by J. Archdeacon, Printer to the University; sold by J. Woodyer, Cambridge; J. Beecroft, Pater-Noster Row, and T. Cadell, in the Strand, London, M.DCC.LXXV. [1775]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0122129441/ECCO?u=monash&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=6795bf63&pg=1. Accessed 30 Nov. 2021.