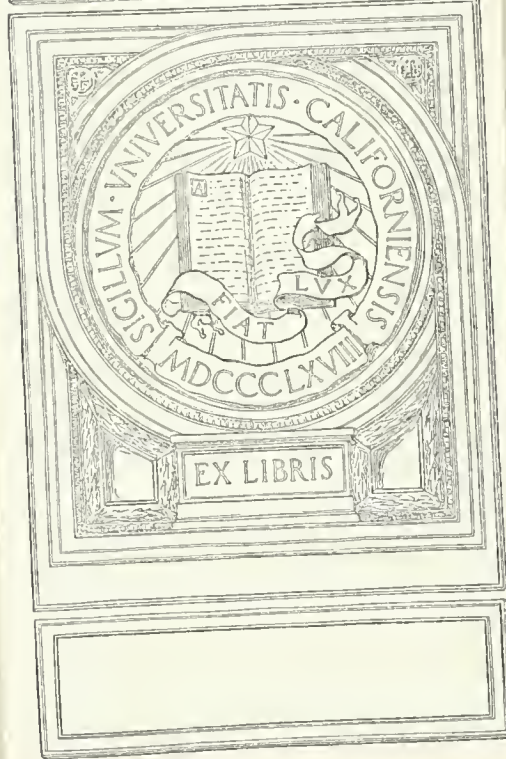




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Thomas E. Stearns

O R A T I O N S

Oct 1. 1860

O F

D E M O S T H E N E S

A N D

Æ S C H I N E S,

Translated by the Rev. Mr. FRANCIS.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N ;

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.

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DEPARTMENT OF

AGRICULTURE

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IN the former Volume we have seen the People of Athens, guided by the Counfels and animated by the Eloquence of their great Orator, almost alone fupporting the Liberties of Greece. We fhall hereafter fee them involved in the common Slavery, yet diftinguifhed by their Conqueror with peculiar Marks of his Clemency. Both Philip and his Succelfor permitted them to enjoy their Laws and Conftitution; their Senate and Affemblies. Yet their Power is no longer exerted in the Deftination of Fleets and Armies, but in punifhing their own unhappy Citizens. Their Affemblies are no longer employed in fuccouring their Allies, or fupporting their own, and the univerfal Liberties of Greece, but in hearing their Orators accufe each other, with a Malignity, that offers Violence and Outrage to the common Sentiments of Humanity. In certain Confequence, the People are divided into Factions, and the public Spirit, that might poffibly have made fome powerful and effectual Effort againft the common Oppreffor, is diffipated and wafte in unavailing and pernicious Contefts.

WE are not able to determine upon the Succels of the firft Profecution. *Æfchines* was probably acquitted, but with what Degree of Infamy or Honour is uncertain. In the fecond he was condemned, and although the Fine impofed upon him

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

him by the Laws was inconsiderable, and which he could easily have paid, yet he chose perpetual Banishment, rather than live in Athens under the Character of a Traitor and Informer. He retired to Rhodes, where he purchased a little Estate, and taught Rhetoric for his Subsistence. These Circumstances appear in Favour of his Innocence; for we can hardly suppose, that a Man, who must have been largely rewarded by Philip for betraying his Country, and who was at that Moment a Pensioner of Alexander, could have been reduced to such Necessity. But the Athenian People were better Judges of Eloquence by their Passions, than of Reason and Justice by their Understanding. The Cause was really that of Eloquence itself; and in such a Cause Demosthenes must undoubtedly have been successful. Thus did the Republic lose by this unhappy Contest a Citizen of eminent Abilities, and Eloquence inferior only to that of Demosthenes.

IT now remains to make public Acknowledgement of the Assistance I have received in the following Work. The first Oration is translated into Italian; the second into Latin only; the two last into French and Italian. All these I have used without Reserve, and, I hope, not without Advantage. Perhaps, in the common Forms among Writers, this general Acknowledgement may be sufficient. But it were disingenuous and ungrateful not to mention a late Edition of our Author by Doctor Taylor, in a more particular Manner. This very
valuable

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

valuable Work cannot want my Testimony to its Merit. Let me however be permitted to say, that whatever Thanks are due to the Diligence and Accuracy of collating Manuscripts and Editions, or of searching through all the Writers of Antiquity for Passages, that might ascertain the original Text, are undoubtedly due to this Gentleman. A great Number of conjectural Emendations will certainly do honour to his critical Sagacity; but his peculiar Merit consists in his Knowledge of the Athenian Courts of Judicature; their Laws and Usages, and Terms employed in their Pleadings; a Kind of Erudition, that was greatly wanted, and absolutely necessary to explain a thousand Difficulties in these Orations.

How much I am indebted to this Writer will appear in every Page, and almost in every Sentence of the following Translation. Yet, it may be objected, I have sometimes differed from him in Opinion. Never without Unwillingness and Apprehension; certainly never in a Presumption of that Equality or Superiority, which Difference in Opinion generally supposes.

I HAVE NOW finished a difficult and a laborious Task. Whatever may be the Merit or Success of this Translation, I can truly say I have endeavoured to deserve the public Approbation; to be just to my Subscribers, and grateful to the Gentleman, who has honoured it with his Patronage.

C O N-

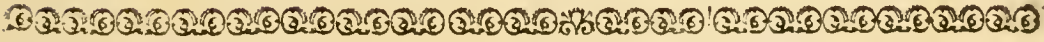
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O R A T I O N X V .

Upon an Indictment against ÆSCHINES
for Misconduct in his Embassy.



O R A T I O N X V .

Upon an Indictment against ÆSCHINES for
Misconduct in his Embassy.

WHAT violent Contests, O Men of Athens, what Intrigues have appeared during this Trial, I presume you are almost universally sensible, since you have undoubtedly observed some certain Persons, when the Lots were drawing at the late Election, and You were appointed our Judges, importunate and pressing upon you with their Solicitations. But I shall implore, what ought in Equity to be granted even to them, who do not implore it, that neither personal Friendship, nor the Interest of any particular Person, may have a greater Influence over you, than your Regard for
Justice,

The Title of this Oration hath never been accurately expressed in the Original. Cicero renders it *Oratio falsæ legationis contra Æschinem*; and other Latin Writers, *Oratio de male obita, male gesta, and clementia legatione*, from whence the Italian, *Oratione della falsa ambascieria*. None of these Translations pay any Attention to the particular Meaning of Παράπρεσβεία, which signifies, in the Language of the Athenian Courts of

Justice, *An Indictment upon the Law of Embassies*; or, as we might express it, *An Action upon the Statute*. Unable to convey these Ideas to his Readers by any Expression in our Courts, the Translator hath chosen a simpler, and, he hopes, a more intelligible Title for the Oration.

The Reader may find a short Account of this Embassy, Page 178 of the first Volume.

Justice, and the Reverence due to that Oath, which each of you solemnly swore when he entered into this Assembly. Be convinced, that such Conduct will be to you most advantageous, and to the whole Republic; but that the Supplications and Earnestness of the declared Advocates in this Cause are intended for some private Advantages, for Prevention of which the Laws have this Day convened You, not to confirm them as Privileges to the unjust.

OUR other Citizens, who enter with an upright Intention into the Service of the Public, although they have already made Report of their Administration, are always willing, and even offer themselves to any second Inquiry. In direct Opposition to their Conduct is that of Æschines; for before he appeared upon his Trial, and passed the Accouuts of his Embassy, he rendered one of the Persons, who designed to prosecute him, incapable of giving a legal Evidence against him; (1) others he deterred with Menaces, taking his Progress through the City for that Purpose, and introducing into your Govern-
ment

(1) Timarchus, whom our Orator here means, and whom he frequently mentions in this Oration, was a Man of Abilities, and Interest in the Republic. He had determined to prosecute Æschines upon this Occasion, but Æschines prevented him with an Acculation upon the Licentiousness and Impurity of his Manners.

He was condemned under the Statute of Infamy, a Law-Term not unlike that of Outlawry, by which he was deprived of all the Privileges of an Athenian Citizen, and rendered incapable of giving his Testimony, or pleading in a Court of Judicature.

ment a Custom in itself of all others most iniquitous, and to You pernicious. For if whoever hath executed any public Employment, or engaged in the Administration, can prevent his being prosecuted, by rendering himself terrible to his Accusers, or by any other unjustifiable Method, you will assuredly be deprived of all Authority.

THAT I shall be able to convict this Man of having committed many atrocious Crimes, and merited the severest Punishment, I am assured, and absolutely confident. Yet although I speak under this Persuasion, I will declare, without Concealment or Disguise, what I greatly dread. All the Trials at present brought before you appear to me to depend not less, O Men of Athens, upon Circumstances of Time, than upon the Certainty of Facts; and as a considerable Length of Time hath intervened since this Embassy, I fear it hath created in you a certain Forgetfulness of your Wrongs, and even an Habitude of suffering them. However, I will inform you, how you may better understand the Justice of the Cause, and pronounce an equitable Sentence upon it; if you, who are appointed our Judges, will consider and determine among yourselves, what Account it may be of Advantage to the Republic to demand from an Ambassador; first, what Reports he made of his Embassy, when he returned; secondly, what Measures he recommended; thirdly, what Instructions you gave him; then recollect the Circumstances of the Times,
and

and afterwards inquire, whether in all these Instances he hath preserved his Integrity uncorrupted. Wherefore these Inquiries? Because from his Answers it is in your Power to determine concerning particular Conjunctures; for if those Answers are true, You will pronounce the proper Sentence; if false, the contrary. But you generally esteem the Counsels of your Ambassadors more worthy, than any other, of your Confidence; You hear and depend upon them, as perfectly knowing in the Affairs, for which they were sent. Nothing therefore is more unworthy the Character of an Ambassador, than to be convicted of having given you futile and pernicious Counsel. Those Instructions, which you yourselves gave Æschines, both for his Words and Actions; which you expressly decreed he should obey, it was most fitting he should have executed. This you will allow. But wherefore an Account of any particular Time? Because, O Men of Athens, it often happens, that in Affairs of greatest Moment, some favourable Occasion of acting is included in a very small Space of Time, and whoever voluntarily yields, or betrays it to his Enemy, shall never, with all his best Endeavours, be able to recover it again. But did he yield for nothing, or was he corrupted to betray? Receiving any Emolument for supporting Measures injurious to the Republic, I am conscious, you will all pronounce an atrocious Crime, and worthy of your severest Indignation. Our Legislator hath not perfectly defined this Crime, but hath simply forbidden any Man to receive Presents; convinced, as

I ima-

I imagine, that whoever hath once received a bribe; whoever hath been once corrupted, will never be a safe and upright Judge, where the Interests of the Republic are concerned.

IF I can therefore manifestly demonstrate, that Æschines hath not uttered one single Truth in the Reports of his Embassy; that he hindered the People from being informed by me of the real State of their Affairs; that he hath ever advised You in direct Opposition to your Interests; that he hath not executed those Instructions, with which he was charged in his Embassy; that he idly wasted the Time, in which many favourable Conjunctions, and those in Affairs of utmost Importance, were treacherously lost to the Republic; that he and Philocrates have received Presents, and even Bribes, from Philip; if I prove these Accusations, let him be condemned; let him suffer a Punishment, proportioned to his Guilt. If, on the contrary, I cannot demonstrate these Facts, esteem me a Calumniator, and let him be acquitted. But although I might accuse him, besides these, of many other enormous Offences, O Men of Athens, which would justly render him an Object of your universal Detestation, yet I rather choose, before I enter upon my future Proofs, to recall to your Remembrance (since I am assured many of you can easily remember) what Rank Æschines assumed to himself upon his Entrance into the Administration, and what Kind of Harangues he held it necessary for him to make against Philip in every Assembly of the
People,

People, that by his own Actions, his own first Orations, you may be convinced, he stands convicted of receiving Bribes.

THIS therefore is the Man, who first of all our Athenians was sensible, as he declared in his Harangues to the People, that Philip was forming Designs against the common Liberties of Greece, and had already corrupted some certain Magistrates in Arcadia: who engaged Ischander, an Under-Actor to Neoptolemus, to play the second Character to him in this Tragedy: (2) who proposed an Inquiry into these Affairs to the Senate; proposed it to the People, and persuaded you to send Ambassadors for appointing a Congress here to consult upon a Declaration of War against Philip: who, when he returned from Arcadia, repeated upon Memory those long and pompous Orations, which he affirmed he had pronounced at Megalopolis, before the supreme Council of Arcadia, in Support of your Interests against Hieronymus, who spoke in Defence of Philip; and lastly, who enumerated the mighty Calamities, these Mercenaries, these Receivers of Money from Philip, occasioned not only to their own Countries in particular, but to the general State of Greece.

WHILE

(2) Our Orator never loses any Opportunity of insulting Æschines upon his Profession as a Player. He had carried Ischander with him from Arcadia to Athens, and had probably entered him a Performer of second Characters (or, as we might express it) an Under-Actor in a Company of Comedians, maintained by Neoptolemus, the greatest Actor of his Age. He now introduces him into the Politics of his Administration, and engages him to play some under Character in this Tragedy of his own Embassy.

WHILE he was in this Manner opening his Administration, and exhibiting this Specimen of himself, you were persuaded by Aristodemus, and others, whose Reports from Macedonia brought you home nothing but Falsehood, to send Ambassadors to Philip to negotiate a Peace. Æschines was appointed one of these Ambassadors, not to betray your proper Dominions to your Enemies, or to place a Confidence in Philip, but to guard others from joining in such pernicious Practices. For by those Orations, which he repeated to you, and by his declared Enmity to Philip, you with reason entertained this Opinion of him. He afterwards came to me, and agreed, that we should mutually support each other in our Embassy, and with many Arguments urged the Necessity of our guarding against the polluted and shameless Philocrates. Nor indeed, untill our Return from our first Embassy, did even I suspect, O Men of Athens, that Æschines was corrupted, and had sold himself. For besides his other Speeches, which I have already mentioned, he rose in the first Assembly, where you debated upon the Peace, and opened his Oration with some Expressions, which, I believe, I can repeat in the very Words he spoke. “ Had Philocrates earnestly and industriously meditated, O Men of Athens, in what Manner he might best oppose the Peace, he could never, in my Opinion, find a

“ better Method than in the Decrees he propofes. For my
 “ own Part, while any one fingle Athenian furvives, never
 “ will I perfuade the Commonwealth to conclude fuch a
 “ Peace ; however I declare, that Peace, in general, is abfo-
 “ lutely neceffary.” Thus concise were his Exprefions ; thus
 moderate his Sentiments. But although he had thus expreffed
 himfelf in our firft Affembly ; though You yourfelves heard
 him, yet the very next Day, when of Neceffity the Peace was
 to be ratified, while I fupported the common Decrees of our
 Confederates, and contended for a juft and honourable Peace :
 while you approved of the Meafures I propofed, and determined
 not to hear even the Voice of that execrable Philocrates, at
 this very Time did Æſchines riſe, and harangue the People in
 his Defence, O Jupiter and all ye Gods ! in Exprefions juftly
 meriting a thouſand Deaths : “ That it was no longer your
 “ Duty to remember your Anceftors, or to ſuffer thoſe, who
 “ mention to you their Trophies, their naval Victories ; that
 “ he would himſelf propoſe and eſtabliſh a Law, by which
 “ you ſhould never ſend Succours to any Grecian State, by
 “ whom you had not before been aſſiſted.” Thus did this
 miſerable and ſhameleſs Wretch dare to ſpeak even in the Pre-
 ſence, and Hearing of thoſe very Ambaſſadors, whom you had
 convened through all Greece by his Perſuaſion, before he had
 ſold himſelf to Philip.

WHEN

WHEN you had again, O Men of Athens, decreed him one of your Ambassadors for demanding Philip's Oath in Ratification of the Peace, in what Manner he consumed the Time, and ruined the whole Affairs of the Republic, and what frequent Quarrels arose between us, because I endeavoured to oppose him, you shall instantly hear. When we returned from our second Embassy, appointed for demanding Philip's Oath and the Subject of your present Inquiries; when we found not even the least Article performed of all that had been promised, and therefore reasonably expected; when we saw you were in every Instance deceived, and that your Ambassadors acted in direct Contradiction to your Decrees, we appeared before the Senate. Many of you are conscious of the Facts I am going to relate, for the House was crowded with private Citizens. I came forward, and laid the whole Truth before the Senate, and accused our guilty Ambassadors, from the very first Hopes brought you home by Ctesiphon and Aristodemus. Even when you had ratified the Peace, I enumerated every Particular, which this bad Man had uttered in his Harangues; every Circumstance, by which they had reduced the Commonwealth to that unhappy Crisis. What yet remained to us (the Phocæans and Thermopylæ) I counselled you not to abandon; nor ever to commit the same Errors again, nor to be held in Suspence by Hopes, repeated upon Hopes, by Promises, on

Promises; nor to suffer your Affairs to be reduced to such extreme Destruction. Such the Counsel I gave, and the Senate was convinced.

WHEN an Assembly was afterwards convened; when it was become necessary to give you an Account of our Embassy, this Æschines, first of all our Ambassadors came forward (and now by Jupiter and all our Deities I conjure you, endeavour with me to recollect, whether I repeat the Truth, for these are certainly the Circumstances, by which your Affairs were wholly distressed and ruined) but he totally abstained from making any Report with Regard to his own Conduct during his Embassy, or to what I had declared in the Senate, if perchance he had entertained any Doubt of the Truth of what I declared, but such an Oration did he make, containing Advantages so numerous and so great, that he absolutely forced you all into his Opinion. For he affirmed, he had persuaded Philip to comply with every Measure, wherein the Interests of the Republic were concerned, both with regard to the Cause depending before the Amphictyons, and in every other Instance. (3) He then made a Recital of a long Harangue,

(3) The Amphictyons, however degenerate from the Virtue of their original Constitution, still preserved an Appearance of their ancient Authority, and assumed a Right to determine upon the Justice of the Quarrel between the Phocæans and Thebans. Philip had pro-

mised to influence their Suffrages in Favour of the Phocæans, as Allies and Friends of the Republic.

The Reader may find some Account of the Amphictyons in the Preface to the first Volume; twelfth Page.

which

which he informed us he had pronounced against the Thebans in the presence of Philip; he repeated the general Heads of it, and then computed, that by his peculiar Conduct in this Embassy, you should hear, within two or three Days, without your leaving home, or undertaking any Expedition, or giving yourselves the least Solitude, that Thebes alone, without an Invasion of the rest of Bœotia, was besieged; that Thespiæ and Plataea were again inhabited; that Apollo's Treasures were repaid Him, not by the Phocæans, but the Thebans, who had themselves formed a Design of seizing his Temple. (4) For Æschines boasted of his having taught Philip, that they, who purpose to commit a Crime, are not less impious, than they, who really with their own Hands perpetrate the Fact. He then assured us, that the Thebans, in Repentment, had proclaimed a Reward for his Head. Lastly, he affirmed his having heard, that the Eubœans were terrified,

(4) Τῶν Βελευσάντων τὴν κατάληψιν τῆ ἱερῆ. Translated by Wolfius, *qui auctores fuissent templi occupandi*, and he then explains his Translation, as if the Thebans had advised the Phocæans to seize the Temple of Apollo. In his Notes he very justly condemns the Absurdity of supposing such Advice, and remarks, that the Fact is unsupported by History. But the Absurdity is totally his own. *The Thebans had formed a Design of seizing this Temple, and were therefore equally criminal, as the Phocæans, who really*

committed the Sacrilege. Thus the reasoning is direct and conclusive, which by his Translation is broken and imperfect. The Italian Translator renders the Passage, *I quali barcano consigliato, que si occupasse il tempio.* Doctor Taylor, by giving us Wolfius his Translation and his Note without any Remark upon it, has given his own Authority to the Mistake; it therefore becomes necessary to say, it must have escaped that very accurate and learned Editor.

and

and confounded at the Reconciliation between Philip and the Republic; that they had declared; “Ambassadors, it hath
 “not escaped us, upon what Conditions you have concluded
 “a Peace with Philip; neither are we ignorant, that you
 “have ceded Amphipolis to him, nor that he hath promised
 “to deliver up Eubœa to you.” Another important Affair he assured you he had regulated, which however he would not yet mention openly, because at present some of his Colleagues envied him. He thus obscurely hinted at me, and the Cession of Oropus. (5)

BEING, with all Appearance of Justice, much honoured for his Conduct; acknowledged a very powerful Orator, and a Man of admirable Abilities, he with much Solemnity descended from the Tribunal. I then arose; I declared my total Ignorance of these Promises, and attempted to repeat some Circumstances, which I had mentioned before in the Senate, while Æschines on one Side, and this Philocrates on the other, clamorously interrupted, and at length absolutely mocked me. You laughed, nor would either hear, nor be persuaded to believe, except what Æschines had declared: and, by the

(5) Oropus, by its Situation on the Borders of Attica and Bœotia, was the Occasion of frequent Contests between the two States. It had been taken from Athens by Themestion, Tyrant of Eretria, who ceded it to the Thebans, in

Acknowledgement of the Succours they had sent him against the Athenians. Our Orator here charges Æschines with insinuating, that Philip had promised him to restore it the Republic.

Gods, you acted thus, in my Judgement, not without Reason. For who could have endured, while he expected Advantages so great, so numerous, to hear even the Possibility of them denied, and the Persons, who wrought such Wonders, accused? All other Considerations were certainly of little Importance, when compared to such Hopes and Expectations. Whoever contradicted them, appeared actuated merely by a Spirit of Opposition and Envy; while all his Proposals were thought wonderfully great, and advantageous to the Republic.

BUT to what Purpose have I now recollected, for the first Time, these Circumstances, and repeated these Harangues? For one, O Men of Athens, an important and principal Reason; that none of you, who shall hereafter hear me accuse these Measures, may imagine me severe, and excessive in my Censures, or ask with Wonder, “Why did you not upon the
“ Instant mention, and inform us of these Circumstances;” but that you may rather recollect the Promises, which these People made upon all Occasions, and by which they excluded others from the Liberty of speaking: that you may remember the famous Declaration of Æschines, and be convinced, that, in addition to all his other Injuries, you have been hindered from hearing the Truth at the immediate Instant, when it was most necessary, and deceived by Hopes, Impostures, and Promises. This was the first, and indeed the principal Reason, for which I have recollected these Circumstances. The
second

second, and not of less Importance, that when you remember the whole Tenour of his Administration, while he was yet uncorrupted, how incredulous with Regard to Philip; how strongly fortified against him, you may consider how sudden were his Confidence and Friendship. Lastly, that if his Promises have been attended with Success; if his Administration hath been glorious to the Commonwealth, you may then compute, that he acted with Integrity, and for the public Advantage; on the contrary, if the Event hath always happened in direct Contradiction to what he promised; if he hath brought much Dishonour, and imminent Danger upon the Republic, by a sordid Avarice, and the Prostitution of Truth, you may then account for the Alteration.

BUT since I have proceeded thus far, I would willingly mention, before all other Considerations, the Manner in which your Ambassadors deprived you of all Direction in the Affairs of the Phocæans. Nor should any of our Judges, while he considers the Greatness of those Affairs, imagine that *Æschines*, according to the general Estimation of his Character, was incapable of committing those Crimes, of which he is accused. You should fix your Attention to this Consideration alone, that whomsoever you have appointed to any such Employment, and intrusted with a Power to dispose of all Conjunctions which may happen to arise, that Man, if he thought proper to follow the Example of *Æschines* in selling himself

to your Enemies, is capable of deceiving and deluding you, and producing Mischiefs as great, as those, which Æschines himself hath occasioned. But although you often employ very worthless People in the Direction of your Affairs, not for that Reason are those Affairs themselves worthless, or do not become honourable to the Republic, when they are conducted by others. Far otherwise. Let us then conclude, that Philip did indeed destroy the Phocæans, but that these Ambassadors assisted him. It is your Duty therefore to consider and inquire, whether, as far as the Preservation of the Phocæans depended on their Embassy, they have voluntarily ruined, and destroyed that People; not whether Philip was powerful enough in himself to have destroyed them. For to what Purpose such Inquiries? But give me the Decree of the Senate, which was formed when I made my Report of our Embassy; then give me the Testimony of the Clerk, who laid it before the Senate, that you may be convinced, I was not then silent, or now alone separate myself from their Administration, but that I instantly accused them, and foresaw our present Calamities. The Senate, who were not hindered from hearing me declare the Truth, neither applauded, nor thought them worthy of being invited to any public Entertainment, although, since the Foundation of the City, no other Ambassadors had ever suffered such an Indignity; not even Timagoras, whom the People afterwards capitally condemned. But these Am-

ambassadors suffered it. First read the Testimony; then the Decree.

TESTIMONY. DECREE.

Here are no Praises, no Invitation from the Senate to the Ambassadors; or if Æschines asserts the contrary, let him prove, let him make them appear. But it is impossible.

INDEED, if we had all acted in the same Manner, most justly had the Senate refused its Praises to us all; for undeniably our Conduct in general was greatly criminal. But if some of us preserved, while others betrayed, their Integrity, it is apparent, that the Innocent have been obliged to participate of one common Infamy with the Guilty. “But how shall you all without Difficulty distinguish, who is guilty?” Remember, who blamed the Conduct of these Ambassadors upon the Instant they returned. For it is manifest, that a Man, who was conscious of his own Guilt, would have been contented with being silent; and if he could have eluded an immediate Inquiry, would never afterwards render an Account of his Conduct. But to the Man, who is conscious of his Innocence, it is most afflicting to be silent, when his Silence exposes him to the Suspicion of being a Partner in the Crimes and Guilt of others. But I stood forth the Accuser of these Ambassadors, when they returned from their Embassy, nor have ever by any of them been accused.

SUCH

SUCH was the Decree of the Senate; but when a general Assembly was convened, and Philip had marched into Thermopylæ (for their principal Crime was having given Philip an Opportunity of surprizing the Phocæans) when it was become necessary for you to take Cognizance of your Affairs, to consult, and to execute, they rendered it difficult for you at once to hear of Philip's Approach, and to determine how you should act. In addition to these Mischiefs no Man read the Senate's Decree to the People; the People heard it not; but Æschines harangued the Assembly, as I have repeated to you, upon the numerous and magnificent Advantages, which Philip (so he assured us) had granted to his Persuasions, and for which the Thebans had set a Price upon his Head. Thus, although you were terrified at Philip's March, and angry at them, who had not informed you of it, yet you became more temperate, and even to such a Degree, as to expect whatever you thought proper to desire. You would neither hear me speak, nor any other. Philip's Letter was then read, which Æschines, who had staid behind us in Macedonia, had himself written. It was an open, manifest Defence of the guilty Administration of his Collegues. For it mentions his having hindered them, when they were determined to go into the Cities of Greece, and require the Oaths of Philip's Confederates in Ratification of the Peace, and his having detained them, that they might assist him in reconciling the Alenfes and Pharfalians, thus taking from them,

and appropriating to himself, all their Crimes. But with Regard to the Phocæans, and Thespians, and all the Promises he had made, not a single Syllable. Nor did this happen by meer Accident; but that Vengeance, which was justly due to those, who had never acted, during their Embassy, in Obedience to your Decrees, he voluntarily takes upon himself, and professes himself the Cause of all their Crimes, because you are unable, so I presume he thinks, to punish him. Every Circumstance, by which he could deceive the Republic, or despoil her of her Possessions, these he takes to himself, that you might have no Pretence to accuse, or complain of Philip, since they are neither mentioned in his Letters, nor any of his Memorials. Secretary, read the Letter, which Æschines wrote himself, and which he himself sent, that you may see, whether it be such as I have represented. Read.

The L E T T E R.

You hear, O Men of Athens, this Letter; how elegant and humane; but of the Phocæans, or Thebans, or any others, with regard to whom Æschines had made such Declarations, not one single Expression. But there is nothing true, nothing sincere in this Letter, as you shall instantly perceive. The Alenfes, for the Sake of whose Reconciliation with the Pharfalians, he says he had detained his Colleagues, have experienced such a Reconciliation, that they are driven from their
native

native Country, and their City is totally destroyed; while Philip, who, it seems, is solicitous to find an Opportunity of obliging you, does not even profess an Intention of restoring their Liberty to the Wretches, whom he has taken Prisoners. It hath often appeared in Evidence before the People, and shall again appear, that I took with me a Talent for their Ransom, while Æschines, willing to deprive me of the Honour of such an Act of Humanity, persuaded Philip to write, that he would not suffer them to be ransomed. But what is still of far greater Importance, he, who wrote in the first Letter we received, “ Thus have I expressly mentioned the Benefits I purpose to confer upon you, if I were perfectly assured, that an Alliance could be formed between us,” yet the Moment that Alliance is concluded, he then declares, he knows not in what Instance he can oblige you. What! did he not know, what he himself had promised? He would certainly have known, if he had not intended to deceive. To convince you, that he wrote these very Words, take his first Letter, and read me the Passage. Begin.

The PASSAGE is read.

THUS, before he obtained a Peace, he promised, if you concluded an Alliance with him, to write what wonderful Obligations he would confer on the Republic; but when both were at length obtained, he then declares, he knows not in what

Manner

Manner he can oblige you. If you inform him how he may act with Regard to you without Infamy, or Dishonour to himself; or if he should absolutely promise, and you should prevail upon yourselves to ask a Favour, he then flies for Refuge to his usual Pretences, and leaves you nothing, but Excuses and Apologies.

THESE and many other Circumstances might have instantly convicted him, and instructed you not to suffer your Affairs to be totally ruined, if his Promises of restoring the Thespians and Platæans, and his Menaces of immediately chastising the Thebans had not hindered you from perceiving the real State of your Affairs. However, these Promises and Menaces, if the Republic alone were supposed to hear and be amused by them, were not unwisely employed; but if really designed to be carried into Execution, they had better been passed over in Silence. Because if the Thebans were already in such a Situation, that although they foresaw, yet they were unable to prevent, their Ruin, why were not these Menaces executed? If that Ruin was prevented by their being thus made sensible of their Danger, who was the Discoverer? Was it not Æschines? But Philip never intended their Destruction, nor did Æschines either propose, or desire it. He therefore stands acquitted of any Guilt in making the Discovery. But it was necessary, that you should be amused by this Language, and de-

determine not to hear the Truth from me; that you should remain at home, and a Decree be obtained, by which the Phocæans should be totally destroyed. With this Intention were these Intrigues thus curiously woven, and you were thus harangued.

WHEN I heard him making these magnificent Promises, I was perfectly convinced of their Falseness, and for what Reasons I was convinced, I will inform you. First, because when Philip was to give his Oath in Ratification of the Peace, the Phocæans were by him and Æschines expressly excluded from the Capitulation; whereas all Mention of them should have been passed over in Silence and omitted, if it were intended to preserve them: secondly, because neither Philip's Ambassador, nor Philip's Letter, but Æschines alone, ever made such a Promise. Having formed my Conjectures upon these Circumstances, I rose and came forward on the Tribunal, and endeavoured to contradict him. But when you refused to hear, I kept Silence, entering only this Protest (which by all the Gods I conjure you to remember) that I neither knew these Promises, nor had any Share in the Intrigues of your Ambassadors; I added, neither did I expect any good Success from them. When you received the Expression, that I did not expect any Success, with some Resentment, I declared to you, " O Men of Athens, if the Event of these Measures be prosperous,

“ perous, give to these Ambassadors your Praises, and Ho-
 “ nours, and Crowns ; I claim no Share of them ; but if the
 “ contrary should happen, then let them suffer your just In-
 “ dignation. For my Part I retire.” Not yet, replied Æschines ; do not yet retire ; only remember, not to claim any of these Rewards, when they are distributed. I answered, I should then be most unjust. Here Philocrates rose with Insolence and Invectives, “ It is nothing wonderful, O Men of
 “ Athens, that Demosthenes and I never agree in Opinion ;
 “ for he drinks Water, but I drink Wine ;” and then you laughed.

Now consider the Decree, that Philocrates proposed immediately after these licentious Pleasantries, for it is, in all its Parts, most worthy of your Attention ; but if we compute at what Time it was proposed, and the Promises Æschines made on the Occasion, it will appear, that your Ambassadors delivered up the Phocæans to Philip, only not with their Hands tied behind them. Read the Decree.

The DECREE.

You behold, O Men of Athens, this Decree ; how filled with Praises, and honourable Appellations, “ Let the Peace and Con-
 “ federacy, we have concluded with Philip, continue to his
 “ Posterity, and let him receive Praise for his Promises of act-
 “ ing with Justice.” Yet he really promised nothing. So far
 other-

otherwise, that he knew not wherein he could oblige you. But Æschines made Speeches and Promises for him. Philocrates therefore finding, that you were earnestly inclined to rely upon these Speeches, inserted in his Decree, “ that if the
“ Phocæans acted not as they ought, but refused to restore the
“ Temple of Apollo to the Amphictyons, the Athenian People
“ should send Succours against those, who hindered this Measure from being carried into Execution.” While you therefore, O Men of Athens, remained inactive, nor marched out of your own Territories; when the Lacedæmonians, sensible of the Fraud, were returned home, and no other Amphictyons appeared at the Assembly, except the Thessalians and Thebans, then did Æschines write in the gentlest Language in the World, “ that the Phocæans should deliver up the Temple to the Amphictyons.” What Amphictyons? No others were assembled, except the Thebans and Thessalians. But should he not have convoked a general Council? Should he not have waited, untill they were assembled? Should he not have ordered Proxenus to succour the Phocæans, and the Athenians to take the Field? Nothing of the kind was ordered. “ But Philip sent two Letters, in which he called upon you to
“ march.” But not with an Intention, that you should march. By no means. Because, he never would have consumed the Time, in which you might possibly have been able to have gone, and then have called upon you; he never would have

delayed me, when I had determined to return ; nor would he have commanded this Mercenary to make such Harangues to you, by which you were very little influenced to go. He intended, that you should imagine he would perform whatever you thought proper to demand, and therefore would not oppose him by your Decrees ; that the Phocæans should not repel his Invasion, or resist him, but relying on the Hopes of your Assistance, or broken by Despair, should yield at Discretion. Read Philip's Letters.

The L E T T E R S.

THESE Letters do indeed, and with Earnestness call upon you to march. But if your Ambassadors had acted with Integrity, what other Course could they have taken, than unanimously to have decreed, that you should take the Field, and that Proxenus, who they knew was in that Part of the Country, should instantly succour the Phocæans? Yet it is apparent, they acted directly contrary, and indeed with some Appearance of Reason. For they paid no Regard to Philip's Letters, but to the Intention, with which they were conscious he wrote them. This Intention therefore they laboured, and with Ardour, to support.

BUT the Phocæans, when they heard what you had determined in your Assembly; when they received the Decree of
Phi-

Philocrates, with this Declaration of Æschines, and his Promises, were in every Instance undone. For consider their Circumstances. Some of their Citizens distrusted Philip, and they were wise; yet they were induced to place a Confidence in him. How induced? Because, although they imagined, Philip would deceive them a thousand Times, they never could imagine, that the Athenian Ambassadors would dare to deceive the Athenians. They believed what Æschines declared, and that the approaching Destruction was to fall, not upon them, but the Thebans. There were some others, who determined to suffer the last Extremities, and to repel the Invasion; but they were dispirited by the Persuasion, that Philip would prove their Friend, and by their Apprehension, if they refused to act in Compliance with your Decree, that the Forces, which they had expected should succour them, would be employed against them. Besides, some of them imagined you had repented of the Peace you had concluded with Philip. Your Ambassadors therefore demonstrated to them your having decreed this Peace to your Posterity, that they might in every Instance despair of your Assistance, and all these Circumstances were for this Reason collected into one Decree; in my Opinion, the greatest Crime they were capable of committing. Because, when they concluded this Peace with a mortal Man, made powerful only by some favourable Conjunctions, they fixed an immortal Infamy on the Republic, and not only deprived her

of all other possible Assistance, but even of the good Favour of Fortune. That they proceeded to such Excess of Wick dness, as not only to injure the present Race of Athenians, but all their future Descendants, is it not intolerable? Never could you have endured the inserting this Article “ and to his Posterity,” if you had not relied upon the Promises of Æschines, upon which the Phocæans relied, and were undone. For after delivering themselves up to Philip, and surrendering their Cities into his Hands, they have experienced every Calamity directly opposite to his Promise.

BUT manifestly to convince you, that these Assertions are true, and that the Phocæans were utterly destroyed by these Ambassadors, I shall compute the Time, in which every Circumstance happened, and whoever contradicts me, let him arise, and take Part of the Hours, appointed to me by the Laws for this Indictment. (6) The Peace, therefore, was concluded.

on

6. A literal Translation of this Passage would to an English Reader be wholly unintelligible; *Let him speak in my Water*; yet it may be Matter of Curiosity to know the Meaning of the Expression. A certain Portion of Time, computed probably by the Importance of the Cause, was appointed for the Plaintiff and Defendant. This Time was measured by an Hour-Glass of Water, which was stopped when any thing foreign to the Cause intervened, or when their Laws, Decrees, Evidence,

or even Verses, quoted by the Orator, were read by the Secretary. These, we may believe, were therefore artfully used to relieve the Fatigue of the Speaker, and the Attention of his Audience. Sometimes, as in the present Instance, we find their Orators insulting each other, as in a Confidence of their Success, with an Offer of the remainder of their Water, or, according to the present Translation, *of the Time allotted to their Pleading.*

on the nineteenth of February. We were absent full three Months on our Embassy for demanding Philip's Oath in Ratification of it, and that whole Time the Phocæans continued in Safety. (7) We returned from our Embassy the thirteenth of May. Philip had now entered the Pass of Thermopylæ, and made such Promises to the Phocæans, as none of them believed. Certainly; for otherwise, they never would have come hither for Succours. An Assembly was afterwards convened the sixteenth of May, when these Ambassadors by Perfidy and false Representations utterly ruined your Affairs. In five Days, as I compute, the Phocæans might have been informed of your Determinations, for their Ambassadors were then in Athens, and it much concerned them to know what Proposals Æschines and his Collegues brought home, and what you had decreed. The Phocæans therefore, according to my Calculation, might have known your Determinations upon the twentieth. I mean in five Days from the sixteenth. Then followed the twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, in which a Treaty was concluded.

7. Our Author is not perfectly exact in his reckoning. The Ambassadors departed on their Embassy, according to Doctor Taylor's Calculation, after the third of March, and returned the thirteenth of May. The Senate met the sixteenth, when they made the Report of their Embassy. Demosthenes computes, that the Phocæans might have received the Athenian Decree the twentieth. On

the twenty-third an Alliance was concluded between Philip and Thebes, and the Phocæans were destroyed. The Senate was assembled in the Prytæum, and the News of this Destruction reported at Athens on the twenty-fifth.

This shorter Computation may be useful to the Reader, and he is indebted for it to Doctor Taylor.

concluded between Philip and the Thebans, when every Thing was ruined, and brought to their final Period. How is this manifest? The twenty-seventh the Senate assembled in the Pyraeum upon the State of your Marine, when Dercyllus arrived from Chalcis, and gave you an Account, that Philip had delivered every Thing into the Hands of the Thebans. He reckoned that Day the fifth from the Conclusion of the Treaty, and the twenty-third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, make exactly the five Days, which Dercyllus computed from the Treaty. Thus by an exact Calculation of the Days, upon which these Ambassadors made their Report of their Embassy, and published their Decree, they stand convicted of having strenuously assisted Philip, and acted in Concert with him for the Destruction of the Phocæans.

BESIDES, that none of the Phocæan Cities were taken by Siege, or by Assault, but were utterly ruined by the Treaty they had concluded, is a convincing Proof, that they suffered these Calamities, because they were persuaded by your Ambassadors, that Philip would preserve them. For they were not ignorant of Philip's Character. Here, give me our Treaty with the Phocæans, and the Decrees by which Philip rased their Walls, that you may behold what Alliance subsisted between us, and what Misfortunes have befallen them through the Counsels of these Enemies of the Gods. Read.

ARTICLES of Alliance between the ATHENIANS and PHOCÆANS.

SUCH were the Connexions between you and them: Friendship, Alliance, Succours. Now hear what Calamities they have endured by this Man's hindering you from assisting them. Read.

The CONVENTION between PHILIP and the PHOCÆANS.

Do you hear, O Men of Athens? He says, "the Convention between Philip and the Phocæans," not between the Thebans and Phocæans; the Theſſalians and Phocæans; the Locrians or any other People. And again; he ſays, "they muſt deliver up their Towns to Philip," not to the Thebans, Theſſalians, or any other People. Wherefore? Be-
 cauſe Æſchines had declared to you, that Philip had marched into Thermopylæ for the Preſervation of the Phocæans. They therefore placed their entire Confidence in him; they directed all their Views towards him; they concluded a Peace with him. Let the Secretary read the Remainder. Then do you conſider what they believed, and what they ſuffered. Have they any Likeneſs or Reſemblance to the Promiſes of Æſchines? Read.

The DECREE of the AMPHICTYONS.

CALAMITIES, O Men of Athens, more terrible, or greater than theſe, were never known among the Grecians, neither in

ours, nor, I believe, in any former Age. Of Conquests thus important, thus numerous, one single Man, by the Perfidy of these Ambassadors, is become absolute Master, even while Athens still exists, to whom it hath belonged by ancient Custom to hold the Sovereignty of Greece, and not to look with unconcern upon such Mischiefs.

IN what Manner, therefore, the unhappy Phocæans were destroyed, is apparent, not only from those Decrees, but from all the Operations, that followed. A dreadful spectacle, O Men of Athens, and full of Misery. When we lately travelled to Delphos we were of necessity compelled to see all this Wretchedness; Houses in Ruins; Walls rased to the Ground; the Country deserted by the young Men; a few Women and Children, and old Men, most miserable. It is impossible for Language to express the Calamities of this unhappy People, even at this Moment. Yet I have heard you all declare, that they formerly gave their Vote in Opposition to the Thebans, when the Servitude of this Republic was under Debate. What Sentence therefore, what Judgement do you imagine, O Men of Athens, would our Ancestors, if they returned to Life, pronounce upon the Authors of this Destruction? In my Opinion, they would not imagine themselves guiltless of the Treachery, by which the Phocæans were thus totally ruined, if they did not stone them with even their own Hands. For is it not most dishonourable,

dishonourable, or rather, if there be any Crime beyond such Turpitude, is it not most impious, that they, by whom we were preserved; who gave their Vote for our Preservation, should in return experience such Ruin, by the Perfidy of these Traytors, or by their Neglect should have suffered such Misery, as no other Grecians ever knew? who was the Author of this Misery? who was the Impostor, that deceived you? was it not Æschines?

ALTHOUGH upon many Accounts, O Men of Athens, you may esteem Philip extremely happy, yet in this Instance of his good Fortune, certainly superior to the rest of Mankind; for by all our Gods and Goddesſes, I cannot name another Man, in our Age, so fortunate. To have taken great Cities, and subdued large Territories, with all other Actions of this kind, are indeed worthy of our Emulation, and, I confess, exceeding glorious. Unquestionable. Yet we may affirm, they have been performed by many others. But this peculiar Felicity, which was never granted to any other Mortal----What is it? That when he wanted Villains to carry on his Designs, he found even greater, than he himself expected, or desired. For how justly may Philocrates and Æschines be said to deserve this Character, who have sold themselves to Philip, and deceived you in the very Affairs, in which Philip, although so deeply interested, neither dared to venture a Lie himself, nor insert

it in his Letters; nor have any of his Ambassadors ever asserted it for him. Antipater and Parmenio, the Ministers of a despotic Master, who were never to hold Friendship or Correspondence with you afterwards, were cautious however, that you should not be imposed upon by them. On the contrary, these chosen Ambassadors of the Athenians; of a City, that enjoys the most unbounded Liberty, had the Hardiness to deceive even you, whom they were frequently to meet; whose Faces they were to behold; with whom they must necessarily live the Remainder of their Lives; to whom they were obliged to render an account of their Embassy, even you they deceived. Can human Creatures be more wicked, or rather more desperate, even to Madness?

BUT to convince you, that this Wretch is already devoted by you to the infernal Gods, and that it were unholy and impious in you to acquit the Man, who hath uttered such Falsehoods, here; take and read the Imprecation contained in this Law.

THE IMPRECATION.

THE Herald in your Name, O Men of Athens, pronounces these Imprecations in every Assembly, as commanded by the Laws, and repeats them to the Senate, when they sit. Neither is it in the Power of Æschines to affirm, he knows them not; because, when he was Secretary to your Assemblies, and a
 Servant

Servant in the Senate, he repeated this Law to the Herald. Were it not therefore absurd and monstrous, that what you yourselves have commanded; what you implore the Gods to execute in your Name, you yourselves shall refuse to execute, when it is, this Day, in your Power? On the contrary, the Man, whom you implore the Gods totally to destroy, himself, his Relations, and his Family, will you yourselves acquit? No, certainly. Him, who can escape your Vengeance, assign to the Gods for his Punishment; but him, whom you have within your own Power, do not give them the Trouble of punishing.

BUT to such Excess of Shamelessness and Audaciousness, I hear he is arrived, that forgetting all his Actions, all his Declarations, all the Promises, by which he had deceived the Republic, and as if he were to be tried before other Judges, not before you, who are conscious of his crimes, he proposes, first, to accuse the Lacedæmonians, then the Phocæans and Hegesippus. (8) But the Design is absolutely ridiculous, or rather
a shameful

(8) The Lacedæmonians had been invited by Philip to a Congress, in which they expected some certain Territories, they had formerly possessed, would be restored to them. They were not only disappointed, but convinced besides, that

Philip had determined utterly to destroy the Phocæans. They avoided therefore all future Engagements with him, and left him, perhaps, not without Resentment. That Resentment, as we may believe Æschines insinuated, really injured

a shameful Excess of Impudence. For whatever Objections he shall now make with regard to the Phocæans, the Lacedæmonians and Hegesippus; either that the Phocæans refused to receive Proxenus; that they were impious, or guilty of Baseness and Improbability, or any other Crimes, of which he shall accuse them, yet all these were equally true before the Ambassadors returned, and consequently could not have been Obstacles to their Preservation. (9) Who made this Declaration? Even Æschines himself. For he did not declare, that their Safety depended upon the Lacedæmonians, or their receiving Proxenus, or upon the Opposition of Hegesippus, or this, or any other particular Circumstance; he never, at that time, made any Declaration of this Kind. But passing over all such Objections, he declared expressly, that he had persuaded Philip to preserve the Phocæans; to suffer Bœotia to be again inhabited, and to give you a Power of acting as you pleased; that all these Promises should be fulfilled in too or three Days, and that the Thebans,

for

the Phocæans, and hastened their Destruction.

Hegesippus, an Orator and Magistrate of Athens, had opposed the Resolution of sending Ambassadors to negotiate a Peace with Philip. He is therefore imagined to have provoked that Monarch to the Ruin of Phocis.

(9) The Translator here follows a conjectural Reading proposed by Doctor Taylor; *ἢ ὡς ἀσεβείας εἰσιν, ἢ ὡς πονηροί, ἢ ὅ, τι ἂν δήποτε, &c.* It is sup-

ported and explained by the Scholiast. Æschines accuses the Phocæans of Baseness and Want of Probity, because, when they were yet in Alliance with Athens, they refused to receive her General Proxenus, from a Suspicion, that he intended the Ruin of their Cities. He charges them with Impiety, for refusing to admit some sacred Festivals, which the Athenians were accustomed to celebrate in Phocis.

for his success in these Negotiations, had put a Price upon his Head.

Do not therefore hear, or suffer him to tell you of any Errors, committed before his own Declaration, either by the Lacedæmonians or Phocæans. Do not permit him to accuse the Phocæans of want of Probity. Neither did you formerly protect the Lacedæmonians for their own Merit, nor these devoted Eubæans, nor many other Nations, but because it was of Advantage to the Republic, as, in the present Instance, to protect the Phocæans. But what Crime did the Phocæans, or the Lacedæmonians, or you, or any other Mortal commit after these Declarations of Æschines, that should prevent the Effects of his Promises? Ask him this Question, which he shall never be able to answer. For only five Days intervened, in which he told his Falsehoods, and you believed them; in which the Phocæans heard them; then voluntarily yielded themselves, and perished. From whence I imagine, and it is in itself clearly manifest, that every Fraud, and every Artifice, was employed for the Destruction of that People. Because, at the time when Philip had it not in his Power to march into Thermopylæ without an open Violation of the Peace, but yet was forming his Operations for that Purpose, he invited the Lacedæmonians to a Conference, and promised every Thing they demanded, in hopes of preventing their being reconciled, under your Mediation,

diation, with the Phocæans. But when he had marched into Thermopylæ, and the Lacedæmonians, sensible of the intended Treachery, had quitted his Party, he once more secretly employed this Æschines to deceive you; lest if you should again perceive, that he was carrying on his secret Practices with the Thebans, he might be compelled to hazard some unfavourable Conjunction; to engage in another War, and to consume his Time while the Phocæans defended themselves, and you sent them Succours; lastly, that he might without Fatigue or Danger accomplish the Designs, in which he hath since succeeded. Yet because Philip deceived the Lacedæmonians and Phocæans, not, for that Reason, should Æschines with Impunity deceive the Athenians.

IF he should assert, that Chersonesus is preserved to the Republic instead of Phocis, and Thermopylæ, and other Places we have lost, let me implore you by the Gods, do not admit; do not endure, in Addition to the Injuries you have already received from this Embassy, that this Reproach should be formed, out of his Defence, against the Commonwealth, that for the sake of secretly preserving your own Possessions, you have abandoned the Safety of your Confederates; because, in Truth, you never acted in this manner. For after the Conclusion of the Peace, and while Chersonesus yet remained in your Possession, the Phocæans continued four whole Months

in Safety; but afterwards you were deceived by the Perfidy of Æschines, and they were destroyed. Besides you will find Chersonesus in greater danger at present, than at that Time. For whether could Philip have been more easily punished for any Invasion, before he had possessed himself of our Dominions, or at present? In my own Opinion, much more easily at that Time. How precarious therefore is the safety of Chersonesus, if you take away the Fear and Danger of invading it?

BUT Æschines, I hear, intends to urge in his Defence, that he is surpris'd, why Demosthenes, and none of the Phocæans, accuses him. Permit me to explain the Nature of this Objection. The best and wisest of the Phocæans, now driven out of their Country, are contented, after having suffered such Calamities, to rest in Quiet; nor is any one of them inclined to undertake, for the general Advantage, a particular Quarrel. Besides, they could not have maintained a Prosecution without Money, and had not a Friend who would furnish the Expence. (10) Nor have even I given them any Thing to engage them

(10) Our Orator seems, at first Sight, incautiously to have mentioned an Objection, that might possibly be turned against him. "Why had not you, Demosthenes, Generosity enough to support this unhappy People in this Prosecution?" No; he disclaims all Appearance of an illicit Correspondence

with the Accusers of Æschines. He will not hire their Clamours in his Favour. He wants not their Evidence; for Truth and Facts themselves are his Witnesses. Thus he artfully excuses the Absence of the Phocæans, and asserts his own Integrity.

them to stand round the Tribunal, and with Clamours to declare the Miseries they have endured; because Truth and the Facts themselves clamorously declare them. But their whole People are so cruelly, so miserably treated, that they have little Interest in accusing the Magistrates of Athens, who are here obliged to render an account of their Conduct. Not to be enslaved; not to die with Terror of the Thebans, and Philip's mercenary Troops, whom, dispersed as they are in Villages, and deprived of their Arms, they are compelled to maintain with Provisions. Do not therefore suffer him to make such Objections; but command him either to prove, that the Phocæans are not really ruined, or that he never promised Philip would preserve them. These are the Accounts you ought to give of your Embassy; what was done? what Declarations you made, when you returned? If true, be acquitted; if false, be punished. "But the Phocæans do not appear to prosecute." What imports it? I verily think you have treated them in such a manner, as far as was in your Power, that they are neither able to assist their Friends, nor to repel their Enemies.

YET besides the Ignominy and Dishonour attending this Embassy, I can easily demonstrate, that the greatest Dangers surround the Republic. For who among you is ignorant, that during the Phocæan War, and while that People were Masters
of

of Thermopylæ, you had no Terrors of the Thebans, nor were apprehensive, that either they, or Philip, could march into Peloponnesus, or Eubœa, or Attica? But that security, which the Commonwealth enjoyed, both from the situation of the Place, and the Difficulty, that Philip would have found in forcing his Passage, persuaded by the Fraud and Falsehood of your Ambassadors, you have lost for ever. That Security, which was fortified by Arms, and perpetual War; by powerful Cities, confederate Forces, and a large Extent of Territories, you have neglected even to Ruin. In vain were your first Succours sent to Thermopylæ, upon which you expended more than two hundred Talents, computing the private Contributions of those, who undertook the Expedition. In vain your Hopes of Vengeance against the Thebans.

BUT among the many criminal Instances, in which Æschines hath been the Minister of Philip, permit me to mention certainly the most opprobrious both to you and the Republic. When Philip first resolved upon all those Measures with Regard to the Thebans, which he hath since executed, Æschines, by his Declarations to the contrary, and by his manifestly discovering your aversion to those Measures, increased the Hatred of the Thebans towards you, and improved their good Opinion of Philip. Was it possible to treat you more injuriously? Take and read the Decrees of Diophantus and Callisthenes, that you

may be convinced, while you acted with a due Regard to your own Dignity, you were esteemed worthy, both by yourselves and others, of offering Sacrifices and Praises to the Gods; but the Moment you were deluded by these Ambassadors, you transported your Children and your Wives into the City, and decreed, that the Festival of Hercules should be celebrated within the Walls, even in Time of profound Peace. (11) I shall therefore wonder, if you acquit the Man without some signal Vengeance, whose Crimes have even hindered you from worshipping the Gods according to the Usages of your Ancestors. Read the Decree of Diophantus.

The DECREE.

THUS you decreed, O Men of Athens, at that Time, according to the Dignity of the Actions you performed. Now read the Decree of Callisthenes.

The DECREE.

THUS you decreed when under the Influence of their Counsels. Yet not upon these Hopes, nor at the Beginning would
you

(11) These two Decrees are set in Opposition to each other. When Philip had been repulsed in a former Invasion of Phocis, Diophantus ordered public Sacrifices in Gratitude to the Gods. But when Philip afterwards laid waste that unhappy Country, Callisthenes decreed,

that the People of Attica should carry their Families into Athens, and that the Festival of Hercules, which used to be solemnized in the Country, should now be celebrated within the Walls of the City.

SCHOLIAST.

you have concluded this Peace and Confederacy, nor afterwards even by their Persuasion have inserted that Article, “ and to “ his Posterity,” but because you were convinced, that you should receive some marvellous Benefits by their Negotiations. How often you were afterwards alarmed, when you heard that the Armies of Philip were approaching Porthmus or Megara, you are all perfectly conscious. It is not therefore the proper Subject of your Inquiries, whether Philip ever invaded Attica, but whether he had it in his Power, by the Practices of those Men, to invade it, whenever he pleased. To this Point alone you should fix your Attention, and keep this Danger full in your View, that the Author of it, by whose Machinations that Power was given to Philip, may be detested and punished.

I KNOW that Æschines will avoid the Proofs of this Accusation, and endeavour to carry you away as far as possible from Facts, by displaying the Blessings, that arise to Mankind from Peace, and the Calamities, that spring from War; and finally, that he will pronounce a Panegyric upon Peace, and make it his Defence. But even by this Defence is he condemned. For if Peace, which is the Cause of Blessings to others, hath been to us the Cause of such Distresses, and Confusion, what shall we conclude, except, that by receiving Presents from Philip, he hath corrupted a Thing in its own Nature most excellent? “ But our three hundred Gallies, with all their Equipage,

“ were they not saved? Our Revenues, were they not, and “ will they not hereafter be augmented by the Peace?” Such Objections may possibly be made. But you should recollect in answer, that Philip’s Affairs gathered much greater Strength in Proportion; his military Operations; his Territories and Revenues, became more considerable. Somewhat of this Kind we also gained. But while the rest of Mankind obtain some Advantages either for themselves, or their more powerful Confederates, by their Revenues and their Alliances, ours have been sold by these Traytors; they have been ruined and enfeebled, while those of Philip are become far greater and more formidable. Neither is it just, that he should grow powerful by their Assistance both in his Alliances and his Revenues, and that the Benefits, which naturally arise from Peace, should be estimated to us in recompence of those, which these bad Men have sold. Neither did we receive them as a recompence. Far otherwise. We should have certainly obtained the common Advantages of Peace, to which those others would have been added, if it had not been for your Ambassadors. (12)

UPON

(12) The Passage is not without Obscurity. Our Author reckons an Improvement of the Revenues of a State among the natural, regular Consequences of Peace; but Alliances and Confederacies are among its extraordinary Advantages. The Athenians might have improved and preserved their Revenues,

and yet not have lost their Allies, if their Ambassadors had maintained their Integrity.

The Translator follows a conjectural Reading proposed by Doctor Markland; and strongly supported by the Authority of the Context. *ἢ δὲ τῶν προσόδων κατασχευῆ* instead of *πραγμάτων*.

UPON the whole, O Men of Athens, let us acknowledge it just, that although many severe Misfortunes have happened to the Republic, yet if Æschines be not the Occasion of them, your Anger should not fall on him; or if any other Citizen hath acted according to his Duty, let not the Merit of that Man preserve him. Consider those measures alone of which he is really the Author, then grant him your Favour, if he be worthy of it, and on the contrary, let him feel your Indignation, if his Actions deserve it. But how shall you distinguish with Justice? By not permitting him to confound the Objects of your Inquiries, the Faults of your Generals, the War against Philip, and the Blessings of Peace, but considering each of them separately. For Instance; was War proclaimed against Philip? It was. In this Instance, who impeaches Æschines? Does any one accuse him for the Conduct of this War? None. Acquit him therefore of its Misfortunes. Neither should he mention them in his Defence; because in these doubtful Trials, it is necessary, that the Person accused should produce his Witnesses, and enforce the Proofs of his Innocence, but not impose upon his Judges by defending himself from Crimes, of which he is confessedly not guilty. Therefore be cautious, Æschines, of mentioning the War, because no one accuses you on that account. In another Instance; some of our Orators afterwards persuaded us to make a Peace. We yielded to their
Per-

Perfuasions; we ſent Ambaſſadors to Philip; they brought with them hither the Perſons appointed to ratify the Peace. Here again, does any one accuſe *Æſchines*? Does any one aſſert, that he engaged us to accept this Peace, or that he is guilty, becauſe he brought with him the Perſons appointed to conclude it? Not one. Nothing therefore ſhould be pleaded by him with Regard to the Republic's having concluded this Peace, becauſe he was not the Author of it.

WHAT Crime therefore, my Friend *Demofthenes*, do you impute to him (for ſuch a Queſtion may be aſked) and from whence do you begin to accuſe him? From hence, O Men of Athens; becauſe when you deliberated, not indeed whether a Peace ſhould be concluded, for that was already decreed, but upon what Conditions, he vehemently oppoſed whoever inſiſted upon juſt and reaſonable Terms, and being himſelf corrupted, ſupported *Philocrates*, who formed his Decree upon the Bribes he had received: becauſe, when he was afterwards choſen for the Requiſition of Philip's Oath, he never executed, in any one Inſtance, the Orders you had given him; becauſe he totally ruined thoſe Confederates, who eſcaped from the Dangers of War, and becauſe he told ſuch monſtrous Falſhoods, as no other human Creature, either before, or ſince, ever uttered. For when Philip opened the Negotiations for Peace, *Cteſiphon* and *Ariſtodemus* undertook the Beginning of this Impoſture, but
when

when Affairs were to be carried into Execution, they configned it to Philocrates and Æschines, who received it, and effectually ruined every thing. However, since he is now obliged to render an Account of his Embassy, and submit to the Punishment he deserves, (13) this Contriver of all Villainies, this Enemy to the Gods, this public Notary, I presume, will make his Defence, as if he were tried meerly on Account of the Peace. Not with Design however of pleading his Innocence with regard to other Crimes, besides those of which he is accused (for such a Design were Madness) but he considers, that in all his Conduct there has been nothing estimable, indeed every Thing criminal, whereas an Apology for Peace, if nothing else, hath at least a Name, which is grateful to our Humanity. Yet I fear, O Men of Athens, I greatly fear, we may too late be sensible, that we have engaged in this Peace, like People, who borrow Money at an exorbitant Interest; because, its best Security, and Firmness (the Phocæans and Thermopylæ) these Men have betrayed. Not under his Influence, however, did we at first conclude this Peace. But (it is indeed ridiculous, what I am going to say, yet absolutely true) whoever sincerely rejoices in this Peace, let him acknowledge his Obligation for it to our Generals, whom every one condemns.

Because,

(13) This little Part of the Sentence hath been overlooked by Wolfius, and all his Editors, *καὶ δίκην ὑπέχειν*. The careful Italian Translator gives it, *e patir la pena de gli errori commessi*, and an old anonymous latin Translation, although in somewhat a different Sense, *et iudicium rerum administratarum subire*.

Because, if they had conducted the War according to your Instructions, you never would have endured the Name of Peace. Your Generals therefore have given you this Peace, but your corrupt Ambassadors have rendered it dangerous, uncertain and fallacious. Forbid him then, forbid him his Declamations upon the Blessings of Peace, and confine him to the simple Recital of Facts; because Æschines is not accused for having made this Peace, but the Peace itself is condemned for the Conduct of Æschines. In Proof of this Assertion, if it had been concluded, and you had never afterwards been deceived, nor any of your Confederates destroyed, what mortal Man could this Peace have agrieved, except that it was concluded with Ignominy; and although Æschines made himself a Partner in that Ignominy by giving his Suffrage to Philocrates, yet the Wound was not incurable.

MANY other Mischiefs, I am persuaded, he hath occasioned, and that all this Destruction and Ruin have proceeded from the Turpitude and Corruption of your Ambassadors, I presume, you are universally convinced. For my own Part, so far from introducing a Spirit of Calumny into the Prosecution of this Affair, or expecting you should approve of it, that if his Errors have proceeded from Imprudence or Simplicity, or any other kind of Ignorance, I both acquit him myself, and advise you to acquit him. Yet such Excuses cannot be agreeable either
to

to Policy or Justice, because you never command or compel your Citizens to undertake the Administration of your Affairs, but when any of them persuades himself, that he is able to support the Burthen of Ministry, then, acting like Men of Wisdom and Humanity, you receive him with Complacency and without Envy. You give him your Suffrages; you commit your Affairs into his Hands. If he succeeds, he shall be honoured, and distinguished from the Vulgar; if he be unfortunate, shall he make Excuses and Apologies? Unreasonable and unjust. It will not satisfy our Confederates, who were destroyed, or their Children, their Wives, or any others, if by my Imprudence (that I may not say his Imprudence) they have suffered such Calamities. Far otherwise. Yet pardon Æschines even these atrocious and excessive Crimes, if he shall appear to have committed them through Simplicity, or any Sort of Ignorance; but if through his own Depravity he hath received Bribes and Presents; or if he shall be clearly convicted even by his own Actions, then, if possible, consistently with your Laws, let him suffer Death; if not, let him live, but make him an Example to the rest of Mankind.

Now consider with yourselves how just will be his Condemnation. The Declarations he made you concerning the Phœceans, the Thespians and Eubœans (if he had not sold himself and voluntarily deceived you) he must of Necessity have

either positively heard Philip promise to undertake and perform; or infatuated and imposed upon by his Affability in other Affairs, he must have flattered himself with his Compliance in these Instances. Impossible, but that one of these Assertions should be true, and from either of them, he ought, most certainly of all Mankind, to detest Philip. Why? Because by his Influence Æschines hath committed the most flagitious and shameful Errors. He hath deceived you; he is become infamous; he is adjudged worthy of Death; and if our Proceedings had been conducted as they ought, he had long since been prosecuted as a Traitor. But now, through your Indulgence and Lenity, he gives in his Accounts, and those at what time he pleases. Yet who ever heard the Voice of Æschines accusing Philip? Who ever saw him opposing, or declaiming against him? None. Yet the People of Athens in general, or rather every particular Citizen accused Philip, and at all Times accused him, none of whom he had ever personally injured.

BUT if Æschines had not absolutely sold himself, I should have expected some Expressions like these in his Defence?
 “ Men of Athens, treat me according to your good Pleasure;
 “ I believed; I have been deceived; I have erred; I confess
 “ my

(14) *And all Times accused him,* to prevent the Objection, which might possibly be made, that it was not then a proper Time to accuse him. SCHOLIAST.

“ my Folly; but guard yourselves, O Men of Athens, against
 “ this Macedonian; he is faithless, a Deceiver, a Villain.
 “ Do you not perceive how he hath treated me? how he hath
 “ imposed upon me?” Yet such Expressions neither you, nor
 I have ever heard. Why? Because he was not imposed upon;
 because he was not deceived, but having sold himself, and
 received the Reward of his Perfidy, he made these Decla-
 rations; because he hath betrayed you to Philip, and become
 to him a very faithful, just and honourable Hireling; to you
 a traiterous Ambassador, and Citizen, justly meriting not one,
 but even a thousand Deaths.

NEITHER from these Instances alone is it manifest, that he
 hath made all these Declarations under the Influence of Cor-
 ruption, but also from this Circumstance, that the Thessalians,
 and Philip’s Ambassadors came hither lately to solicit your
 Decrees in Favour of that Monarch to obtain a Seat for him
 among the Amphictyons. Of all Mankind who was most in-
 terested in opposing their Solicitations? Undoubtedly, Æschines.
 Why? Because Philip had acted in direct Contra-
 diction to what Æschines had promised. For he assured us,
 Philip would fortify Thespiæ and Plataea; preserve the Phocæ-
 ans, and repress the Insolence of the Thebans. On the contra-
 ry, he hath rendered the Thebans far more powerful, than
 with regard to your Interest, he ought; he hath absolutely def-

troysed them; he hath not fortified Thespiæ and Plataea; he hath enslaved Orchomenum and Coronæa. What possible Contradictions greater than these? Yet Æschines did not oppose; did not open his Mouth, did not express the least Opposition. Nor is this, atrocious as it is, the most atrocious Circumstance; but that he alone of all the Citizens of Athens supported the Theffalians in their Solicitations; that what the shameless Philocrates did not dare to do, Æschines dared; and when you clamorously interrupted, and refused to hear him, he descended from the Tribunal, and shewing himself with much Ostentation to Philip's Ambassadors, assured them, " many of these " People are exceedingly tumultuous, but few of them will " fight, if there be a Necessity." You certainly remember the Expression, he being himself, O Jupiter! I humbly conceive, a most marvellous Warrior.

YET if we were unable to prove, that any of our Ambassadors were corrupted; if it were not apparent to the Eyes of all Mankind, yet an Inquisition by Tortures, with other Proofs of that sort, would still remain. (15) But if Philocrates hath many a Time not only confessed in your Assemblies, but even made

(15) Our Orator foresees, that Æschines will demand a positive, legal Evidence of the Fact, of which he is accused. He therefore evades the Demand by asserting, that if no other Witnesses appeared, yet his own Slaves, when put to

the Torture, would undoubtedly give their Testimony against him. But what need of any Evidence, when the Criminal confesses, or rather glories in his Crime?

made an ostentatious Display of the Bribes he hath received, by selling Macedonian Corn, by building, by declaring he would go again, even without your Orders, to import Timber from Macedon, and by openly changing Philip's Gold for Attic Money at the Treasury Tables, he cannot, I presume, deny his having received, what he confesses, and even declares with Ostentation. But is there any human Creature so simple, so infatuated, as to suffer the Infamy, and hazard the Danger of a Prosecution, merely that Philocrates might receive the Advantages of his Corruption; or having it in his Power to be numbered with the innocent, would he quarrel with them; would he engage in Support of Philocrates, and voluntarily consent to be prosecuted with him? Impossible. But if you rightly consider, you will find, O Men of Athens, that all these Circumstances are great and evident Signs, that he himself was corrupted.

Now behold the last, but not the least powerful Proof, that Æschines had sold himself to Philip. You certainly know, that when Hyperides accused Philocrates of treason, I professed I had one Difficulty with regard to the Prosecution; how it was possible, Philocrates alone could be guilty of so many, and such flagitious Crimes, and his nine Colleagues innocent. I declared it impossible, because he never would have acted thus openly, if he had not Assurance, that they would support him.

“ That

“ That I may, therefore, neither acquit or condemn any one,
 “ but that the Fact itself may discover the guilty, and absolve
 “ those who had no Partnership in the Crime; let whoever
 “ pleases arise; let him come forward on the Tribunal; let
 “ him make it manifest, that he never had any share in the
 “ Counsels, nor ever approved of the Conduct of Philocrates.
 “ The Man, who shall act in this Manner, I will acquit.”
 These Declarations, as I conceive, you must remember. Yet
 no one appeared; no one shewed himself. However, each of
 the other Anbassadors had it seems, some Excuse; one of them
 had already passed the Accounts of his Embassy; another, per-
 chance, was absent; a third was nearly related to Philip; (16) but
 Æschines had none of these Excuses; yet so absolutely had he
 sold himself, that he not only received the Wages of Corrup-
 tion for Time past, but made it most manifest, that if Philo-
 crates should escape this Prosecution, he would for ever support
 him against you. He therefore never uttered a single Expres-
 sion, not even a Word in Opposition to Philip; as if he were
 determined not to acquit you, though you acquitted Philocra-
 tes; but chose rather to be stigmatized with Infamy, to be
 accused, to suffer your utmost Resentment, than to disoblige
 Philip. Yet what can this Union of Interests mean? Whence

is

(16) There is much Malignity, and much Modesty, says the Scholiast, in this Expression. Phrynon, the Person here intended, was suspected of having profi-

tuted his Son to Philip, from whence our Orator pleasantly calls that Monarch his Relation.

is this abundant Solitude for Philocrates? For however gloriously he might have acted in his Embassy; whatever Advantages he might have gained for the Republic, yet if he confessed, as he did confess, that he had taken Money, it would become an uncorrupted Ambassador to fly from him; earnestly to avoid him, and to give this Testimony of his own Integrity. But Æschines acted not in this Manner.

THESE Facts, O Men of Athens, are they not most conspicuous? Do they not cry aloud, and declare, that Æschines is corrupted, and perpetually committing Crimes for the Money he hath received, not through Imprudence, or Ignorance, or being disappointed in his Expectations? Yet he demands, “ Who gives Evidence of my receiving Money?” Such is his illustrious Defence. Facts themselves, Æschines, of all others the most credible Witnesses. Nor can it be asserted, or even pretended, that they are influenced to give this Evidence against you, either by Persuasion or Interest, but such as you yourself have made them by Treachery and Corruption, such, upon the best Inquiry, do they appear. Yet in addition to this Evidence of Facts, you yourself shall instantly give Testimony against yourself. Rise, therefore; come hither; answer me. Impossible you should deny your being able to answer, through Ignorance or Inexperience. For the extraordinary Prosecutions in which you have appeared, as in a Tragedy, the principal Actor;

Actor; in which you triumphed even without witnesses, and which were of such Importance as to demand a particular Day for their Determination, all these Circumstances make it apparent that you are a most formidable Orator. (17)

WHILE the Crimes of Æschines are thus numerous, thus atrocious, thus abundant in Mischief, as, I presume, you are perfectly convinced, yet no other, in my Judgement, is more flagitious, than that, which I am going to mention, or more evidently takes him in the very Fact of corruption, and convicts him of having set every Thing to sale. When you had determined to send again a third Embassy to Philip, upon those pompous and mighty Hopes, which Æschines had promised, you appointed him and me, and in general the same Ambassadors. I came forward and instantly declared upon Oath, I could not accept the Employment, and while some were clamorously tumultuous, and commanded me to go, I positively refused. Æschines was appointed by your Decree, but when the Assembly was dissolved, the Ambassadors met together and consulted, whom they should leave behind them here; for as Matters were in suspense, and the Event uncertain, there were frequent

(17) He alludes to the extraordinary Prosecution of Timarchus, unsupported by Evidence, and founded only upon general Reports of the Impurity of his Life. He alludes to the theatrical Profession of Æschines, who treated such Prosecutions,

as if they were only dramatic Performances, but in which however he is allowed to have performed a principal Character, and to have appeared a very powerful Orator.

SCHOLIAST,

frequent Meetings, and various Rumours among the Populace in the Town. They were besides extremely apprehensive, that an extraordinary Assembly might be suddenly called; and that having heard me declare the Truth you might decree the necessary Succours to the Phocæans, and Philip might lose that Opportunity of destroying them. Because, if you had only made a Decree, and given them any the least Degree of Hope, they had been still preserved. For it was not, indeed it was not in the Nature of Things, that Philip, if you had not been imposed upon, could have subsisted in Phocis. Impossible to get Supplies of Corn in a Country, uncultivated upon Account of the War; and equally impossible the Importation of it, as your ships were stationed, and Masters of the Sea. Besides, the Cities of the Phocæans were numerous, and hardly to be taken, except in a Length of Time, and by a regular Siege. If Philip had taken one every Day, yet they were two and twenty in Number. Upon these Accounts therefore they left Æschines here, that you might not alter the Resolutions you made, while you were deceived. Yet it was too flagrant, and greatly liable to Suspicion, to swear, without assigning some Cause, that he was incapable of going. “What do you reply? Will you not go to receive the numerous and important “Advantages, which you have promised us? Will you not be an Ambassador?” But it is necessary, that he should remain in Athens. How then shall he act? He counterfeits Sicknes,

and his Brother, taking Execestos, the Physician, with him, goes into the Senate-House, makes Oath, that Æschines is ill, and is himself appointed. But when the Phocæans, five or six Days afterwards, were utterly destroyed, and the Wages of his Perfidy were at an End; he then acted as if some other Opportunity of Corruption were offered him. When Dercyllus returned from Chalcis, and declared to you in the Assembly you held in the Pyræum, that the Phocæans were destroyed; when you, O Men of Athens, upon hearing the News, were justly and sensibly afflicted for their Calamities, and struck with Terrour for yourselves; when you decreed, that all the Children and Women should be removed out of the open Country into the City; that the Frontier-Towns should be put into a State of Defence, the Pyræum fortified, and the Festival of Hercules celebrated within the Walls of Athens; when our Affairs were in this Situation; when such Confusion, such Tumult spread their Terrours through the City, then did this Man of Eloquence, and Wisdom, and distinguished for the Sweetness of his Voice, without any Decree either of the Senate or the People, precipitately hurry himself into an Embassy to the Perpetrator of all these Mischiefs, neither making Account of his Sicknefs, by which he had sworn himself incapable of going, nor that another Ambassador had been appointed in his Place, nor that the Law denounces Death the Punishment of such Crimes, nor that he had declared (a Circumstance in all its

Parts absurd) that the Thebans had set a Price upon his Head; when, besides the Possession of Bœotia, they were Masters of the Territories of the Phocæans, even then did he take his Progress into the midst of Thebes, and into the Camp of the Thebans. But so entirely was he out of his Senses, so totally immersed in Bribes and Corruption, that neglecting and despising all these Considerations he hurried away.

ALTHOUGH such was his Conduct during this Period, yet far more atrocious were his Actions after his Arrival in Macedonia. For while you, and the whole People of Athens esteemed the Sufferings of the miserable Phocæans so severe, so full of Wretchedness, that you neither sent any of your Senators to the Pythian Games, nor the Persons, usually appointed to regulate them; while you deserted these Solemnities, so much honoured by your Ancestors, this Man went to those triumphal Feasts, which the Thebans and Philip celebrated with Sacrifices for their Success, and the Conclusion of the War. He was Partaker of those Libations, which Philip performed, and those Vows, which he pronounced upon the Destruction of the Cities, Territories, and Arms of our Confederates. He was crowned with Philip; he sung with him the Pæan of Victory, and drank with him in Familiarity and Friendship. Nor is it possible, that we should differ in the Representation of these Facts. His Oath is still preserved in the

Temple of the Mother of the Gods among your Records, over which a public Guardian is appointed; and the Decree, which was made upon the Occasion of his refusing this Embassy, is there accurately written. With Regard to his Conduct in Macedonia, his Colleagues, and other Persons, who are here present, will give Evidence against him; they, who have given me this Information, for I was not of the Embassy, but discharged myself by Oath of the Office. Now read me the Decree and the Record; then call the Witnesses.

The DECREE. The RECORD. The WITNESSES.

BUT what Prayers do you imagine did Philip make to the Gods, when he performed his Libations? what did the Thebans make? Did they not pray for Strength in War; for Victory to themselves and their Confederates, and the contrary to those of the Phocæans? Æschines therefore joined in these Prayers, and denounced against his Country those Imprecations, which it is your Duty now to retort upon his Head. He went to Macedonia in Violation of the Law, which pronounces Death upon such an Offence, and when he had arrived there, he was apparently guilty of such Crimes, as merit other Deaths. His Actions before he went, and his Conduct during his Embassy might execute the Sentence of Death upon him, with the strictest Justice.

LET

LET it be therefore your Care, that the Punishment you denounce upon him may be adequate to such Crimes. For were it not the highest Degree of Turpitude, O Men of Athens, after you have publicly and universally condemned the consequences of this Peace, and refused to participate in the Decrees of the Amphictyons; when you have held Philip in Detestation, and suspected him, as if all his Actions were impious and cruel; unjust in themselves, and to you most injurious, yet when you have entered this Court of Judicature to pronounce Sentence upon the Accounts laid before you concerning these Transactions; when you have taken an Oath to judge according to the Interests of the Republic, were it not the utmost Degree of Turpitude, that the Author of all these Mischiefs, whom you have openly surpris'd in the very Perpetration of them, should be acquitted? Will not our other Citizens, or rather will not the Grecians in general, when they behold you angry with Philip, who by making Peace in the midst of War, and by purchasing the Assistance of those, who are accustomed to sell their Abilities, does a Thing which really admits of much Excuse, will they not justly blame you, if you afterwards acquit this Man, who hath basely betrayed your Interests; especially while there are Laws in being, that appoint the last Punishment for such Crimes?

BUT

BUT perhaps they may urge it as an Objection, that it will be the Beginning of another Quarrel with Philip, if you should condemn the Ambassadors, who concluded the Peace. If this Objection be just, I cannot conceive it possible to accuse Æschines of a greater Crime. Because, if Philip, who gave Money, that he might obtain a Peace, be now become so formidable and powerful, that you must no longer regard your Oaths, or the Justice of this Trial, but only consider with your best Attention in what Manner you may oblige him, what Punishment, proportioned to their Crimes, can they suffer, who have been the Authors of these Calamities? On the contrary, I think I can demonstrate, that their Condemnation, if we may form our Judgement upon Conjectures, will be rather a Beginning of an advantageous Friendship with Philip. For be most assured, he does not, O Men of Athens, despise your Republic; nor, because he thought you less useful to him than the Thebans, has he therefore preferred their Alliance to yours; but he hath been well instructed by your Ambassadors, and hath heard what I have formerly declared to you in your Assemblies, and what they never contradicted, “ that the People
 “ are one meer confusion; a Thing of all others most inconstant
 “ and faithless; that as the Waves are agitated in the Ocean, (18)
 “ so

(18) Wolfius reads *πνεῦμα*, *the Winds* and Beauty of the Comparison seems to *are agitated in the Ocean.* But the Force consist in comparing the Agitation of the People

“ so one Man comes, another goes, but none are anxious for
 “ the Public, or even remember it: that he should therefore
 “ gain some particular Friends among you constantly to sup-
 “ port his Interests, and according to his good Pleasure direct
 “ your Administration: that if he succeeded in this Point, he
 “ might easily obtain from you whatever he desired.” Yet
 in my Opinion, if he had heard, that the Persons, who talked
 to him in this Manner, had been instantly crucified, when they
 returned hither, he would have acted like the Persian Monarch.
 “ How did he act?” Having been imposed upon by Timagoras;
 and given him, as it is reported, forty Talents, yet when he
 was informed that Timagoras was put to Death by your Order,
 and that he was neither able to save his own Life, nor to exe-
 cute the Promises he had made him, he was convinced, he had
 given his Money to a Man, who had but little Authority in
 your Affairs. From whence, although he had reduced Amphi-
 polis, a City under your Jurisdiction, to his Obedience, yet
 he enrolled it, when Timagoras was condemned, among the
 Cities, with which he maintained a Confederacy and Alliance,
 nor did he ever give Money to any Athenian Citizen afterwards.
 (19) In the same Manner would Philip then have acted, if he
 had

People in going to and from their Assemblies, to that of the Waves approaching to, and rolling from the Shore. Thus the Integrity of the Metaphor, according to the Language of Critics, is preserved.

(19) The Athenians had sent Timagoras Ambassador to Artaxerxes. At his

Return, he was accused, and found guilty, not of Corruption only, but of prostituting the Honour of his Country by doing Homage to the Persian, contrary to the Customs of Greece. He was capitally condemned.

had seen any one of these Traitors punished, as he deserved. Even now, if he saw them punished, he would act in the same Manner. But when he hears them haranguing in your Assemblies; sees them honoured by you, and accusing others, what should he endeavour to do? Shall he expend greater Sums, when less will be sufficient? Shall he cultivate the Friendship of a whole People, when that of two or three Persons will answer his Purpose? He then were mad indeed. Neither was Philip inclined to any public Act of Beneficence towards the Thebans; far otherwise; but he was influenced by their Ambassadors; in what Manner influenced, I will inform you.

THERE came an Embassy to him from Thebes at the very Time, when, by your appointment, we arrived at Macedonia. Philip offered them Money, and, as they reported, in very considerable Sums, which they refused to accept. He afterwards, drinking with them at a certain Sacrifice and Entertainment, and treating them with exceeding Affability, among many other Presents gave them some Prisoners, with other Spoils of War, untill at length he presented them with the Gold and Silver Cups, in which he drank to them. These they refused, nor prostituted their Integrity. At last, Philon, one of the Ambassadors, addressed him, O Men of Athens, in a Speech well worthy of being pronounced, not by a Theban, but an Athenian Ambassador. (20) He assured him, that he saw with
Pleasure

(20) A People, who could join with Philip against the general Interests and Liberties of Greece, were unworthy of such a Speech, or the Generosity of such

Pleasure and Gratitude the Generosity and Humanity, with which he treated them; but that they were already his Friends, and engaged to him by the Rites of Hospitality, even without these Presents; that they earnestly wished he would transfer this Generosity to the Affairs of their Republic, which were then before him; that he would do Something worthy of himself, and of the Thebans, and then, they promised, that both their whole Commonwealth, and they themselves should be devoted to him for ever.

Now consider, what Consequences, with regard to the Thebans and to you, attended the conduct of these Ambassadors, and then behold of what Importance it is never to sell the Interests of our Country. First, they obtained a Peace, when miserably labouring under the Calamities of War, and sinking beneath the Weight; then the utter Extirpation of their Enemies, the Phocæans, and the total Subversion of their Walls and Cities. Were these the only Advantages? No, by the Gods. Orchomenus, Coronea, Corinæ, Tilphossæum, were added to these, with as much as they desired of the Phocæan Territories. These Benefits the Thebans gained by the Peace, nor could they wish for greater. But their Ambassadors? What Advantages did they gain? Nothing, except their hav-

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Sentiments. An unusual Spectacle, says the Scholiast, to see the Thebans assuming the Character of Athenians, and

Athenians the Sentiments of Thebans. The Orator was Theban; the Oration was of Athens.

ing obtained fuch Blessings for their Country. But lovely, O Men of Athens, and honourable, to have obtained fuch Blessings for their Country, according to the Computation of Virtue and of Glory, which your Ambassadors bartered away for Money.

LET us now compare the mutual Advantages, which the Athenian Republic and her Ambassadors have received from the Peace. Then consider whether there be any Resemblance between them. The Republic therefore hath made a general Cession of all her Dominions, and Confederates; hath given an Oath to Philip, that you shall oppose whoever presumes to preserve them to her; that whoever shall attempt to restore them shall be declared an Enemy, while he, who hath deprived her of them, shall be deemed a Confederate and Ally. These are the Conditions, to which Æschines consented, and which his Coadjutor Philocrates decreed. But when I had gained some Superiority over them in the first Day's Debate, and had persuaded you to ratify the Decree of the Confederates, and to call Philip's Ambassadors into the Assembly, Æschines, having adjourned the Debate to the Day following, prevailed on you to adhere to the Resolution proposed by Philocrates, in which these Conditions were written, and many others yet more enormous. Such were the Consequences, that have resulted to the Public from the Peace, nor is it easy to find many others more dishonourable. But your Ambassadors, who

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concluded this Peace? What have they gained? All other Particulars, which you yourselves have seen, their Buildings, their Importation of Timber and Corn from Macedonia, I shall pass over in Silence, and only mention their Possessions and numerous Estates in the Territories of your ruined Confederates, which annually produce a Talent to Philocrates, and to Æschines thirty Minæ. Is it not then flagitious, O Men of Athens, and miserable, that the Calamities of your Allies should be made an Income to your Ambassadors, and that the very same Peace should produce to the Republic, which sent these Ambassadors, the Destruction of their Confederates, the Ruin of their Dominions, and Infamy instead of Glory, yet to the Ambassadors themselves, who have thus injured their Republic, it should have wrought out Revenues, Estates, Possessions, and Riches, instead of the extremest Indigence. In Proof of these Assertions, call me the Olynthian Witnesses.

The WITNESSES.

I shall not wonder, if Æschines should dare to assert, that it was impossible to obtain an honourable Peace, and such as I demand, because our Generals had unhappily conducted the War. If he gives this Reason, I conjure you by the Gods to ask him, whether he went Ambassador from Athens, or any other Republic. If from any other, which he will declare was victorious in War, and possessed of able Generals, then indeed

he had some Right to take Money; but if from Athens, whence is he thus openly convicted of having received Presents on those very Conditions, upon which the State, that sent him, yielded up her own Possessions? For certainly the Republic, and the Ambassadors she sends, should obtain the same Advantages, if Justice were in any Measure observed. Then consider, whether the Phocæans had a greater Superiority over the Thebans in the late War, or Philip over the Athenians? I am conscious of the Superiority of the Phocæans over the Thebans, for they were Masters of Orchomenus, Coronea, Tilphossæum; they recovered their Troops out of Neosis; killed two hundred and seventy Thebans at Hedylæum; erected a Trophy; gained a Victory over their Cavalry, and even an Iliad of Misfortunes surrounded the Thebans. To you nothing of this Kind ever happened, and may it never happen. This was the severest Circumstance in your War against Philip, that you were unable to hurt him, whenever you pleased, but you were perfectly void of all Apprehension of being injured by him. Whence therefore hath it come to pass, that, from the very same Peace, the Thebans, so greatly inferior in the War, should both preserve their own, and get Possession of their Enemy's Dominions, while every Thing, which you Athenians preserved during the War, was lost by the Peace? Because their Ambassadors never betrayed their Interests, and yours were sold
by

by these Traitors. For that they were really fold, you will be better convinced by what followed. (21)

WHEN the Peace was finally concluded, that Peace which Philocrates propos'd, and Æschines supported; when Philip's Ambassadors were departed, having received your Oaths; when the Wounds we received by their Conduct, were not yet wholly incurable, except that the Peace was inglorious, and unworthy of the Commonwealth (and yet in Recompence of this Infamy we were to expect some marvellous Advantages) even then I requested, and advis'd them to sail with the utmost Expedition to the Hellespont; not to neglect any Opportunity, nor to suffer Philip to take Possession, in the intermediate Time, (22) of any Places in that Country. For I was perfectly convinced, that whatever is neglected in the Negotiations after a War, is lost for ever; because no Power, that hath been persuaded to conclude a Peace upon the general State of their Affairs, will afterwards renew the War to recover the particular Interests they have neglected, but all Parties will continue to hold what they have taken. Besides, the Republic, I imagin'd, could not
have

(21) A Line of the Original is here left untranslated. The Reader will perhaps think it Negligence or Forgetfulness. He may find in Doctor Taylor's Edition upon what Authority, besides

the Necessity of the Context, it hath been omitted.

(22) Between the Conclusion of the Peace on the Side of the Athenians, and the Ratification of it by the Oaths of Philip and his Confederates. SCHOLIAST.

have failed of gaining two very considerable Advantages, if we had gone by Sea. For being present ourselves, and requiring Philip's Oath according to your Decree, he would either have restored the Places he had taken from the Commonwealth, and not invaded any other, or if he had acted otherwise, we might have instantly returned hither to inform you; that being convinced of his Rapaciousness and Perfidy in these distant, and less considerable Instances, you might not have abandoned your nearer, and more important Interests, I mean the Phocæans and Thermopylæ. Because, if he had not seized upon those Streights; if you had not been deceived, your Affairs had been all in perfect Security, and he had cheerfully complied with your just Demands. Nor did I without Reason imagine these Consequences would follow. For if the Phocæans had continued, as at that Time they were, in Safety, and possessed of Thermopylæ, Philip would not have threatened you with any Terrors, that could have prevented your asserting your rightful Claims. He could neither have marched by Land, nor was he powerful enough by Sea, to enter the Territories of Attica, while you could have instantly, if he had refused you the Justice you demanded, shut up his Ports, and again have reduced him, as if he were besieged, to the Extremity of Penury, and a Want of Provisions. He was therefore obliged, not you, to act in Compliance with the Utilities of Peace. That I do not invent these Facts, or fashion them upon what hath since happened,

pened, but that I was sensible of them at the Instant, and in my concern for you, foresaw and told them to these Ambassadors, you will be convinced by what I am going to relate. When there no longer remained any Assembly to be called (the Days of convening them being already past) when your Ambassadors were not yet departed, but here wasted away their Time, I proposed a Decree in the Senate (the People having given that Power to the Senate) that the Embassy should depart with the utmost Expedition, and that Proxenus, your General, should give them convoy to wherever he heard Philip resided. I publicly inserted in the Decree the very Words, which I now repeat. Take and read it.

The DECREE.

THUS I obliged them to leave Athens extremely against their Inclinations, as by their Conduct afterwards you will clearly perceive. But when we arrived at Oreum, and had a Conference with Proxenus, neglecting the shorter Passage by Sea, and the Execution of your Orders, they travelled, as it were, in a Circle, and before we entered Macedonia, we consumed three and twenty Days. All the rest we indolently waited at Pella, before Philip arrived, which, added to those of our Journey, amounted to not less than fifty. In this Interval, Philip conquered and reduced Doriscus and Thrace, with all its fortified Towns; the sacred Mountain, and every other Place of Importance.

tance, even during the Negotiations for Peace, while I urged a thousand Reasons, and perpetually exclaimed, against their Conduct. First, as laying my own Opinion openly before the Public; next, as instructing the ignorant, and lastly, as declaring without Fear or Dissimulation, my Sentiments with regard to these Traitors, these most unhallowed of Mankind. But he who publicly contradicted these Declarations; who opposed whatever I said, and you decreed, was Æschines; but whether his Conduct was agreeable to all his Colleagues, you shall instantly be informed. I neither mention any of them with Blame, nor accuse them; neither is it absolutely necessary, that any of them should be this Day compelled to appear an honest Man, but by his own free Choice, and his avoiding all Communication with such Crimes.

THAT these Actions are full of Turpitude, and most flagitious, and not committed for nothing, you have all beheld; yet who were Partakers in the Guilt, the Facts themselves will discover. But in the Name of Jupiter, during all the Time they consumed at Pella, did they either receive the Oaths of Philip's Confederates, or in any other Instance act as they ought? Far otherwise. Having been absent from Athens three whole Months, and received a thousand Drachmas from you for their Subsistence (a Sum, which no other State ever gave) they neither, in their Journey to Macedonia, nor in their return hither,
ever

ever received Philip's Oath, or that of his Confederates, but in a public Tavern on the Road, opposite to the Temple of Castor and Pollux,----if any of you hath ever been at Pheræ, he will understand me,----there were the Oaths administered, when Philip was on his March against the Phocæans, ingloriously administered O Men of Athens, and in a Manner most unworthy of your Dignity. Yet Philip esteemed it of highest importance, to transact the Affair in this Manner. For when his Pensioners here were unable to obtain your Decree for a Peace, as they at first attempted, "in Exclusion of the Alenses and Phocæans;" when Philocrates was compelled by you to leave out that Clause, and openly to insert "the Athenians and Allies of the Athenians," Philip could not consent, that this Oath should be taken by any of his Confederates; because they might have refused to assist him with their Forces in making those Conquests, in your Dominions, which he now enjoys, and might have pretended the Obligation of their Oaths. Neither was he willing they should be Witnesses of the Promises, by which he obtained the Peace; nor that it should be universally apparent, that not the Republic of Athens was conquered, but that Philip

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was

(23) All these Circumstances are urged with great Spirit. The Ambassadors should have gone directly to Philip: they indolently waited until he had finished his Conquests in Thrace, and was now marching to the Destruction of Phocis. They should have tendered him the Oaths either in his Camp, or in a Temple;

not in the Obscurity and Profaneness of a Tavern. "But perhaps this last Circumstance was unavoidable. There was no Temple near them." Yes; the Temple of Castor and Pollux. Persons, who were on the Spot, shall witness it.

SCHOLIAST.

was earnestly desirous of Peace, and by numberless Promises obtained it from the Athenian People. That these Circumstances, which I have mentioned, might not be publickly known, he thought proper, that your Ambassadors should not go any where from Pella, and they gratified him in every Thing, even to Ostentation, and most exceeding Flattery. If they shall therefore be convicted of all these Crimes; of vainly consuming their Time; neglecting Thrace; never acting in Obedience to your Decrees, or for the Interest of the Republic, and of bringing Falsehoods hither, how is it possible, that by wise and upright Judges, who are willing religiously to keep their Oaths inviolable, that ever these Men should be acquitted? In Proof of what I assert, read, first the Decree, directing us in what Manner to require the Oaths of Philip's Confederates; next his Letters; then the Decree of Philocrates, and lastly the Resolutions of your own Assembly.

The DECREES. The LETTERS.

To make it evident, that we should have found Philip in the Hellespont, if they had been persuaded by me, or had acted according to their Instructions in your Decree, call the Witnesses, who were present.

The WITNESSES.

Now read that other Testimony, which appears in Philip's
Answer

Answer to Euclides, when he was sent to him after the Conquest of Thrace and Cherfobleptes. (24)

The TESTIMONY.

To be convinced, that it is impossible for them to deny their having acted in these Instances for Philip's Advantage, listen to me. When we went upon our first Embassy to negotiate a Peace, you sent an Herald before us to demand the Faith of Nations for our Security. As soon therefore as they arrived at Oreum, they neither waited for the Herald, nor wasted a Moment of their Time, but although Alus was invested, they entered it by Sea, and from thence went to Parmenio, who besieged it; then passed through the Enemy's Army to Pagasæ, and advancing on their Journey met the Herald at Larissa. With such Diligence and Solitude did they travel. Yet afterwards in Time of profound Peace, when they might have gone in perfect Security; when your Orders required their utmost

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Expe-

(24) When the Athenians heard, that Cherfobleptes was driven out of his Dominions, they sent Euclides to Philip to remonstrate against his Conduct. The Monarch answered, he was not informed by their Ambassadors that the Peace was concluded, and had therefore a Right to pursue his Conquests. SCHOLIAST.

(25) The Scholiast here desires his Readers to remark the Expressions in these Sentences. Our Orator sets out with his Colleagues upon his Embassy, *we*

went, but when he is apprehensive of being suspected as a Partner in their Guilt, then *they arrived at Oreum; they neither waited for the Herald, nor, &c.* Perhaps Demosthenes never thought of such Refinements, which seem to have somewhat too trivial for his Character. In general, his natural Impetuosity frequently throws him into these Disorders, which our Critics should not be too careful to correct.

Expedition, then they travelled with not too much Alacrity, nor ever thought of going by Sea. Whence this Difference? Because, an immediate Peace was then extremely necessary to Philip's Affairs, but now to consume as much Time as they possibly could, before they required his Oath, was of equal advantage. In Proof of these Facts, read me this Testimony.

The TESTIMONY.

Is it then possible, that ever Men should be more clearly convicted of perpetually acting in Favour of Philip, than those, who, when Haste was most necessary to your Affairs, sat down in Indolence; but when their going before the Herald was by no means convenient, then pressed forward with their utmost Expedition?

BUT while we staid thus indolently at Pella, behold, what Employment each of us chose for himself. Mine was to find out Prisoners, and to ransom them at my own Expence; to implore Philip, instead of the Presents of Hospitality, which he offered us, to give them their Liberty. In what Manner Æschines spent his Time, you shall hear immediately. "But really what was his Employment?" To engage Philip to make Presents in common to us all. For you should not be ignorant, that he had separately made Trial of our Integrity, sending privately to each of us, and offering, O Men of Athens, indeed
large

large Sums of Gold. But when he was disappointed in one particular Person (for I ought not to name myself, but let my Actions and the Facts themselves declare me) he imagined, that all would instantly receive without Scruple whatever was offered publickly to all, and that they, who had privately sold themselves, would be perfectly secure, if we joined in receiving even the flightest Presents in common. These were the true Reasons of his offering, although the Pretence was Hospitality. When I prevented this Project from taking Effect, they once more resumed their Deliberations. Afterwards, when I entreated Philip to expend these Presents upon the Prisoners, and he could neither handsomely discover their Secret, by acknowledging, that this, or any other Ambasiador had already received such or such Sums, nor yet avoid the Expence, he consented to my Request, but eluded the Performance of it by promising to give them their Liberty at the Festival of Minerva. Read the Depositions of Apollophanes, and afterwards those of others, who were present.

The DEPOSITIONS.

I SHALL now inform you how many Prisoners I redeemed. While we waited at Pella before Philip's arrival, some of them, who had given Security for their Ransom, distrusting, as I imagine, the Possibility of persuading Philip to give them their Liberty, declared they would ransom themselves, nor be under
any

any Obligation to Philip, and therefore borrowed upon Ufury, this Man three Minæ, another five, and others according to the different Conditions, upon which they could purchase their Freedom. But when Philip promised he would set the rest at Liberty, I called the People together to whom I had lent Money, and having informed them of the Manner, in which I had acted, that they might not appear to have suffered by their Impatience, or that the poor Men should not be obliged out of their own little Fortunes to purchase their Freedom, while the rest had Hopes of being set at Liberty by Philip, I remitted to them the Price of their Ransom, both Principal and Interest. (26) Read these Depositions.

The DEPOSITIONS.

SUCH were the Sums I remitted, and gave to these unhappy Citizens. When Æschines therefore shall ask, “ if then, Demosthenes, you were convinced by my defending Philocrates, that we should not act with Integrity, why did you again join with us in the Embassy for demanding Philip’s Oath, and not swear yourself incapable of going?” Remember to make him this Answer; because I had promised to release these
Pri-

(26) The Terms our Author uses in this little History are managed with much Delicacy. At first, the Prisoners take up Money upon Ufury, *ἐδανείζοντο*. When he speaks of himself, *he lends them Money*, *ἔχρησα τὸ ἀργύριον*; but when

he afterwards makes them a Present of their Ransom, he then mentions both Principal and Interest, as a Proof of his Liberality; *ἔδωκα δωρεὰν τὰ λύτρα*.

SCHOLIAST.

Prifoners; to carry them Money for their Ransom, and preserve them, to the utmost of my Power. It were therefore highly criminal to break my Faith, and abandon our Citizens in their Misery. But to have wandered about the Country in a private Character, by refusing the Embassy, was neither honourable, nor without Danger; and may I perish instantly, and come to an untimely End, if I did not consent to be an Ambassador only with an Intention of preserving our Citizens; or if ever I purposed to join with my Colleagues in receiving these immoderate Sums of Money. “ But the Proof.” When in our third Embassy, you twice appointed me an Ambassador, I twice refused, and during our other Journey constantly opposed them. Your Affairs, when I had any Authority in the Embassy, were thus conducted for your Interest, but when they, by having a Majority of Votes, undertook the direction of them, they were every where ruined: and yet they would have been successful, if my Advice had any Influence. Neither am I so miserably infatuated, or so senseless, as to have given away my own Fortune for your Service, while I beheld others receiving large Sums from Philip, yet not have endeavoured to do whatever might have been done without Expence, and with greater Advantage to the Republic. Indeed, O Men of Athens, I should have endeavoured it with Earnestness, but I imagine, they would have had a greater Superiority over me, if I had gone in that Embassy. (27)

Now

(27) By the Majority of Suffrages.

Now behold in what Manner Æschines and Philocrates acted during this Period, for their Actions will be better seen, when set in Opposition to each other. First, they declared that the Phocæans, Alensés, and Cherfobleptes should not be included in the Articles of Peace. This they did in Contradiction to your Decree, and the Assurances they themselves had given you. They afterwards attempted to invalidate and alter the Decree, by which we were appointed Ambassadors. Then they inserted the Cardians in the Treaty, as Philip's Confederates, and determined not to send you my Letters, but sent their own, with not one Syllable of Truth. Yet the generous Æschines declared, that I had promised Philip to destroy your Democracy, because I blamed their Conduct, not only conceiving it infamous in itself, but apprehensive of my being involved with them in one common Ruin. Yet Æschines never ceased from having his private Conferences with Philip. Other Instances I pass over in Silence, but Dercyllus, not I, observed him one Night at Pheræ, and having this Slave of mine with him, surpris'd him going out of Philip's Tent, and ordered the Slave to tell me, and to remember it himself. In fine, this abandoned and shameless Traitor was Night and Day, when we were dismissed, left alone with Philip. To prove the Truth of what I affirm, I will insert my own Testimony in the public Records, and subscribe my Name to it, under the Penalty of any future Prosecution.

secution. (28) I will then summon each of the Ambassadors, and compel them either to give Evidence of these Facts, or to perjure themselves. If they are perjured I shall manifestly convict them in your Presence.

You have now beheld by what Villainies and Difficulties, I was oppressed during our Embassy. (29) For what Crimes do you imagine, did they commit at Pella, while they were near Philip, who was constantly giving, if they dare act in this Manner, even in your Presence, who are able to reward, or punish? But I shall now recapitulate the Articles of this Accusation from the Beginning, that it may appear I have punctually executed the Promise I made in the opening of this Oration. I have demonstrated by the Evidence of Facts, not of Words, that Æschines never made you one true report, but always deceived you. I have demonstrated, that he was the Occasion of your refusing to hear me declare the Truth, having taken Possession of you by Promises and Assurances; that he advised you in every thing directly contrary to your Interests; that he opposed your including your Confederates in the Articles of the

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Peace,

(28) It seems extraordinary, that the Prosecutor should be allowed to give Evidence against the Person he accused. To lay some Restraint however upon a Privilege so liable to be abused, he was obliged to deliver his Testimony in Writing, which was laid up among the public Records, and upon which he might

ever afterwards be prosecuted for Perjury or Prevarication. SCHOLIAST.

(29) It is probable, that the Ambassadors, whom he ordered to be summoned, had either refused to give Evidence, or gave it with Rudeness and Reluctance.

SCHOLIAST. WOLFIVS.

Peace, and defended the Cause of Philocrates; that he wasted away the Time, untill it was impossible for you, however determined, to march to the relief of the Phocæans; that he committed many other, and atrocious Crimes during our Journey; betraying, selling every thing, receiving Bribes, nor leaving any one Kind of Villainy unattempted. I have therefore demonstrated what I promised at the Beginning.

Now consider what followed; for the Remainder of this Oration will be perfectly simple. You have sworn to decree according to the Laws, the Resolutions of the People, and those of the Senate. Yet Æschines appears to have ever acted through the whole Embassy in Contradiction to these Laws, these Decrees, and to every Sentiment of Justice. He must therefore, by wise and upright Judges, be certainly condemned. Were he guilty of no other Crime, two of his Actions were sufficient to pronounce Sentence of Death upon him; for he betrayed not only the Phocæans, but Thrace, to Philip, although it were impossible to shew two Places in the World of more importance to the Republic, than Thermopylæ by Land, and the Hellespont by Sea; both of which he basely sold, and ruinously, with regard to your Interests, delivered into the Hands of Philip. How flagitious, therefore, was the Crime, even without any other, to abandon Thrace, and its Fortresses? A thousand Instances might be given of Persons put to Death by your
Order

Order for ſuch Crimes ; neither were it difficult to prove, what conſiderable Fines you have laid upon others, all of whom, I might venture to affirm, leſs injured the Republic, than *Æſchines* alone. But in thoſe Days, O Men of Athens, you rationally guarded againſt Danger ; you foreſaw and prevented it ; but now, except the very Day's Diſtreſs diſturb you ; except ſome preſent Affliction grieve you, every Thing elſe you treat with Contempt. Then here you publiſh ſome ineffectual Decrees, “ that Philip ſhould adminiſter the Oaths to *Cherſobleptes* ; “ that he himſelf ſhould never enter into the Council of the “ *Amphiſtyons* ; that the Articles of Peace ſhould be amended.” Yet none of theſe Decrees had been neceſſary, if *Æſchines* had conſented to have ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, and then performed his Duty, as an Ambaſſador. But whatever they might have ſaved by going by Sea, he totally loſt by commanding them to travel by Land ; and whatever might have been gained by Truth, he loſt by lying. Yet he will grievouſly lament, as I am informed, that he alone, of all our Orators, ſhould be ſubjected to render an Account of his Harangues to the People. I ſhall not mention with how much Juſtice every one, who ſpeaks in Public, if he ſpoke for Money, ſhould be anſwerable for what he ſays ; but this I affirm, that if *Æſchines*, in his private Character, hath committed Errors and Miſtakes, you ſhould not inquire too curiouſly ; but acquit him ; pardon him. But as an Ambaſſador, if he hath induſtriouſly deceived you

for his Hire, do not acquit him ; do not suffer him to assert, “ that it is unjust to subject him to a Trial for Words.” What other Account, except that of Words, can you receive from your Ambassadors ? They are not intrusted with the Command of Fleets, or Armies, or Fortresses. No Man commits any Thing of this Kind to an Ambassador ; nothing but the Power of speaking, and the Management of Conjunctions. If he, therefore, has not deprived the Republic of any favourable Occasions of acting, he hath committed no Crime ; if he did deprive her of them, he is most criminal. If the Reports, which he brought home, were true, or advantageous to the Commonwealth, let him be acquitted ; if false and proceeding from Corruption, and disadvantageous, let him be condemned : because nothing is capable of doing you a greater Injury than the Man, who reports a political Falsehood. If the Administration of a State depends upon the Orations of its Ministers, how can it possibly, if they utter Untruths, be preserved in Safety ? Or when, to earn the Presents they have received, they speak for the Advantage of your Enemies, shall you not be in extreme Danger ? Neither is it an equal Crime in an Oligarchy or Monarchy to rob them of these favourable Conjunctions for acting, as in a Democracy, like yours. The Difference is not inconsiderable. Because in those Forms of Polity, I imagine every Thing is with the utmost Expedition carried into Execution by Command of Government ; but in
your

your Democracy, it is necessary, first, that the Senate should hear and determine upon every Measure; and this the customary Proceeding, when an Edict is published, either for sending abroad your own Ambassadors, or hearing those of other States. These Forms, however, are not always observed. Then an Assembly is to be convened, upon the Days appointed by Law, and afterwards they, who give you the most salutary Counsels, are obliged to conquer, and maintain a Superiority over those, who, either through Ignorance, or a Malignity of Spirit, enter into Opposition. In Addition to all these Delays, after the Measure hath been deliberated upon, and hath appeared advantageous, some Time must necessarily be allowed to the Indigence of the Multitude, that they may procure the Necessaries they want, and carry your Decrees into Execution. Whoever therefore takes from such a Government as yours these stated Times, does not really take away the Opportunities for acting, no, but even the very Measures themselves.

ALTHOUGH the Persons, who purpose to deceive you, have always this Objection ready, “ these Disturbers of the City
“ hinder Philip from doing Acts of Benevolence to the Com-
“ monwealth,” yet, I shall return them no Answer, but only read Philip’s Letters to you; and desire you to recollect the particular Occasions, in every one of which you have been deceived, to convince you, that Philip, while he was deceiving
you,

you, repeated, even to Satiety, his own cold Expression, “ even
“ to Satiety.” (30)

The LETTERS.

YET Æschines, after having committed so many Actions in his Embassÿ, thus full of Turpitude ; thus contrary to your Interests, now goes about exclaiming, “ What can be said of “ Demosthenes, who accuses his Colleagues ?” Whether willing, or unwilling, by the Gods, I must accuse ; for during our whole Journey you attempted every Villainy against me, and I have now only the Choice between appearing a Partner of such Crimes, or an Accuser. I therefore declare, I never acted as your Colleague in our Embassÿ, and that you were guilty of many flagitious Offences, while I consulted, to the utmost of my Power, the Welfare of the Republic. Philocrates was your Colleague ; you and Phrynon were his Colleagues, for your Actions were always the same, and you all approved of the same Counsels. “ But where are the common “ Rights of Hospitality ; of our Entertainments ; of our Li-
“ bations ?” Thus he wanders about, exclaiming in the Spirit of Tragedy, as if, not the Persons, who acted in Violation
of

(30) The very learned and ingenious Doctor Markland imagines this cold Expression *even to Satiety* had been used by Philip in his Letters, in which he had promised to satisfy the Athenians, *even to Satiety*. The Translator therefore, besides the Probability of the Conjecture itself, is not meanly supported by such an Authority.

of their Duty, but they, who maintained their Integrity, had betrayed these Rights. But this I know, that our Magistrates all sacrifice in common; they sup together; they perform their Libations in common, yet not for that Reason do the virtuous imitate the vicious, but when they apprehend any of their own Members neglecting his Duty, they openly discover him to the Senate, and the People. Our Senators perform the same Sacrifices to Jupiter, the Adviser; our Generals, and I had almost said all our Magistrates, partake of the same Entertainments; the same common Libations. Do they therefore allow the guilty to perpetrate their Crimes with Impunity? Far otherwise. Leon accused Timagoras, although he had been four Years his Colleague in an Embassy. Eubulus accused Tharreces and Smicythus, the Companions with whom he had lived in the strictest Familiarity, and the ancient Conon prosecuted Adimantus, with whom he was joint Commander of our Forces. Who therefore, Æschines, violated the Rights of Hospitality and Libations? The Traitor, the criminal Ambassador, the corrupted Mercenary, or their Accusers? Certainly they, who had evidently violated, not only the Libations of private Friendship, but, as you have done, the public Libations of their Country.

BUT to convince you, that of all your Citizens, who have ever gone either in a public, or private Character to Philip; that of all Mankind, these are most worthless, and most abandoned,

permit me to tell you a little Story, although it hath not indeed any Relation to this Embassy. When Philip had taken Olynthus, he celebrated the Olympic Games. (31) To this Festival and its Solemnity he invited all the Comedians of Greece. Making Entertainments for them, and crowning the Victors, he asked Satyrus, the Comedian, why he alone had never made him any Request, or whether he had ever perceived in him any Sordidness of Spirit, or any particular Dislike towards him? Satyrus, as they report, made him this Answer; that he was not covetous of what others usually asked: The Request, which he could make with Pleasure, it was most easy for Philip to grant, and to oblige him; but he was afraid of being refused. Philip commanding him to speak, and adding, with a youthful vivacity, that he would grant whatever he asked, Satyrus replied, that he had lived with Apollophanes, the Pydnæan, in Hospitality and Friendship; that when he was treacherously assassinated,

his

(31) The Scholiast enters with great Spirit into the Circumstances of this little Story, and shews the Orator's Art to great Advantage. The Scene opens with the Destruction of Olynthus, a capital City, and the Bulwark of Greece against the Invasions of Philip. The Audience is justly affected with the Calamities of a brave, unhappy People, and see with Indignation the triumphal Feast, that celebrates their Ruin. Satyrus, a Man of Probity and Modesty, is represented silently lamenting over the Occasion of this

Festival, and the approaching Slavery of Greece, while Philip appears in his proper Character, the grand Corruptor, searching into the Hearts, and purchasing the Secrets of Mankind. The modest Diffidence of Satyrus is finely opposed to the Arrogance of Philip, who promises whatever he asked, while the Orator insinuates, that if Æschines had interceded in this Manner for the Phocæans, Philip would have felt the Sentiments of human Nature, and he would have succeeded in his Request.

his Relations, alarmed for his Daughters, who were then in their Infancy, had privately conveyed them to Olynthus. That City being taken, they are become Prisoners; they are now in your Power, and at the Age of Marriage. I entreat and implore you to give them to me. Yet I desire you to hear, and be informed, what kind of Present you give me, if indeed you give. I propose, in Truth, no pecuniary Advantage from it, but shall add a little Fortune to their Freedom to dispose of them in Marriage, and shall be careful, that they do not suffer any thing unworthy of their Father, or of our Friendship. When the Guests heard this Answer; there was such Clapping of Hands, (32) such Applause, such Tumults among them, that Philip was affected with Compassion, and granted the Request, although Apollophanes was one of the Persons, who had killed his Brother Alexander.

LET us now compare the Banquet of Satyrus with another celebrated by our Ambassadors in Macedonia, that you may perceive, whether there be any Equality, any Resemblance between them. (33) Being invited by Xenophon, the Son of Phaidimus, one of our thirty Tyrants, they impatiently hurried to him. I refused. When they began to drink, their Host introduces an Olynthian Woman, handsome indeed, but well born,
and

(32) The Applause of the Guests is expressed by a Term peculiar to the The-
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atre.
(33) We have now a very different
N Enter-

SCHOLIAST.

and, as appeared in the Event, modest. At first, they pressed her gently, and without any Design, as I imagine, and as Iatrocles informed me the Day following, to eat and drink. (34) But when the Affair proceeded a little farther, and they grew heated with their Wine, they ordered her to sit down, and sing some certain Songs. (35) The Woman resenting this Treatment, and neither willing, nor knowing how to sing, Æschines and Phrynon declared it was an insult and intolerable, that a Prisoner, born among the Olynthians, a People detested by the Gods, and Enemies to Athens, should presume to be delicate. Call a Slave, cries Æschines, and let some one bring Scourges. The Slave enters with a leathern Thong in his Hand; when these Wretches, having drunk, I presume, more largely, became now enflamed with Rage, and although she made every Excuse, and even burst into Tears, the Slave tore off her Clothes, and gave her several Stripes upon the shoulders.

Now

Entertainment on the Scene. The Master of the Feast is distinguished by the Name of his Father, one of the thirty Tyrants, who had destroyed the Liberties and Constitution of Athens. As we may suppose him bred in the Luxury and Riot of Tyranny, he gives us no very favourable Idea of the Modesty and Decency of his Entertainment. Æschines and Phrynon, and Philocrates, who could hold a Friendship with the Enemy of their Country, were proper Guests for such an Host. Our Author insinuates, that he was invited and refused to go;

but whether they thought him unfit for their Society, or that he refused their Invitation, is equally an Honour to his Character. He, whose proper Passion was the Love of his Country, must have detested all Correspondence with the Descendants of its Tyrants. SCHOLIAST.

(34) He says he heard these Circumstances the Day after the Entertainment, to insinuate that it continued all Night.

(35) Here our Guests grow musical; by which our Author strongly marks the Nature of Drunkenness and its Absurdities. SCHOLIAST.

Now out of her Senses with the Infamy, and the Cruelty, with which she was treated, she springs forward, throws herself at the Feet of Iatrocles, overturns the Table, and unless he had carried her off, she must have been murdered in this drunken Riot; for terrible indeed is the Cruelty of this Wretch in his Drunkenness.

THE Story of this Woman was the common Conversation of a thousand People in Arcadia; it was related to you by Diophantus, whom I shall now compel to give his Testimony; it was a common Report in Thessaly, and indeed in every other Part of Greece. Yet shall the Wretch, who is conscious to himself of such Impurities, have the Hardiness to look you in the Face? Shall he pompously boast, with that sonorous Voice, the Purity of his Life? This assurance provokes my Indignation. Is there a Citizen of Athens, who is ignorant, that you very early used to read her Books of Incantation to your Mother, when she was initiating her Disciples in some profane Mysteries, and that, even when you were a Boy, you devoted yourself to the Festivals of Bacchus, and the Commerce of Drunkards? That you were afterwards an under Secretary to our Magistrates, and commenced a Villain for two or three Drachmas? (36)

N 2

Or

(36) These Secretaries were employed often read falsely for a Bribe of two or three Drachmas. SCHOLIAST.
in reading Laws, Decrees, or Decisions of private Property to the People; and

Or lastly, that you very lately thought yourself extremely happy to earn a Subsistence by playing third-rate Characters for whoever would employ you in their Theatres? What Kind of Life therefore will you boast of? Certainly, that, which you have never lived; because the Life you really lived, is exactly such as I have described. Or will you make Profession of that profligate Assurance, with which you accused Timarchus for the Turpitude of his Manners? But I shall not enter into that Subject at present. Read these Depositions.

DEPOSITIONS.

WHAT Kind of Villainy is there, that is not included in those enormous Crimes, of which he is convicted? Corruption, Adulation, Perjury, devoted to the infernal Gods, Treachery to Friends, whatever is most flagitious is included in them; nor for any one of them shall he ever be able to make a Defence; any just and simple Apology. That, which he proposes to make, as I am informed, is almost Madness. But, perhaps, whoever has nothing reasonable to urge in his excuse, is under a Necessity of inventing. For I hear he will affirm, that in every Instance, in which I accuse him, I was a common Partner; that I approved of all his Measures, and assisted him in the Execution, although I now suddenly alter my Conduct, and become his Accuser. Such an Apology with regard to him, is neither just nor honourable, although against me a Kind of
Accu-

Accufation; becaufe, if I have acted in this Manner, I am certainly a very bad Man, but the Actions themfelves are, upon that Account, nothing better. This reasoning requires very little Proof. However, I think myfelf obliged to convince you, that he utters a Falfehood in fuch an Affertion, and only means to avoid a regular Trial. It were indeed a reasonable and clear Defence, either to prove he never was guilty of the Crimes, of which he is accused, or that his Conduct was for the general Intereft of the Republic. Neither of thefe will he ever be able to prove. Impossibile he fhould be able to prove, that the Destruction of Phocis, Philip's taking Poffeffion of Thermopylæ, the growing Power of Thebes, the affembling of the Troops in Eubæa, the fecret Defigns upon the Megaræans, and the Peace concluded without Philip's Oath, were for the Intereft of the Republic; the very contrary to which he then afferted would be for your Advantage, and promifed fhould be executed. Nor fhall he ever be able to perfuade you, in Contradiction to what you have feen and experienced, that thefe Things have not fince happened. It therefore only remains for me to demonftrate, that I never had any Share in thefe Tranfactions.

Is it your Pleafure therefore, that, omitting all other Circumftances, for Instance, in what Manner I contradicted them in your Prefence; thwarted them during our Journey, and opposed them all the Time of our Embaffy, I fhould produce my

Witnesses

Witnesses to prove, that all our Actions have been totally different, and that they received, ruinously for your Interests, those Bribes, which I refused to accept. Then consider, who amongst your Citizens is most infamous, most despicable, and shameless? I am well convinced, that you can never, even by Mistake, name any other, but Philocrates. Who of all others is most clamorous; who pronounces with a sonorous Voice whatever he pleases in your Assemblies? Æschines undoubtedly. Whom do they call spiritless, and a Coward in popular Tumults, though I should rather call him modest? Demosthenes. For I was never turbulent; never made use of Violence in opposing your Inclinations. In all your Assemblies, whenever these Affairs have been debated, you always heard me accusing, reproving, and openly declaring, that your Ambassadors were corrupted, and had absolutely sold the Republic. Yet while they heard these Accusations and Reproofs, not one of them presumed to contradict me, nor opened his Mouth, nor ventured even to shew himself in Public.

WHAT Reason then can be assigned, that these Men, the boldest Profligates, and loudest Talkers in the City, should be so often foiled in our Disputes by me, of all Mankind the least presuming, and never exerting any superior Force in speaking? because, Truth is powerful, and Falsehood weak: because, the Consciousness of their having sold their Country takes away
their

their Confidence, perverts their Utterance, stops their Mouths, suffocates and forces them to be silent. Lastly, you may remember, that when you lately refused in the Pyræum to appoint Æschines one of your Ambassadors, he vociferously declared, with many a tragical Exclamation, that he would impeach and prosecute me before the Senate. These passionate Exclamations are usually the Beginnings of long and numerous Disputes, whereas the following Expressions are perfectly simple, and such as a Slave, purchased even yesterday, might repeat; “ This Affair, “ O Men of Athens, in all its Circumstances is most unjust. “ Demosthenes accuses me of those Crimes, of which he was “ equally guilty; he says, I received Bribes, which he himself “ received, either alone, or in Partnership with others.” But he never mentioned; he never urged an Objection of this Kind; you never heard him speak this Language. Yet he made use of Menaces. Why? because, he was conscious of having committed these Crimes, and therefore dreaded these Expressions like a Slave. His Imagination never ventured so far; it refused the Task, and his Conscience recoiled upon him; while nothing hindered him from abusing and calumniating.

BUT the greatest of all his Villainies does not consist in Words, but Deeds. When I had determined, as was reasonable since I was twice an Ambassador, to render twice an Account of my Conduct, this Æschines, in Presence of a thousand Witnesses,

nesses, went forward to the Clerks, and forbad them to summon me into the Court, because, I had already past my Accounts, and was therefore no longer liable to any other Inspection. The Affair was excessively ridiculous. When he had given in the Accounts of his first Embassy, for which he never was accused, yet he would not venture a Trial of the second, for which he is now indicted, and in which all his Crimes are included. If I had been permitted to have given in an Account of my second Embassy, he too had necessarily been obliged to appear a second Time. He therefore would not suffer me to be summoned. This Action alone, O Men of Athens, manifestly discovers, that he stands self-condemned; that you cannot, with Reverence to the Gods, acquit him, and that with regard to me, he never uttered a Syllable of Truth. Because, if he had any thing in his Power; if he had discovered aught whereof to reproach or accuse me, he certainly would not have hindered my being summoned. In Proof of these Facts, let the Witnesses be called.

The WITNESSES.

IF however he should calumniate me in any other Instance, besides this Embassy, there are many Reasons, which forbid you to hear him. I am neither this Day accused, (37) nor obliged
to

(37) *No Man pours Water to me.* This sixth Note, twenty-eighth Page.
Expression hath been already explained; I

to make my defence. What therefore is this personal Calumny, except an absolute Want of any reasonable Apology for himself? Because, who would accuse others, when he himself is prosecuted, if he were capable of making his own Defence? Consider, if I were on my own Trial, Æschines my Accuser, and Philip my Judge; if I had it not in my Power to deny my being guilty, yet threw out Invectives, and endeavoured to calumniate my Accuser, would not Philip generously resent his Benefactor's being thus rudely treated in his Presence? Be not you therefore less generous than Philip, but oblige Æschines to make his defence, with regard to those Points alone, of which he is accused.

IN the Consciousness of my own Innocence, I thought myself obliged to give an Account of my Embassy, and to submit to whatever the Laws commanded. Æschines pursued a contrary Method. Whence is it possible therefore, that our Conduct could ever have been the same? Or whence does he now reproach me with Crimes, of which he never accused me before? Certainly, never. He will however talk in this Manner, and, by the Gods, not without Reason; for you are perfectly sensible, that since Mankind came into the World, and Trials were first instituted, never were Criminals found, who confessed their Guilt. They behave themselves impudently; they deny; they tell Lies, and invent Excuses; they do every thing to escape the

Punishment they merit. It is your Duty to avoid being influenced this Day by such Artifices. Pronounce Sentence according to your own Knowledge, nor pay any Attention either to my Assertions, or those of Æschines, or to his Witnesses, whom he hath always ready to give Evidence for him, and whom Philip maintains. You will observe how dextrously they give their Testimony in his Favour. Neither should you regard the Sweetness and Strength of his Voice, or the Weakness of mine. Because not upon Orators, if you be wise, nor their Orations, are you this Day to pronounce Sentence, but to retort the Infamy of your Affairs, thus ignominiously and iniquitously ruined, upon the Authors, after having examined the Facts, of which you are perfectly well assured. What Facts? Those of which you yourselves conscious, and have not any Occasion of hearing from us. For, if all those Advantages, which Æschines promised, have indeed risen from this Peace; if you can acknowledge yourselves to have been so miserably sunk in Indolence and Cowardice, that although your Dominions were neither invaded by Land, or Sea, nor the Republic in any other Danger; although Provisions bore a reasonable Price, and our Situation was in general what it is at present; although you foresaw, and were informed by your Ambassadors, that your Confederates would be ruined, and the Thebans grow powerful; that Philip would make himself Master of Thrace, and raise Fortresses against you in Eubæa, with a certainty that every thing, which

hath:

hath since happened, was really to happen, yet you could have been well contented to conclude this Peace, then let Æschines be acquitted, and do not add Perjury to such Instances of Baseness. He hath committed no Injury against you, but I was transported by Madness and Extravagance, when I accused him. But if on the contrary, your Ambassadors assured you, with many and the most soothing Expressions, “ that Philip
 “ had an Affection for the Republic; would preserve the
 “ Phocæans; repress the Insolence of the Thebans; confer
 “ Benefits upon you far greater than any, that regarded Am-
 “ phipolis, and if you granted him a Peace, would restore
 “ Eubæa and Oropus to you;” if by making these Declarations and Promises they have deceived and imposed upon you in every Instance, and only not delivered up Attica to the Enemy, let them be condemned; nor in Addition to the ignominious Injuries (I know not any other Expression for them) you have already suffered by their being corrupted, carry home with you the Horrors of Execration and Perjury.

CONSIDER besides, O Men of Athens, from what Motive, if they indeed are innocent, I have undertaken to accuse them. You shall find no such Motive. Is it pleasing to have many Enemies? It is not even without Danger. “ But I had
 “ some personal Quarrel with Æschines.” None. “ Did you
 “ then tremble for yourself, Demosthenes, and in your Fearful-

“ nefs, imagine this Profecution your only Security.” I have heard, he ventures even this Extravagance. But in Truth, Æschines, there was nothing terrible; there was no Guilt, as you assert. If ever he fays this again, confider, you who are our Judges, if I, who am totally innocent, was alarmed with Terrors of being destroyed by thefe Traitors, what Punishment ought they to fuffer, who are totally guilty? Since not for thefe Reasons, yet for what other do I accufe you? “ I calumniate, in the Name of Jupiter! that I may extort Money from you.” Yet were it not more elegend to have taken it from Philip (who gave it in Abundance) and not in lefs Sums, than any of them received, epecially when I might thus preferve his Friendfhip and theirs? Undoubtedly, moft undoubtedly, I fould have preferved their Feiendfhip, if I had entered into their Schemes, for they had no paternal, ancient Quarrel to me, and only refented my not engaging in their Projects. Were not this more eligibile, than to demand a fordid Pittance of the Bribes they had received, and thus make both Philip and them my Enemies? Did I then, at fuch Expence, out of my own private Fortune, ranfom our Fellow-Citizens, and could I meanly condefcend to take this wretched Pittance from them, and attended with their Hatred too? Imoffible. But all the Reports I made to you were true; I reftrained myfelf from taking Prefents, in a Senfe of Juftice, and of Truth, and a regard to my future Life; imagining, that I, like fome other of your Citizens,

Citizens, if I maintained my Integrity, might be honoured by you, and distinguished above the Vulgar, and that I never should exchange my Zeal for your Service for any possible Advantage. But I hated these Ambassadors, because I saw them acting iniquitously towards you, and impiously to the Gods in their Embassy; because I was deprived, by their rapacious Corruption, of the Honours I personally merited, while you treated the whole Embassy with equal Indignation. But looking forward to Futurity, and willing that you should determine in this Trial, and at this Tribunal, that our Actions were totally different, I now accuse, and summon them to render the usual Account of their Conduct. I am, however, apprehensive, greatly apprehensive, (for all my Thoughts shall be laid before you) that you then included me, though perfectly guiltless, in the Suspicion of their Crimes, and are now extremely inattentive to my Innocence. For to me you appear, O Men of Athens, absolutely dissolved in Indolence and expecting your Misfortunes with Indifference. When you behold others labouring in Distress, you are neither concerned for their Safety, nor anxious for the Republic, that hath been long injured in so various and outrageous a Manner. Do you not think it terrible and monstrous what I am going to relate? for although I had determined to be silent, yet I am forced to speak. You all know Pythocles. I had long lived with him in every Kind of Intimacy, nor did any thing unfriendly ever happen between us even to this Day.

But

But since he returned from this Embassy to Philip, he avoids me upon all Occasions; or if he be compelled accidentally to meet me, he starts away, lest any one should see him speaking to me. Yet he walks round the Forum with Æschines, consults with him, and enters into his Schemes. Is it not then provoking, O Men of Athens; is it not a miserable Reflexion that Philip should be so attentive both to the Friendship and Enmity of those, who engage in his Service, as that each of them believes he perfectly knows all their Actions here, as if he were personally present; that they esteem those Persons their Friends or Enemies, whom he regards with Friendship or Enmity, yet, on the contrary, that they, who live only for your Welfare; who are ambitious only of those Honours, which you can bestow, and of which they never deserted the Pursuit, should meet among you with such obstinate Deafness in hearing, and such Blindness in seeing, as that I should be compelled at this Moment to hold a contest with these execrable Villains upon equal Terms, and before an Audience, perfectly conscious of their Crimes?

ARE you willing to hear and be convinced, from what Cause these Disorders arise? I will inform you. But be not angry with me, I beseech you, for declaring the Truth. As Philip hath one Body, so I really think he hath only one Soul. With all his Heart he loves whoever obliges him; with all his Heart he detests whoever opposes him. But a Citizen of Athens never
esteems

esteems the Man, who is serviceable to the Republic, as doing him any personal Obligation, or thinks himself injured by those, who injure the Commonwealth. Every Man hath some particular Passion, Pity, Envy, Resentment, a Desire of obliging whoever asks a Favour, and a thousand others, by which you are frequently misled. (38) Yet these particular, and separate Errours, advancing by Degrees, fall at last in one collected Ruin on the Republic. Do not therefore, O Men of Athens, again commit such Errors, nor acquit the Man, by whom you have been thus egregiously injured.

YET what will be the general Language of Mankind, if you acquit him? “ Philocrates, Æschines, Phrynon, Demosthenes, “ went from Athens, as Ambassadors to Philip.” What then? “ the last, besides not receiving any Emolument from his Em- “ bassy, out of his own Fortune redeemed his Fellow-Citizens, “ while Æschines wandered through Greece, purchasing “ Harlots and Fish, with that very Money, for which he sold “ the Interests of the Republic; and the polluted Phrynon sent
“ his

(38) A Sentence, that appears in all our Editions, is here left out of the Translation. It is not only unintelligible, but unprofitably breaks the Sense and Connexion of the whole Period. Where Doctor Taylor acknowledges his Doubts, the Translator may without Shame acknowledge his Ignorance. However, to give the Reader all possible Sa-

tisfaction, he may form his own Judgment of the Meaning of the Passage by the following Translations. *E se un fugge, tutti gli altri sinistri, almeno non puo egli fuggir coloro, i quali non vogliono, che niun sia tale.* Quòd si quis cætera quæque effugiat, eos, qui neminem vellent ejusmodi esse, certè non effugiet.

“ his Son, not yet arrived at Manhood, to Philip. But De-
 “ mosthenes acted not in any thing unworthy of the Republic,
 “ or of himself. For, as when he was Ædile, and appointed a
 “ Trierarch for Equipment of the Fleet, he generously support-
 “ ed the Expence of those Employments, so in this Instance
 “ he thought it his Duty voluntarily to expend his Fortune in
 “ ransoming Prisoners, and not to suffer his Fellow-Citizens
 “ through Indigence to continue in Misery. But Æschines,
 “ so far from purchasing at his own Expence a single Person’s
 “ Freedom, assisted Philip in reducing a whole Province, and
 “ making the Troops of our Confederates, more than ten
 “ thousand Foot with almost a thousand Horse, Prisoners of
 “ War.” What was the Consequence? “ The Athenian
 “ People (who were perfectly convinced of their Guilt) having
 “ brought them to their Trial”----What then? “ They ac-
 “ quitted the Traitors, who had received Bribes and Presents;
 “ who had dishonoured themselves, the Republic, and their
 “ Posterity. They adjudged, that they had acted with Wisdom,
 “ and that the Common-wealth was prosperously conducted
 “ under their Administration.” But their Accuser? “ Was
 “ an extravagant Visionary; knew not the Temper of his Fel-
 “ low-Citizens; had no other Manner of lavishing away his
 “ Fortune.”

WHO then, O Men of Athens, when he beholds this Ex-
 ample, will ever be anxious to preserve his Integrity? Who
 will

will be an Ambassador for nothing, if he, who preserves himself uncorrupted, hath no more Confidence with you, than these Receivers of Bribes? Thus, you do not only, this Day, pronounce Sentence upon these Traitors; but you establish a Law for all succeeding Time, to determine, whether your future Ambassadors shall infamously support the Interests of your Enemies for a Pension, or for nothing and unpensioned consult the Utility of the Republic. With regard to all other Particulars, you can have no Occasion for Evidence, but to prove, that Phrynon sent his Son to Philip, call me the Witnesses of that Affair.

The WITNESSES.

ÆSCHINES, therefore, hath not accused Phrynon of having sent his Son to Philip for the infamous Purposes of Prostitution; but if another, in his Youth excelling in the Beauty of his Person, and not foreseeing the Suspicions, that naturally attend on Beauty, hath perhaps lived a little too licentious, this Man Æschines indicted for Impurity of Manners.

I SHALL now speak to the Invitation I made our Ambassadors to a Banquet in the Prytanæum, and to the Decree I proposed on that Occasion; for this Affair, which I ought particularly to have mentioned, had very nearly escaped my Memory. With regard to the first Embassy, when I had written the Decree of

the Senate, and afterwards that of the People (while in those Assemblies, in which you were to deliberate upon the Peace, there were yet no Suspicions of their Conduct rumoured abroad, nor any apparent Injury committed by them) according to the Usages established by Law, I pronounced their Panegyric, and invited them to the Prytanæum. Besides, I confess I entertained Philip's Ambassadors most hospitably; indeed, O Men of Athens, most splendidly. For having observed in Macedonia, that they gloried in the Luxury of such Entertainments, as Objects of Happiness and Splendor, I instantly thought myself obliged to assume a Superiority over them, and to display a greater Spirit of Magnificence. But Æschines will urge it as an Objection, and exclaim, "Demosthenes himself pronounced "our Panegyric; Demosthenes entertained Philip's Ambassadors," but without distinguishing the Date of these Facts. They happened, however, before the Republic was injured; before these Traitors had apparently sold themselves; when Philip's Ambassadors were but just arrived, and the People were yet to hear their Proposals; when Æschines had not openly pleaded the Cause of Philocrates, and when he himself had not proposed his Decree. If he urges these Objections, do you remember the Date of these Transactions; that they preceded their Crimes, and that afterwards I never had any Society with them, any Communication. Read the Evidence.

The EVIDENCE.

BUT

BUT perhaps his Brothers, Philocrates, and Aphobetus will undertake his Defence; to both of whom you may return a very full and reasonable Reply; but it is necessary to speak with Freedom, and without reserve. “ We are not ignorant that you, “ Philocrates, are a Painter of earthen Vases for Perfumers, and “ of Bacchanalian Cymbals; that your Brothers Aphobetus, “ and Æschines, are public-Notaries by Profession, and by “ Birth of the common People (Circumstances indeed removed “ from Infamy, but certainly not meriting any military Com- “ mand) yet we have esteemed you worthy of Embassies, “ Commissions in our Armies, and all the highest Dignities of “ the Republic. Suppose then you never have committed a “ Crime, we do not therefore owe you any Obligation, but “ you are in Gratitude indebted to us for the Employments you “ hold, because we passed by many others more deserving, “ and adorned you with these Honours. If either of you hath “ been faulty in these Employments, with which you were thus “ distinguished, especially as they were of such Importance, “ how much rather should you be detested, than acquitted?” In my Opinion, much rather.

BUT they will perhaps grow violent, and being, as they are, clamorous, and impudent, they will assert, that defending a Brother is always pardonable. Do not give way to this Assertion, but be convinced, that as it is their Duty to be anxious

for the Safety of their Brother, so is it yours to defend the Laws, the whole Republic, and especially to preserve the Oaths inviolable, which you took before you sat upon this Tribunal. But if they solicit you to acquit this Man, consider whether they make the Request upon a Presumption of his appearing innocent or guilty? If innocent, I myself declare for his acquittal; if they desire it upon any other Terms, they desire you to perjure yourselves. Because, although the Suffrage be given in secret, it does not therefore escape the Knowledge of the Gods. For the Legislator, in this, and all other Instances, most excellent, hath pronounced; "the suffrages shall be given in secret." Wherefore? That the Criminal may never know the Man, to whom he is obliged. But the Gods, and the supreme Divinity will know the Man, who hath not pronounced an upright Sentence; and it is infinitely more eligible to expect from them our own Happiness, and that of our Posterity, for giving Judgement with Justice and Equity, than to fix a secret and uncertain Obligation upon the Criminal, or to acquit this Man, who hath himself given Evidence against himself. For what more unexceptionable Witness, Æschines, that you have committed many flagrant Villainies in your Embassy, can I possibly produce, than you against yourself? Even that severe and extraordinary Punishment, which you thought proper to inflict upon him, who proposed to detect your Crimes, openly declares what Vengeance you yourself expect, if your Judges are informed of your Conduct.

His

HIS own Practices, therefore, if you be wise, shall be turned against him, not only because they are powerful Proofs of the Manner, in which he hath executed his Embassy, but because when he was himself an Accuser, he made use of those very Expressions, which may now be retorted upon his own Head. For that Justice, which you pronounced, when you prosecuted Timarchus, that very Justice ought to be enforced against you by others. He then declared to the Judges, “ Demosthenes
 “ will undertake his Defence, and accuse me of Misconduct
 “ in my Embassy, and if he can seduce you by the Power of
 “ Words, he will grow petulant, and wander about vaunting
 “ him of the Circumstances, in what Manner, by what
 “ Force of Arguments, he seduced the Judges from the Que-
 “ tion, and took from them the very Cognizance of the Fact.
 “ But do not act thus, Demosthenes. The Subject of Dispute,
 “ make that the Subject of your Defence.” But, Æschines, when you prosecuted Timarchus, you had it in your Power to urge what Accusations, and make use of what Arguments you pleased. Yet unable to produce any Evidence of the Crimes, of which you accused him, you assured the Judges,

What all report can never be a Lie,

And born a Goddess, Fame can never die.

But, Æschines, this whole Assembly declares, that you have taken Bribes from Philip, and the Remark may therefore be retorted against you,

What all report can never be a Lie.

Yet confider the Reafon, why more People accufe you, than Timarchus. Him, his Neighbours hardly knew. But there is neither Greek, nor Barbarian, who does not declare, that you and your Colleagues have taken Bribes in your Embaffy. If Fame therefore may be relied upon, it will appear againft you in the Opinion of thoufands. That we ought to rely upon her, becaufe ſhe is a Goddeſs, and becaufe the Poet was wife, who made theſe Verfes, you yourſelf have determin'd.

HAVING then collected ſome Iambics out of Sophocles he concluded,

Who holds licentious Converſe with the wicked,
I aſk not of his Morals, well convinc'd,
He differs not from thoſe, he loves, and lives with.

“ Are you then ignorant,” ſays he, among other Expreſſions of the ſame Kind, “ what Opinion you ought to conceive of the
“ Man, who goes into Aviaries, and walks with Pittalacus?” (39)
Now, Æſchines, I can with exceeding Aptneſs make uſe of theſe Iambics againſt you, and if I repeat them to your Judges, I ſhall repeat them with Juſtice and Propriety. Whoever is delighted with the Converſation of Philocrates, and enters into his Schemes of Embaffy, I never aſked, being perfectly convinc'd, whether he had taken Preſents like Philocrates, who confeſſes
it.

(39) Pittalacus was probably a Citizen among their Amuſements to go into of diſſolute, effeminate Manners, with Aviaries, but, very poſſibly, not to ſee whom Timarchus was intimate. It was the Birds fight.

it. But when he calls others Transcribers of common-place Sentences and Plagiaries of Verses; when he endeavours to treat them with Contempt, he may be very clearly convicted of being himself obnoxious to these Titles; (40) because these Verses are taken out of Phœnice, a Tragedy of Euripides, which neither Theodorus, nor Aristodemus (to whom Æschines acted his third-rate Characters) ever performed; but Molon, only, and some of our ancient Tragedians. (41) Yet Theodorus and Aristodemus often represented the Antigone of Sophocles, in which are many beautiful Verses, and to you of great Importance, which Æschines had frequently repeated on the Stage, and perfectly well remembers, but which he has now passed over in Silence. You know, it is an Honour peculiar to the third-Rate Actors in our Tragedies to make their Entrance in the Characters of Tyrants, and pompously holding their Scepters in their Hands. Recollect therefore in this Tragedy the Lines, which Sophocles made for Creon-Æschines, but which he never repeated, either in his Embassy, or to the Judges in the Trial of Timarchus. Read.

Pro-

(40) The Word in the Original, which is here translated *Plagiary*, signifies in general a Deceiver, an Impostor; neither of which will explain the Sense of the Context, or account for the Contempt, with which they are used. Æschines had probably repeated these Verses as his own, for otherwise it were impertinent to tell the People they were written by Euripides.

(41) Demosthenes seems to wonder where Æschines got these Verses, as if his Reading extended no farther than the Plays, in which he himself had acted. Molon was an ancient Actor, whom Æschines had never seen. Theodorus and Aristodemus had never performed the Antigone of Euripides.

Pronounce on no Man's Genius, Wisdom, Sense,
 Till Power, and public Business ascertain
 His doubtful Character. As for myself,
 Who takes the sole Direction of the State,
 Nor yields him to the Counsels of the wise,
 Nor speaks, through Fear, the Dictates of his Heart,
 I hold him worthless, and shall ever hold him.
 He too is vile, who to his Country's Good,
 Prefers his Friend; Witness all-seeing Jove
 I never will be silent, when I see
 Destruction stalking o'er my native Land,
 Nor to my bosom'd Confidence receive
 My Country's Foe; convinc'd that in her Welfare
 We sail in Safety down the Tide of Life,
 And form our happiest Friendships for the Voyage.

Nor one of these Verses did ever Æschines repeat to himself during his Embassy; but having preferred the Hospitality and Friendship of Philip to the Interests of the Commonwealth, as of greater Importance to him and more profitable, he heartily bid Farewel to the Wisdom of Sophocles. He neither declared, nor gave you Notice of Philip's Expedition against the Phocæans, although he saw Destruction advancing along with it. On the contrary, he concealed, he assisted it, he opposed whoever would have given their Sentiments upon it, not remembering, that in our Country alone "we sail in Safety down the Tide
 " of

“ of Life;” and that his Mother performed in it her holy Myſteries and Luſtrations; that ſhe picked up a Livelihood by plundering the Houſes of thoſe, who made uſe of her Incantations, and thus educated theſe her illuſtrious Sons; while their Father, as I have heard ſome old People relate, taught Children their Alphabet, according to the beſt of his Abilities, near the Temple of the Gods of Phyſic. In this City however he lived, where Æſchines and his Brothers, by being under-Clerks, and writing in all our public Offices, got a little Money; and at length, being appointed Notaries by you, they were maintained two Years in the vaulted Cells adjoining our Temples, from whence Æſchines was ſent an Ambaſſador to Philip. None of theſe Circumſtances did he regard, nor was anxious, that the Republic might fail in Safety, but overſet, and ſunk, and to the utmoſt of his Power betrayed her to her Enemies. Art thou not then a Plagiary? Yes; and impious. Art thou not a Tranſcriber of Sentences? Yes; and an Enemy to the Gods. The Verſes you had often repeated upon the Stage, and which you faithfully remembered, thoſe you paſſed over in Silence, but what you never acted in your Life, you very curiouſly fought for, and repeated in public to ruin your Fellow-Citizens.

Now conſider the Remarks he made with regard to Solon. He ſaid the Statue of Solon, clothed in his Tunic, and holding his Hands within the Folds of his Robe, was erected as an

Example of the Modesty of the Orators in his Time. Thus did he malignantly aim at Timarchus, and reproach him with the Vivacity of his Action. But the People of Salamis assure us, that Statue has not been fifty years erected, yet from Solon to the present Time we reckon full two hundred and fifty. The Statuary therefore, who gave him his Attitude was not himself, nor was even his Grand-father, alive at that Time. Such were the Remarks he made to the Judges, and imitated Solon's Attitude. But far more important to the Republic, to have entered into the Spirit and Sense of Solon, which he never imitated, but in every possible Instance contradicted. For when Salamis revolted from the Athenians, and they had decreed, it should be punishable with Death, even to mention the recovering it, Solon undertook the Danger, and sung some elegiac Verses he made upon the Occasion, recovered the Island to the Republic, and removed the Ignominy she had suffered. But Æschines betrayed and delivered into the Hands of Philip the City of Amphipolis, which the Persian Monarch, and every State of Greece acknowledged to be yours, and afterwards supported Philocrates, who confirmed the Treachery by Decree. An honourable Instance (was it not?) of his remembering Solon. But he not only acted in this Manner here in Athens, for when he arrived at Macedonia, he never once pronounced the Name of those Territories, for the Recovery of which he was appointed an Ambassador. This he himself declared; for you must remember his saying, " I could indeed say something concerning

“ Am-

“ Amphipolis, but have left it for Demosthenes to speak upon
 “ that Subject.” I advanced upon the Tribunal and declared,
 “ he had left me nothing to say of his Conferences with Philip,
 “ for he would rather give away Part of his Blood, than of
 “ those Conferences. But, I presume, he thought it indecent,
 “ after having received Philip’s Money, to oppose him in that
 “ very Purpose for which he gave his Money, for he certainly
 “ gave it, that he might not be obliged to restore Amphipolis.”

Now take and read me these elegiac Verses of Solon, by which you will be convinced, that Solon detested Men like Æschines. But indeed, Æschines, it is by no means necessary, that an Orator should speak with his Hand under his Robe. No; but an Ambassador should perform his Embassy with his Hand under his Robe. Yet when you stretched forth yours in Macedonia, and held it open, and brought Shame upon this People, were you then a magnificent Orator? Or when you curiously collected those miserable Conceits, and exercised the Sweetness of your Voice in repeating them, did you not imagine you should suffer the Vengeance due to such and so many Villainies, although you wandered round the City with that extraordinary Bonnet upon your Head, and uttered your Invectives against me? (42) Read.

SOLON’S

(42) Solon, to avoid the Punishment denounced against whoever should propose to renew the War for the Recovery of Salamis, counterfeited Madness, and

having made some Verses proper for the Occasion, he got them by Heart, chaunted them, says Plutarch, as if under an immediate Inspiration, and appeared in

SOLON'S ELEGIAC VERSES. *

Nor Jove supreme, whose secret Will is Fate,
 Nor the blest Gods have doom'd th' Athenian State;
 For Pallas, with her Father's Glories crown'd,
 Spreads the Protection of her Ægis round.
 But dire Corruption wide extends its Sway;
 Athenians hear its Dictates, and obey.
 Oppressive Demagogues our Counsels guide,
 Though various Mischiefs wait to quell their Pride.
 Untaught with chearful Appetite to taste
 The calm Delights, that crown the temperate Feast,
 A Lust of Gold their restless Bosoms fires,
 A Lust of Gold their guilty Schemes inspires.
 Vain are all Laws, or human or divine,
 To guard the public Wealth, or sacred Shrine,
 While private Life is fill'd with mutual Fraud,
 By Justice and her sacred Laws unaw'd.
 Silent She sits, the past, the present views,
 And in her own good Time the guilty Scene pursues.

Thus other States their mortal Wound receive,
 And servile Chains their freeborn Sons enslave;

Sedition

public with a Bonnet on his Head. In this last Circumstance Æschines seems to have been ridiculously careful to imitate the Spirit of Solon.

* These Verses have all the Simplicity of the Age, in which they were written, but very little poetical Elegance and

Spirit. They are a Collection of political Maxims, that seem to preface the Dissolution of every State wherein they appear. Let this Reflexion, by which they may be happily applied to our present History, excuse the Poetry, either in the Original, or the Translation.

Sedition rages ; Wars, long-flumbering, rife,
And the lov'd Youth in Prime of Beauty dies ;
For soon the Foe lays waste that hapless State,
Where joyless Discord dwells, and foul Debate.

For the poor Wretch an harder Lot remains,
Sold like a Slave to pine in foreign Chains.
His proper Woes the Man of Wealth await,
Bound o'er his Walls, and thunder at his Gate ;
Close on th' unhappy Fugitive they press,
And find him in his Chamber's dark recess.

Thus my good Genius speaks, and bids advise
The Sons of Athens to be just and wise ;
To mark attentive what a Stream of Woes
From civil Discord, and Contention flows ;
What beauteous Order shines, where Justice reigns,
And binds the Sons of Violence in Chains.
Folly, of thousand Forms, before her flies,
And in the Bud the flowering Mischief dies,
She guides the Judge's Sentence, quells the proud,
And midst Sedition's Rage appalls the Croud ;
While clamorous Faction, and Contention cease,
And Man is blest with Happiness and Peace..

Do you not hear, O Men of Athens, what Solon declares
of such Men, and his Opinion of the Gods, whom he calls the
Guardians.

Guardians of Athens? For myself, I cheerfully assent to the Truth of this Opinion, that the Gods are Guardians of this Republic, and in some Measure am convinced, that all the Circumstances, which have appeared during this Trial, are signal Proofs of the divine Favour. For only reflect, that the Man, who hath committed so many enormous Crimes in his Embassy, and traiterously given away whole Provinces, in which the Gods ought to be worshiped by you, and your Confederates; this Man hath accused, and rendered incapable of giving Evidence against him, a Citizen, who was determined to prosecute him. What Proofs of the divine Favour in this Instance? That he himself may find neither Compassion, nor Pardon for his own Guilt. Then in his Accusation of Timarchus he chose to mention me with much Malignity, and afterwards in an Assembly of the People, among other Menaces threatned me with a Prosecution. To what good Purpose can this answer? That I, who am clearly informed, and have punctually followed him through all his Villainies, may with greater Indulgence stand forth his Accuser. Besides, having eluded to this Moment every Attempt to bring him to Justice, he hath now reduced himself to such Circumstances, that even upon Account of those imminent Dangers, which threaten us, if for no other Reason, it is neither possible, nor safe to suffer him to escape unpunished. You ought indeed, O Men of Athens, eternally to detest and punish these Betrayers, these Receivers of Bribes, but more especially at this Time, and for the

the

the general Preservation of the Grecian States. For a Distemper, O Men of Athens, terrible, and pernicious, hath assaulted Greece; a Distemper, that demands much Favour from the Gods, and from you the strictest Attention, to prevent its Infection. They, who are most distinguished in Oligarchies, and thought worthy of presiding over the Administration of their several Cities, are become the Betrayers of Liberty, and, unhappy Men! bring upon themselves a voluntary Slavery, which, among many other such Titles, they speciously call the Hospitality, and Familiarity, and Friendship of Philip. Yet even in democratical States, like this of Athens, and the Forms of Government, that prevail in every other City, the Citizens, whose Vengeance ought to fall upon these Traitors, and punish them with instant Death, are so far from acting in this Manner, that they admire, and emulate them, and every one wishes gladly, that he himself were such a Man.

YET this Distemper, attended with such Emulation, O Men of Athens, very lately ruined the Sovereignty and general Dignity of the Thessalians, and now absolutely deprives them even of their Liberty; for the Macedonians have Garrisons in some of their Citadels. It then entered into Peloponnesus; wrought such Destruction in Elis; filled the miserable People with such a Spirit of violating the Laws, with such Excess of Madness, that in Hopes of exerting an Authority over each other, and of obliging Philip, they polluted themselves with

the Blood of their Relations, and Fellow-Citizens. Neither did it stop there, but advancing into Arcadia, threw every thing into Confusion; and now the Arcadian Democracies, which ought, like yours, to be greatly anxious in the Cause of Liberty (for of all the Grecians, you and the Arcadians are the only original Natives of your Countries) admire Philip, erect Statues of Brass to him, present him with Crowns, and if ever he should go into Peloponnesus, they have decreed to receive him in their Cities. In the very same Manner the Argives. These Circumstances, by the Deity of Ceres, if we purpose to be serious, demand no little Prudence; especially, since after having taken its Progress round us, this Distemper, O Men of Athens, hath made its way into this City. While you are therefore yet in Safety, guard yourselves against it, and stigmatize with Infamy the Traitors, who have introduced it amongst us. Or otherwise, be cautious, lest what I now say may not hereafter appear too justly spoken, when you shall no longer have it in your Power to act as your Situation shall demand.

Do you not behold how conspicuous, O Men of Athens, and evident an Example of this Truth are the unhappy Olynthians? From no other Error, than their having acted in this Manner, have they perished miserably, as you may clearly be convinced by a Series of Events. When they could command only four hundred Horse, and the whole Number of their Citizens did not exceed five thousand; when they were not yet
joined

joined by the Chalcideans, they were invaded by the Lacedæmonians with a very considerable Force both by Sea and Land; for you know the Lacedæmonians, at that Time, held the Sovereignty of Greece both by Land and Sea. However, although so formidable a Power invaded them, yet they never lost any one City or Fortrefs, but were victorious in several Engagements, killed three Commanders in Chief of the Enemy, and at length concluded the War upon their own Conditions. But when some of them began to receive Presents, and the People, through Weakness, or rather through Misfortune, imagined these Traitors more faithful to them, than the Citizens, who with Integrity supported their Interests; when Lathenes covered his House with Macedonian Shingles, and Euthyocrates fed his Herds of Oxen, for which he never paid in Macedonia; when one of their Magistrates brought Sheep from thence, and another Horses, yet the People, against whom these Treasons were committed, were not only not angry, nor punished the Traitors, who committed them, but looked up to them with Admiration, envied, honoured, and esteemed them, as Men of superior Abilities. While Affairs proceeded in this Manner, and Corruption grew powerful, although they now commanded a thousand Horse, and their Numbers amounted to more than ten thousand; although all their Neighbours were their Confederates, and you sent them Succours of ten thousand Mercenaries and fifty Gallies, with a Body of four thousand Citizens, yet nothing was capable of preserving them, but before one Year

of War had expired, these Traitors had delivered up all the Cities in Chalcis, while Philip was unable to attend the Betrayers, nor could determine where he should first take Possession. Yet what no other Mortal had ever done, he took five hundred Horse, betrayed, with all their Arms, even by their own Commanders. Nor did they, who perpetrated these Horrors, blush to behold the Sun, that Mother-Earth, upon which they stood, the Temples of the Gods, the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, or the Infamy attending such Crimes. So senseless, O Men of Athens, so stupid does Corruption render Mankind. You therefore, in whom the Constitution is placed, ought to be greatly wise, nor suffer such Evils, but punish them with some distinguished Vengeance. For it were exceedingly strange, after having published so many severe Decrees against the Betrayers of Olynthus, if you should appear careless of punishing your own proper Traitors. Read the Decree upon the Olynthians.

THE DECREE.

Thus did you appear both to Greeks and Barbarians, to have righteously and honourably decreed against these Traitors, and Enemies of the Gods.

SINCE therefore such Offences are the constant Attendants of Corruption, and Mankind act in this Manner by its Influence, whosoever, O Men of Athens, you are conscious receives Presents, be sure to conclude him a Traitor. But if one Man betrays
 every

every favourable Conjunction; another the Business of the State; a third his Soldiers, and each of them destroys whatever he was appointed to preserve, then should all of them be equally detested. To you alone, of all Mankind, O Men of Athens, it is given to make use of your own historical Examples upon these Occasions, and to imitate in your Actions those Ancestors you so justly applaud. But if at present, in Time of Peace, you cannot imitate the Battles, Expeditions, Dangers, in which they were splendidly glorious, yet imitate their Wisdom, for which there is every where Occasion. Neither is Wisdom more difficult to acquire, or more troublesome to preserve, than Folly. Whoever, therefore, while you are sitting here, will take Cognizance of your Affairs, and form his Decrees upon them as he ought, will act for the Advantage of the Republic, and behave himself not unworthy of his Ancestors; otherwise he will ruin his Country, and be a Dishonour to his Ancestors. (43) But what Opinion did they entertain of such Traitors? Here, Secretary, read this Inscription; for it is necessary you should be convinced, that the Crimes, which you treat with Indifference, they punished with Death. Read it.

AN INSCRIPTION ON A COLUMN. (44)

R 2

YOU

(43) The Passage is not without Obscurity. Although we cannot imitate, in Time of Peace, the military Virtues of our Ancestors, let us imitate their political Wisdom, in attending the public Councils, and giving our Suffrages ac-

ording to the Interests of the Commonwealth.

(44) The Reader may find the Words of this Decree in the first Volume, Page 265.

You hear, O Men of Athens, that this Inscription pronounces Arthmius an Enemy to the Athenian People, and their Confederates; him and all his Generation. Why? Because he brought Gold from the Barbarians into Greece. By this Instance you may perceive, that your Ancestors were anxious to prevent even Foreigners from introducing the Mischiefs of Gold into any Part of Greece, while you with Indifference behold your own Citizens importing it even into the Midst of the Republic. But, in the Name of Jupiter! was this Column placed merely as Chance directed the Situation? No; by the Gods. Although this whole Citadel be sacred, and of a large Circumference, yet it was placed upon the right Hand of our great bronze Minerva, which the Republic consecrated in Remembrance of the Victory gained over the Barbarians, and to the Expence of which all the States of Greece contributed. So much was Justice at that Time revered, and the Punishment of such Offenders held in Honour, that the Statue of the Goddess, and the Column, upon which were inscribed the Punishments of Traitors, were deemed worthy of the same Situation. But now, Laughter and Dishonour will be the Consequence of such Crimes, if you do not immediately repress this Audaciousness, this immoderate Licentiousness.

YET I should imagine, O Men of Athens, you will act with Wisdom, if you imitate your Ancestors, not in this Instance alone, but in the whole Series of their Conduct afterwards.

When

When Callias, for Instance, was Ambassador to Persia, as I am persuaded you have heard, and had negotiated a Peace, which was applauded by all the States of Greece, and by which the Persian Monarch could not descend with any Body of Forces nearer the Sea-Coasts, than the Distance, that an Horse could run in a Day; nor approach by Sea to the Chalydonian, or Cyanean Islands with any Vessel beyond a certain Bulk, yet as he appeared to have accepted Presents in his Embassy, our Ancestors had very nearly ordered his Execution, and in passing his Accounts fined him fifty Talents; though certainly the Republic never concluded, either before or afterwards, a Peace more honourable. But this Circumstance they did not consider, or they attributed it to their own Virtue, and the Authority of the Commonwealth; but whether their Ambassador was influenced by Money, they imputed to his own Manners, which they judged should be honest and uncorrupted, when engaging in the Administration of public Affairs. So much did they esteem Corruption an Enemy and pernicious to the State, as not to suffer it in any Negotiation, however glorious, or in any Person, however estimable. But you, O Men of Athens, although you behold the very same Peace raising to the Ground the Walls of your Confederates, and building the Houses of your Ambassadors; taking away from the Republic her Possessions, and giving to them what they never hoped for; even in their Dreams, yet you do not order them to be put to Death, but want an Accuser, and prosecute with Words those Offences,

Offences, which you have beheld in Deeds. Nor might ancient Examples only be cited to animate you to punish these Traitors, but even within your own Time many have suffered the Punishment they deserved. Other Criminals I shall pass over, and only mention one or two, who were capitally convicted for Misconduct in their Embassies, though far less pernicious to the Republic, than this of Æschines. Read me this Decree.

The DECREE.

ACCORDING to this Decree, O Men of Athens, you capitally condemned these Ambassadors, one of whom, Epicrates, as I have been informed by our aged Citizens, was a valuable Man, greatly useful to the Commonwealth, and one of the Leaders, who brought home the People from the Pyræum, and in other Instances extremely popular. Yet none of these Virtues availed him; and with Reason. Because, whoever undertakes to execute such an Employment should not be partially virtuous, nor abuse the Credit he hath gained with you to the Commission of greater Villainies, but in general should never be guilty of any voluntary Offence.

IF Æschines therefore and his Colleagues have not committed every Crime, for which these Men suffered Death, then let me be condemned. For consider; “Whereas they have acted in “their Embassy (these are the Words of the Decree) contrary “to their Instructions, and our Decrees;” this was the first
Offence,

Offence, with which they were charged. But have not these Ambassadors acted in contradiction to their Instructions? Does not your Decree expressly command, that the Peace should extend to the Athenians, and the Confederates of the Athenians, and have they not openly excluded the Phocæans? Does it not order, “that the Magistrates of the several Cities should “take the Oaths of Ratification,” but have they ever tendered these Oaths to the Magistrates, who were sent by Philip? Were not your Ambassadors forbidden ever to be alone with Philip, and did they ever cease to enter into private Conferences with him? “Some of them were convicted before the Senate of “declaring Falsehoods;” and are not your present Ambassadors convicted before the People? But by what Evidence convicted, for this is an illustrious Circumstance? By the Facts themselves, for every Event hath happened in direct Contradiction to their Declarations. “Neither have they (so speaks the Decree) “written Truth in their Dispatches.” But did these Men write Truth? “They calumniated our Confederates and were corrupted.” Instead of calumniating, they utterly destroyed; a Crime, far more atrocious than Calumny. But with regard to their having been corrupted, if they denied, it would only remain to convict them; but since they themselves confess, let them be carried away to Execution.

WHAT then, O Men of Athens? when Affairs are in such a Situation, shall you, the Descendants of such Ancestors, and
some

some of you alive, when these Transactions happened; shall you endure that Epicrates, the Benefactor of the Athenians, and one of the Leaders, who brought home the People from the Pyraeum, should be deprived of his Rank as a Citizen, and delivered over to Punishment; again, that, some Time before, Thrafsybulus, the Son of Thrafsybulus, that Favourite of the People, whom he brought home from their Exile in Phyle, should be fined ten Talents; that a Descendant of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had wrought the most important Services for the Republic, and whom, in Remembrance of those Services, you invited by a Law to partake of your Libations, and the sacred Cups, in all your Temples and Sacrifices; whom you have ever celebrated and honoured equally with our Heroes and Gods; that all these Persons should suffer the Punishment appointed by our Laws; that neither Pardon, nor Compassion, nor the weeping Children, who bore the Names of your Benefactors, nor any other Influence could support them, and will you acquit the Son of that Pedagogue Atrometus, and that Sorceress Glaucothoe, who used to dance before her Chorus of Bacchanalians, and for whose Mysteries another Priestess was put to Death; will you acquit the Descendant from such Ancestors, who never were useful in any one Instance to the Republic, neither himself, his Father, or any of his Relations? For what Horse, what Galley, what Expedition, what Expence in Shows, what musical Entertainment, what public Office, what Contribution, what Benevolence, what Danger, what single Service of any
Kind

Kind have they ever, through all Time, performed for the Republic? But if they had really performed all these Services, and yet were unable to add, that he had discharged his Embassy with Probity and Integrity, Æschines would still deserve to suffer Death. But if he can neither plead the Merits of his Ancestors, nor his own Integrity, will you not punish? Will you not remember what he asserted, when he prosecuted Timarchus? “ That there can be nothing valuable in that
 “ State, which hath not Strength sufficient to punish Malefac-
 “ tors, or in that Constitution, where personal Affection and
 “ Solicitations prevail over the Laws: that you should there-
 “ fore neither pity the Mother of Timarchus, an aged Woman,
 “ nor his Children, nor any other Person, but consider only,
 “ that if you abandoned the Care of your Laws and the Consti-
 “ tution, you shall never find any to Pity your own Misfortunes.”

The unhappy Timarchus therefore was branded with Infamy, because he saw the Villainies of Æschines, and shall Æschines himself be unpunished? How is it possible? For if he thought proper, that such an extraordinary Punishment should be inflicted upon those, who had offended only against their own Persons, what Vengeance may not you, who are sworn to judge with Impartiality, pronounce upon those (among whom Æschines appears convicted) who have offended the Republic in an Affair of such Importance? “ Because by that Trial your
 “ Youth, in the Name of Jupiter! will become more virtuous.”

Yet by this Trial your Ministers, by whom the Commonwealth

is brought into the greatest Dangers, will become more virtuous. Of them also some proper Care should be taken.

BUT to convince you, that he destroyed Timarchus, not, by the Gods, in his Solitude for your Children, and their Virtue (for they are, O Men of Athens, already virtuous, and never may such Infamy befall the Republic, that ever they should want the Instructions of Aphobetus and Æschines) but because Timarchus proposed a Decree in the Senate, that whoever should be detected in conveying Arms, or any naval Stores to Philip, should be punished with Death. In Proof of this Assertion, how long since Timarchus first harangued the People? A very considerable Time. But Æschines was all this Time in Athens, yet never discovered his Indignation; never imagined it so terrible an Affair, that a Man of such Morals should speak in your Assemblies, (45) untill he went to Macedonia, and had there sold himself to Philip. Take and read me the Decree of Timarchus.

The DECREE.

HE, therefore, who for your Interest decreed it punishable with Death, to convey Arms to Philip during the War, was ruined, and branded with Infamy; while he, who traiterously
delivered

(45) It hath been already remarked, of giving Evidence in a Court of Justice, that a Person condemned for the Impurity of his Life, was rendered incapable or of speaking before the People.

delivered up to him the Arms of your Confederates, accused and prosecuted Timarchus, O Earth and Heavens! for Lubricity of Manners, even in Presence of his two Relations, whom you would have been unable to behold without Exclamations of Horrour, (46) the abominable Nicias, who let himself out for Hire to Chabrias the Ægyptian; and that execrable Cerybion, who in our Festivals played his Bacchanalian Characters, even without a Mask. Yet why do I mention them? He prosecuted Timarchus even in the Presence of Aphobetus. But all Remarks that Day upon Impudicity ran upwards, like Rivers against their Fountain-Head.

INTO what Ignominy, what Dishonour his Improbity and Falseness have thrown the Republic, I shall now declare, passing over all other Circumstances, in which you are already well informed. Formerly, O Men of Athens, all the other States of Greece were anxious to know your Decrees; but now we wander about solicitously inquiring, and listening, like Spies, to what is decreed by others; what do the Arcadians? what do the Amphictyons determine? Whither is Philip marching? Is he alive or dead? Do we not really act in this Manner? For myself, I am not alarmed, that Philip is alive,

S 2

but

(46) Wolfius very well observes, that the Judges, who sat upon the Trial of Timarchus, are not the same, who are to pronounce Sentence in this of Æschines. His Relations too, his Wife's Brothers according to the Scholiast, who were then present, do not appear in this Trial. *If you had seen them, you must have exclaimed with Horrour.*

but that the Spirit of the Republic in detesting and punishing Traitors is dead. Nor does Philip terrify me, if your Affairs are in Health; but if Impunity be granted to those, who are willing to earn the Wages of Philip; if some of your Citizens, who have gained a Confidence amongst you, will become the Patrons of Traitors; if they, who had always constantly refused to plead Philip's Cause, shall now ascend the Tribunal in his Favour; these to me are indeed objects of Terrour. For why, Eubulus, when your Cousin-German, Hegesileus, and, some Time before, your Uncle Thrasylbulus, were impeached, why did you refuse to appear, when cited upon the first collecting the Suffrages on the Judgement of their being guilty, or on the second Opinion, that was to determine their Punishment? (47) why did you not speak in their Defence? Wherefore entreat the Judges to have you excused? Did you refuse to patronize your Relations, Persons allied to you by Blood, and will you be an Advocate for Æschines? That Æschines, who, when Aristophon impeached Philonicus and through him accused your Administration, joined in the Prosecution, and was numbered among your Enemies. Yet soon afterwards you alarmed the People, and declared they must either go down to the Pyraum for some immediate Expedition; they must either bring in their Contributions, and convert the theatrical Funds to the

Service

(47) The first Part of the Day in any criminal Prosecution was appointed for the Prosecutor, the Laws, and for Liberty; the second, for the Criminal and his Defence; the third, for determining his Punishment, if he was found guilty. These Customs will be more fully explained hereafter.

Service of the Soldiery, or ratify the Decree, which Æschines supported, and that abominable Philocrates proposed, and by which, instead of an honourable, this ignominious Peace had been concluded. Have they by their Villainy totally ruined our Affairs, and are you now reconciled? You, who mentioned Philip with Execrations in an Assembly of the People, and swore by your Children, that he must certainly be ruined, if the Athenians pleased to ruin him, do you now support that Philip? Why did you impeach Myrocles for having exacted twenty Drachmas from every Citizen, who purchased the public Mines? Why did you indict Cephisophon upon an Action of Sacrilege, for having placed out seven Minæ of the sacred Funds at Interest three Days beyond the stated Time, yet those, who have in Possession, who confess, who are convicted, and taken in the Fact of committing these Crimes to the Destruction of our Confederates, these Traitors you never accuse, but are urgent with us to acquit them?

THAT these are formidable Crimes, and requiring much Prudence and Caution to guard against their Effects, while those, of which you accused Myrocles and Cephisophon were absolutely ridiculous, will easily appear. Were there not in Elis, some Persons, who plundered the public Treasury? Extremely probable. But were any of them concerned in ruining the Constitution and Liberty of their Country? Not one. Were there not in Olynthus, while that State was in Being,
some

some Citizens of this Character? Certainly. What? Were there not in Megara, who robbed, and plundered the Public? Undoubtedly; and it appeared. Were any of them the Authors of those Calamities, which befell that State? Not one. Who therefore, and what were they, who committed such flagrant Crimes? They, who thought themselves honoured in being called the Guests and the Friends of Philip; who deemed themselves worthy of commanding your Armies, and presiding in your Councils, and exerting a Superiority over the People.

WAS not Perilaus lately impeached before the Senate of Megara, because he went to Macedonia; and did not Ptæodorus, the principal Citizen of Megara in Riches, Birth and Reputation, appear in his Defence, solicit for his Pardon, and again send him back to Philip? He returned afterwards with a Body of mercenary Troops, while Ptæodorus had totally changed the civil Constitution of his Country. For there is nothing, certainly nothing, of which you should be more cautious, than the suffering any one single Citizen to exert an Authority superior to that of the whole People. Let no Man ever be acquitted or condemned by the meer Pleasure of another; let his own Actions acquit him; on the contrary, let this Æschines be condemned by the Justice of your Sentence; (48) for such Conduct is democratical.

I

SEVERAL

(48) This Manner of mentioning Æschines, thus irregularly, thus seemingly without Design, is of great Force. The Reasoning before is general, but this Application gives it a particular Direction. It is now pointed at Æschines alone.

The

SEVERAL of your Citizens have indeed, upon particular Occasions, gained an Influence over you; Calistratus, Aristophon, Diophantus, and others formerly. But where did they exert this Influence? In your Assemblies only: for never, even to this Day, did any of them assume an Authority in your Courts of Justice: an Authority more powerful than you yourselves; than the Laws and your Oaths. Do not therefore suffer Eubulus to usurp this Authority. But to convince you, it will be a greater Proof of your Wisdom to preserve it yourselves, than to intrust it to others, I will read you the Oracles of the Gods, who far more powerfully protect the Republic, than they, who govern it. Read.

The ORACLES.

Do you hear, O Men of Athens, what the Gods declare? If in Time of War, therefore, they had made this Declaration, they would have advised you to guard with Caution against your Commanders, because in War your Commanders are your Governors; if in Peace, to guard against your Magistrates; because they are then your Governors; you obey them, and are in Danger of being deceived by them. Besides, the Oracle declares, that the Republic should be united; that her Citizens should be unanimous in their Decisions, and not give Pleasure to their Enemies. Whether then do you imagine, O Men of Athens,

The Reader is indebted for this Remark, certainly of much good Understanding, to Doctor Taylor in his Notes upon another Oration.

Athens, will the acquitting or condemning the Man, who wrought such Mischiefs, give Pleasure to Philip? In my Judgement, his being acquitted. But the Oracle advises you always to act in such a Manner, that your Enemies may never have Reason to rejoice. Thus does Jupiter, Venus and all the Gods command you with one Consent to punish those, who render any Services to your Enemies. But who are your Enemies? The Assailants without, and their Assistants within. The Office of these Assailants is to give; that of their Assistants to receive, and to protect others, who receive.

BESIDES, we may discover by the Force of human Reason only, that of all things most odious, and most terrible, is a Magistrate's Familiarity with them, who have Sentiments and Inclinations different from those of the People, whom they govern. For consider, by what Arts Philip hath become thus universally powerful, and by what Instruments he hath wrought out his Success. By purchasing the Assistance of whoever sold their Abilities; by corrupting the Magistrates in every free City, and inspiring them with Insolence and Ambition, But these Arts it is this Day in your Power to render useles, if you determine not to hear the Advocates of such Traitors; if you demonstrate, that they have not an absolute Authority over you (for at present they declare themselves your absolute Masters) if you punish the Wretch, who hath sold himself to Philip, and let the whole World behold his Punishment. For though you
may

may with Justice, O Men of Athens, shew your Indignation against whoever commits such Villainies; whoever betrays your Confederates, your Allies, and those Conjunctions, upon which the Prosperity or Misery of every particular Citizen depends, yet never can you shew that Indignation with greater Justice, than against this Æschines. For he, who numbered himself amongst those, who were most suspicious of Philip; he, who alone, and first was conscious, that Philip was the common Enemy of Greece, yet deserted to that Enemy, betrayed his Post, and suddenly became an Advocate for Philip, does he not merit a thousand Deaths? That these Allegations are true, he hath it not in his Power to deny. For who first introduced Ischander to you, and assured you he came hither from the Friends of this Republic in Arcadia? Who was even clamorous in declaring, that Philip was pillaging Greece and Peloponnesus, and that you were asleep? Who repeated those beautiful, and long, and numerous Declamations, and read the Decrees of Miltiades and Themistocles, (49) and the Oath, which is taken by our Youth in the Temple of Agraulus? (50) Did not Æschines? Who persuaded you to send an Embassy even to the red Sea, as if Greece were already invaded by Philip, and that it was your Duty to provide for her Safety, and not

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T

abandon

(49) When the Persians invaded Greece, Miltiades determined to meet them at Marathon with only the Forces of the Republic. Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to forsake their City, and to venture the Sea-fight at Salamis, where

he gained a complete Victory. These Examples Æschines produced to animate the People against Philip. SCHOLIAST.

(50) The military Oath, taken at the Time of enlisting.

abandon her States? Did not Eubulus write the Decree, and Æschines go Ambassador to Peloponnesus? How he negotiated, and how he harangued, when he arrived there, he may himself know; but what he declared here, I am confident you all remember; that he often called Philip a Barbarian and the Pest of Greece; that he declared the Arcadians would be exceedingly rejoiced, if the Republic of Athens would give some Attention to her Affairs, and awake from her Slumbers. But what beyond every other Circumstance, he said, provoked his Indignation, in his Return he happened to meet Atrestidas returning on his Journey from Philip, and travelling with some thirty Women and Children; that he asked with Astonishment, who the Man was, and what the Croud of People with him. But when he heard, that Atrestidas, on his leaving Philip, had received these Olynthian Prisoners as a Present, the Sight appeared to him most deplorable; he burst into Tears, and lamented the Fate of Greece, so unhappily situated, as not to regard such Calamities. He then advised you to send Ambassadors to Arcadia to accuse the Faction, who supported Philip, for he had been informed by his Friends, that if the Republic would act with Seriousness in the Affair, and send an Embassy, the Traitors would be justly punished.

SUCH were his Harangues at that Time, O Men of Athens, honourable and worthy of the Commonwealth. But when he arrived in Macedonia, and beheld this Philip, both his own, and

the common Enemy of Greece, did his Harangues afterwards bear any Resemblance to those he had spoken before; was there any Affinity between them? Far otherwise. He then declared, we ought no longer to remember our Ancestors, nor talk of their Triumphs, nor send Succours to any of the States of Greece. Then did he profess his Wonder at those, who advised you to consult the Grecians in general upon concluding a Peace with Philip, as if it were necessary to ask the Consent of others in Matters of your own peculiar Concernment. He affirmed, that Philip himself, O Hercules! of all Mankind was best affected to Greece, the greatest Orator of his Age, and fond of Athens to Excess, but that some of her Citizens were so perverse, so implacable, as not to be ashamed of pouring forth their Invectives against him, and calling him a Barbarian.

Is it possible, that the very same Man, who had made these first Declarations, should ever dare, unless he were corrupted, to utter these second Sentiments? What? He, who looked upon Atrestidas with Horror, on account of those Olynthian Women and Children, could he endure to act in Conjunction with Philocrates, who brought the free-born Women of Olynthus hither for Prostitution? A Wretch, so notoriously infamous for the Impurity of his Life, that it were unnecessary to say any thing reproachful, or severe of him. Let me only assert, Philocrates brought Women hither, and my whole Audience is fully informed for what Purposes, and will pity, I am well

assured, these ill-fated, miserable Creatures, whom Æschines never pitied. Neither did he lament with Tears the Fate of Greece, apparent in the Miseries of the Women, who were insulted and outraged by our Ambassadors, even in the Presence of our Confederates. Yet he will now lament himself, and the Errors of his Embassy, with Tears and Cries; perhaps will bring his Children, and appear with them on the Tribunal. With regard to his Children, consider, O Men of Athens, that the Children of many of your Confederates, and Allies, are at this Moment Vagabonds and Beggars, after having suffered by his Crimes the extremest Wretchedness. It were far more worthy of your Clemency to pity them, than the Children of such a Traitor; for he and his Colleagues, by adding these Words, “and to his Posterity,” to the Articles of Peace, have deprived your Children of all future Hopes. With regard to his Tears, remember you have now before you the Man, who advised you to send an Embassy to Arcadia to accuse the Faction of Philip.

BUT it is now no longer necessary to send Ambassadors to Peloponnesus, to travel a long Journey, nor expend immense Sums on the Road, but to come forward each of you to the Tribunal, and give a just and holy Suffrage in Favour of your Country against this Man, O Earth and Heaven! who having declaimed at first, as I have related, of Marathon and Salamis,

of Battles and Trophies, on a sudden, as soon as he had landed in Macedoniã, spoke in direct Contradiction to his former Harangues; that we should no longer remember our Ancestors, nor talk of their Trophies, nor send Succours, nor enter into Council with the other States of Greece, and only not raise her Cities ourselves. Expressions, so full of Turpitude, were never uttered in your Assemblies. For among either Greeks or Barbarians is there so perverse, so stupid, so virulent an Enemy to the Republic, that if he were asked; “ tell me, is
“ there any Part of Greece, such as it now appears, and inhabi-
“ bited as it is at present, that could have either preserved its
“ Name, or been inhabited by Grecians, if our Ancestors had
“ not given such signal Proofs of their Virtue at Marathon and
“ Salamis?” No one, I am persuaded, would assert it could; but on the contrary, that the whole Country must have been subdued by the Barbarians. Those Honours therefore, those Praises, of which even your Enemies would not deprive you, Æschines, that he may receive his Pension, will not suffer you, the Descendants of those Ancestors, even to mention. Of all other Blessings the Dead cannot participate, but Praise for the glorious Actions, which they died in performing, is their peculiar Property, nor after Death does Envy itself oppose their Possession. He therefore, who despoils them of these Honours, may justly be deprived of his own Dignity, while your Justice will appear in thus revenging your Ancestors.

By such Expressions, thou execrable Wretch, didst thou at once plunder the Actions, and lacerate the Fame of our Ancestors, and ruin all our Affairs. From thence you have purchased Land; from thence become a Man of Importance. Before he had wrought these numberless Misfortunes to the Republic, he acknowledged himself a Notary; he professed his Gratitude to you for appointing him to that Office, and behaved himself with tolerable Modesty. But after he had wrought a thousand Mischiefs to the State, he grew arrogant and supercilious; if any one calls him Æschines, the Notary, he instantly declares himself his Enemy, and complains he is abused; he now stalks through the Forum with his Robe flowing down to his Heels, taking long Strides with Pythocles, (51) and puffing up his Cheeks; he now becomes one of Philip's Guests and Friends, who determine to quit the Party of the People, and call the present State of Affairs Confusion and Madness; although he still continues to reverence the wretched Cell, in which he was educated. (52)

I WILL NOW summarily repeat the political Artifices, by which Philip imposed upon you, and in which he was assisted by these
 Enemies

(51) Pythocles, according to the Scholiast, was very tall, and Æschines a very little Man. From thence our Author laughs at the whimsical Affectation of his walking with Pythocles, as if by these large Strides he could measure Height with him.

(52) The Passage is of acknowledged Obscurity. It probably means, that Æschines, with all his Insolence and Vanity, still preserves the Meanness of his original Manners and Education. A Character not uncommon,

Enemies of the Gods, because it much concerns you to examine and behold the whole Progress of his Delusions. At first, when his Dominions were laid waste by Robbers, and his Ports shut up in such a Manner, as deprived him of all Advantages of Commerce, he ardently wished for Peace, and sent hither Neoptolemus, Aristodemus, and Ctesiphon, who made, in his Name, very equitable Proposals. But when we went Ambassadors to him, he instantly hired this Æschines to defend and support the polluted Philocrates, and to gain a Superiority over us, who were determined to preserve our Integrity. He likewise wrote a Letter to you, by which he principally hoped to obtain a Peace. Neither was it in his Power, even then, to execute any thing extraordinary against you, unless he ruined the Phocæans; nor was this extremely easy; for his Affairs were contracted, as if by some peculiar good Fortune, into such narrow Bounds, that he must either fail of executing the Schemes he proposed, or of Necessity must appear a Liar and perjured, and have all the Barbarians, as well as Grecians, Witnesses of his Improbability. Because, if he had received the Phocæans as his Confederates, and had given to them his Oath of Alliance as to us, he must have instantly violated his Engagements to the Thebans, to whom he had sworn to subdue Bœotia, and to the Theffalians, whom he had promised to restore to their Seat among the Amphictyons. (53) On the contrary, if he had refused to receive the Phocæans into his

Confe-

(53) From whence they were expelled by the Phocæans.

Confederacy, as in Fact he afterwards refused, he imagined, you would not suffer him to march any farther, but would send Succours to Thermopylæ, which, if you had not been deceived, you would certainly have done, and if done, he computed you must have effectually stopped his Progress. Nor was it necessary to hear this Truth from others: he was himself a Witness of the Fact. For after his first Victory over the Phocæans, in which he cut to Pieces their mercenary Troops, with their General and Commander Onomarchus, when no human Creature, either Greek or Barbarian, except you, sent them Succours, he not only did not enter the Streights of Thermopylæ, but did not execute any of the Schemes he proposed to himself after his having entered them; he was unable even to approach them. (54) When he had some Contests with the Thesfalians, and the Phereans refused to follow him; when the Thebans were defeated, and routed in Battle, and a Trophy was erected over them by the Phocæans, I presume he was then perfectly convinced, it was not in his Power to have entered the Streights, if you had sent the Phocæans any Succours, nor could he have succeeded by Force, if he had attempted it, unless he had also
made

(54) Philip had been repulsed by the Athenians in his first Attempt to enter the Streights of Thermopylæ. An Action thus glorious and important was celebrated at Athens with peculiar Sacrifices. Yet this Action is represented by Wolfius in his Translation, as a cold Possibility of the Success, which the Athenians might have expected, if Phi-

lip had attempted an Invasion and they had sent Succours to oppose him. *Tum si mortalium omnium nemo tulisset opem Phocensibus . . . non penetrasset . . . nec prope accedere potuisset.* Such Mistakes must frequently escape the Diligence of the most accurate Translator, and the best Care of his Editors.

made use of Fraud. “ How then shall I avoid being publicly
“ convicted of breaking my Word, and the Infamy of Perjury,
“ yet execute the Plan I propose? How? Thus. I will, if
“ possible, find an Athenian, who shall deceive the Athenians;
“ I shall not then have any share in the Infamy.” From thence
his Ambassadors declared at first, that he would not receive
the Phocæans, as Confederates; but these Traitors replied, and
asserted in the Assembly, that Philip could not with Honour
enter openly into an Alliance with the Phocæans, in regard to
his Engagements with the Thebans and Theffalians; but that if
ever he should happen to be absolute Master of Affairs, and
obtain a Peace, the Articles, which we now proposed to him to
ratify, he would then punctually perform.

UPON these Hopes therefore, by these Artifices, these Insinu-
ations, did he obtain a Peace, within an Exclusion of the
Phocæans. Yet afterwards it became necessary to prevent your
sending Succours to Thermopylæ, for fifty Gallies were station-
ed together, that if Philip should march, you might hinder his
Progress. How then shall he act? What other Artifices must
be tried for this Purpose? Every Oportunity you might possibly
have of engaging in the Affair, must be taken from you, and
proper Persons must be appointed to conduct and suddenly bring
it to such a Conclusion, as to render it impracticable, even
when you were determined, to sail out of your Harbours. It is
apparent, that your Ambassadors have acted in this Manner.

With regard to myself, as you have often heard, I was unable to depart before them, and although I had hired a Vessel, was hindered from setting Sail. But it now becomes absolutely necessary, that the Phocæans should place a Confidence in Philip, and voluntarily surrender themselves, lest any unlucky Accident should happen in his Affairs, or you should publish some Decree against him. “ The Athenian Ambassadors therefore shall declare, that the Phocæans shall be preserved. “ Then if any of them be suspicious of me, he will rely upon their Faith, and surrender himself. We will, however, invite the Athenians to march into Phocis, that imagining every thing shall be regulated, as they please to direct, they may not publish their Decrees to oppose us. (56) Their own Ambassadors shall therefore make these Declarations and Promises in our Name, that whatever happen, the Athenians may not put themselves in Motion.”

IN this Manner, by these Artifices, and by the Assistance of these Wretches, devoted to Perdition, have your Affairs been universally ruined. For instead of seeing Thespiæ and Plataæ re-inhabited, you heard, that Orchomenus and Coronea were enslaved: instead of the Authority of the Thebans being reduced,

(56) We have already seen (Page 25) that Philip sent two Letters to invite the Athenians to a general Congress on the Affairs of Phocis. Æschines in the next Oration will give us the Terms of this Invitation, *that they should march with all their Forces to support the Cause of Justice.* We shall there find, as he represents it, the Reason of their Refusal.

duced, or their Insolence and Arrogance suppressed, the Cities of the Phocæans, your Confederates, were rased to the Ground; the Thebans rased them to the Ground, and their Inhabitants were dispersed by the Harangues of Æschines; instead of delivering up Eubæa in Exchange for Amphipolis, Philip is raising Fortresses in Eubæa, from whence to invade you, and is perpetually meditating the Siege of those Places we still possess in that Island: instead of having Oropus restored, we are now preparing to march for the Defence of our own Frontiers, which, while the Phocæans were in Safety, we had never done: instead of performing their ancient, customary Sacrifices at Delphos, and having his Treasures restored to Apollo, the rightful Amphiçtyons are compelled to fly, are driven into Banishment, and their Country laid waste; while these barbarian Macedonians, who never had a Seat before among the Amphiçtyons, now attempt by Force to enter into that Council. Whoever mentions the sacred Treasures is instantly crucified; the Republic is despoiled of her Prerogative of first consulting the Oracle at Delphos, and all her Affairs are perplexed and confused like an Ænigma. Thus Philip never told an Untruth, yet carried all his Schemes into Execution, while you beheld whatever you prayed and hoped for, in every Instance contradicted, and under an Appearance of Peace suffered more direful Calamities, than under an open Declaration of War. By such Practices did these Traitors get Money, and yet are even to this Day unpunished.

THAT these Misfortunes have undoubtedly been produced by Corruption, and that your Ambassadors received the Price of this Corruption, is already manifest to you, I presume, in numberless Instances, and I am apprehensive, that, contrary to my Intentions, by endeavouring with too much Solitude to demonstrate their Guilt, I may grow tedious by a Repetition of what you already know. Hear me, however, in one Instance more. Among the Ambassadors, whom Philip sent hither, is there any one to whom you would erect a Statue of Bronze in the Forum? What do I say? Is there any one, to whom you would give an Entertainment in the Prytanæum, or any other Present, with which you generally honour your Benefactors? In my Opinion, not one. Why? Not because you are ungrateful, or unjust, or malevolent, but because you may affirm, as you certainly might affirm with Truth and Justice, that they always acted, not in Support of your Interests, but those of Philip. Do you then imagine, that while you are thus sensible of the Force of this reasoning, that Philip can think in a different Manner? Or did he give your Ambassadors so many, and such splendid Presents, because they acted in their Embassy, with regard to you, with Integrity and Honour? Impossible. You behold in what Manner he treated Hegesippus and his Colleagues. Other Instances I shall pass over unmentioned. But he banished the Poet Xenoclydes by Proclamation, because he had hospitably received his Fellow-Citizens. (57) Thus
does

(57) Xenoclydes, a Poet of Athens, resided in Macedonia. Seeing the Disregard,

does he act towards those, who speak with Integrity what they really think for your Advantage, and thus, with regard to those, who have sold themselves, like Æschines and Philocrates. Do these Assertions therefore require Witnesses? Do they want any stronger Proof? Shall ever any Power be able to tear them from your Memory?

A CERTAIN Person met me lately near the Senate-House, and told me an Affair of all others most extraordinary; that Æschines was preparing to accuse Chares, and hoped to impose upon you by this Artifice, and by his Harangues. For my own Part, if Chares be accused, I dare affirm, that he will be found to have acted faithfully and affectionately, to the utmost of his Power, for your Advantage; but if in the Event he was overpowered by Numbers, that ought to be imputed to the Counsels of those bad Men, who, under the Influence of Corruption, ruined the Republic. But I shall make them this abundant Concession. Let it be granted, that whatever Æschines shall say against Chares may be perfectly true, yet still his accusing him will be absolutely ridiculous; because I do not blame Æschines for the Conduct of the War, for which the Generals are alone accountable, nor impute to him the Peace concluded by the Republic. Thus far I acquit him. What then

gard, with which Hegesippus was treated, he received him with the Hospitality due to his Countrymen. Philip repented his

Behaviour, and banished him from his Dominions.

SCHOLIAST.

then do I assert, and from whence does this Impeachment arise? From his having, while the Commonwealth was engaged in concluding the Peace, supported Philocrates against those, who proposed the best Conditions; from his receiving Presents; wasting away the Time in his second Embassy, and never, in any one Instance, obeying your Instructions; from his having imposed upon the Republic, and ruined the whole State of our Affairs by encouraging our Hopes, that Philip would act in every thing as we should direct; lastly, from his having pleaded in Defence of that Monarch, when others bid beware of him, who had already committed such atrocious Acts of Injustice. These are the Articles upon which I impeach him. These you ought to remember. Because, if I had seen a just and equal Peace; if I had seen that your Ambassadors neither sold their Integrity, nor uttered Falsehoods to deceive you, I would myself have pronounced their Panegyric; I would myself have advised their being crowned. But if any of your Generals hath failed in his Duty, his Errors have nothing in common with the present Trial. For what General lost Halus, and ruined the Phocæans? Who lost Doriscus? Who Chersobleptes? Who the sacred Mountain? Who Thermopylæ? Who opened a Passage for Philip even to the Frontiers of Attica through the Territories of our Confederates and Allies? Who alienated the Affections of Coronea, Orchomenum, Eubæa, and very lately of Megara? Who rendered the Thebans so

powerful? These Misfortunes, however numerous and important, were not occasioned by your Generals, but these Places were ceded during the Peace, and Philip holds Possession of them by the Influence and Persuasion of these Traitors. They were lost by them, and their Corruption.

IF these are the proper Objects of his Defence, and he shall wander from them, and choose rather to speak to every other Question, be sure to make him this Reply. We do not now sit in Judgement upon any of our Generals, nor are you accused of any Errors in the Conduct of the War. Do not therefore tell us, that others are Accomplices with you in the Destruction of the Phocæans, but convince us, that you yourself are innocent. What? Do you now assert, that Demosthenes is guilty, yet never accused him when he passed his Accounts? Have you not always, even to this Moment, praised his Conduct? Neither declaim upon the general Excellence and Advantages of Peace, because you are not accused of having influenced the Republic to conclude the Peace; but, that we were not shamefully and opprobriously deceived in a thousand Instances afterwards, and our Affairs totally ruined, make these the Subjects of your Declamation. For it is represented to us, that you are the Author of all these Mischiefs, and are therefore justly deemed worthy of Destruction. If you are careful to answer him in this Manner, he will have nothing to reply, but shall raise his Voice, and chaunt forth its Sweetness in vain.

PERHAPS:

PERHAPS it may be necessary to say something of his Voice, for I am informed he greatly vaunts him of its Sweetness, as if he intended to exercise his theatrical Talents upon this Occasion. Yet in my Opinion, if, when he played the Character of Thyestes, or represented the Miseries of the Trojan War, you drove him off the Stage with Hisses, and only not with Stones, in such a Manner, that he had very nearly desisted, in the Article of Death, from playing any more third-rate Characters, it would surely be excessively absurd, if afterwards, when he hath wrought a thousand Mischiefs, not upon the Scene, but in the public and most important Affairs of the Commonwealth, you should listen to him, as an Orator. No; may you never commit such an Absurdity. When you make Trial of an Herald, you should indeed be attentive to his having a good Voice, but in choosing an Ambassador, or any public Minister, it is your Interest to fix upon a Man of Integrity, and zealous for your Welfare. With regard to myself, I never looked up to Philip with Admiration, but was anxious only to redeem our Fellow-Citizens from Slavery, nor ever submitted to any thing base or abject, while Æschines threw himself prostrate at his Feet, and sang Pæans of Victory with him, and treated you with Contempt.

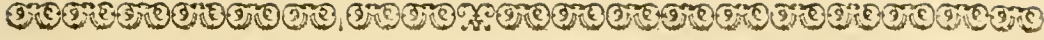
BESIDES, when you behold a valuable Citizen, and studious of your Interests, possessed of Eloquence, or Sweetness of Voice, or any other Excellence, it is your Duty, all of you,
to

to rejoice with him, and assist him with Ardour (for such a Man is a common Blessing to you all) but when you perceive him corrupted, abandoned, and a Slave to the most fordid Lucre, you should drive him out of the Assembly, or listen to him with Severity and Aversion; because when a Man of a depraved Spirit hath gained the Reputation of Abilities among you, he becomes most dangerous to the State. Behold, by the Reputation, that Æschines had gained, what Mischiefs have assaulted the Republic. But while Abilities of every other Kind can tolerably well support themselves, this of Eloquence, if opposed by its Audience, is instantly checked in its Progress. You should hear Æschines therefore, as a Man void of all Integrity, corrupted, and never uttering a Syllable of Truth.

Now consider, that not only upon all other Accounts, but with regard to your Negotiations with Philip, it were of advantage to the Commonwealth that Æschines should be condemned. Because, if ever Philip should hereafter be compelled to act with Justice to the Republic, he will alter his Conduct. At present he hath chosen to impose upon the Many, and to cultivate the Friendship of the Few. But should he hear, that these Traitors are destroyed, he will afterwards think proper to act with a regard to the Many, in whom reside all the Powers of the Constitution. On the contrary, if he should persevere, as at present, in his Licentiousness and Insolence, you shall in Effect destroy all those, who may support his Interests hereafter, if you

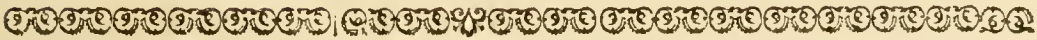
destroy this single Traitor. For if they have acted in this Manner under the Apprehension of being punished, what Crimes, do you imagine, will they not commit, when no longer apprehensive of your Vengeance? What Kind of Euthycrates? What Kind of Laſthenes? What Betrayer will they not excell in Villainy? Will not your Citizens become the moſt abandoned of all Mankind, when they behold the Wretches, who have ſold their Country, enjoying Riches, Authority, and Impunity, by the Friendſhip of Philip, while they, who preſerve their Integrity, and ſpend their Fortunes in the Service of the Public, are purſued with Vexations, Hatred, Envy? May this never happen. Never can it promote your Glory, your Piety, your Security, nor answer any other valuable Purpoſe, to acquit this Traitor; but to render him an Example of your Juſtice, both to your own Citizens, and to all the other States of Greece, will beſt promote the Interests of the Republic.

End of the O R A T I O N.



THE
O R A T I O N
O F
A E S C H I N E S

against the Charge of Misconduct in his Embassy.



THE
O R A T I O N
O F
Æ S C H I N E S.

I Do implore you, Athenians, to hear me with a favourable Attention; to consider the Greatness of my Danger; the Multitude of Crimes, against which I must now make my Defence; the Arts, and Arguments of my Accuser, and even his Cruelty, who hath presumed to exhort our Judges, Men sworn to hear the contending Parties with Impartiality, not to endure even the Voice of the accused. (1) Neither did he utter this Sentiment in Anger; for the Prosecutor, who is conscious of his own Falsehood, can have no Resentment against the Man, who is unjustly impeached; nor does he, who urges nothing but Truth, ever forbid the Criminal to make his Defence, because the Accusation hath no Effect upon an Audience, until the accused hath obtained Liberty to make his Apology,

It were unnecessary to prefix an Argument to this Oration. The Reader, who has been in any Measure attentive to the Prosecution, will be able to form his own Judgement on the Merit of the Defence. It may not, however, be un-

useful to point out the particular Passages in the last Oration, which Æschines represents as Proofs of the Malignity and Injustice of his Accuser.

(1) These last Words do not appear in the Oration of Demosthenes. WOLFIIUS.

Apology, and is unable to refute the Crimes, laid to his Charge. But Demosthenes, I apprehend, takes no Pleasure, nor indeed is he formed to take Pleasure in the Language of Justice, but would willingly call forth your Indignation, and hath impeached me of Corruption, himself most unfit to urge a Suspicion of this Kind. Because, whoever impels his Judges to be angry with the corrupt, should himself be most distant from such Practices.

It happened, O Men of Athens, (2) that while I heard Demosthenes accusing me, never was I under greater Apprehensions, never more provoked, nor ever so transported with Pleasure. I was terrified, and even now am greatly alarmed, lest any of you, who know me not, should be influenced in his Judgement by those insidious and malevolent Antitheses. (3) Then I was rapt with Astonishment, and with Difficulty supported the Accusation, that charged me with Outrage, and drunken Violence to a free-born Woman, and an Olynthian. But I was delighted, when you with Indignation rejected the Charge, and I confess, the modest Department of my whole Life was then repaid with Gratitude. (4)

I THERE-

(2) Perhaps, the single Instance of this Address, *O Men of Athens*, either in this, or the next Oration of Æschines.

(3) The Reader may turn to Page 67. Wolfius thinks these *Antitheses* mean the Opposition of Characters between Philon and Æschines, Page 65.

(4) Ulpian tells us, that the Judges rose from the Bench with Resentment and Indignation, when Demosthenes told the Story of the Olynthian Woman, and that Eubulus, the Advocate of Æschines, cried out, *Can you endure to hear him uttering such Impurities?*

I THEREFORE honour, and with singular Affection love you for giving Credit rather to the Lives of the accused, than to the Accufations of their Enemies, yet I would not decline making my Defence againſt this Charge; becauſe if any of our Citizens, who now ſurround this Court in Multitudes; if any of my Judges could believe I had committed ſuch an Outrage, not upon a free-born Woman only, but upon any other, I ſhould think the Remainder of my Life, a Life of Miſery: and if, in the Progreſs of my Apology, I do not clearly prove, that the Accuſation itſelf is falſe, and that he, who aſſerted it, is an unhallowed Calumniator, I will acknowledge myſelf worthy of Death, although I ſhould not appear guilty of any other Crime.

BUT his Declamation appeared to me moſt unaccountable, and cruelly unjuſt, when he aſked you, whether it were poſſible, that, in the very ſame City, Philocrates ſhould be condemned to die, becauſe, in the Conſciouſneſs of his Crimes, he would not venture to ſtand his Trial, and that I ſhould be acquitted. But I imagine, I ought in Juſtice, according to this very reaſoning, to be acquitted; for if he, who is conſcious of his Crimes, and does not appear, be deemed guilty, certainly the Man, who is conſcious of his Innocence, and delivers up his Perſon to the Laws, and his Fellow-Citizens, cannot be guilty.

LET

(5) In regular Concluſion, *cannot be deemed guilty*. But Orators have long claimed a Privilege of departing from the ſevere Rules of Logic; and Æſchines

here draws a poſitive Concluſion of his Innocence from Premiſſes of meer Probability.

LET me, however, implore you, that, during this whole Prosecution, if I should omit or forget any Circumstances of Importance, you will ask and desire me to explain whatever you desire to know, and hear me with an impartial Attention and without Prejudice of my being guilty. Yet I am extremely doubtful, from the Irregularity of the Prosecution, from whence I should begin my Defence. It is yours to consider, whether my Doubts appear reasonable. I am now tried for a Crime, that may affect my Life, yet the greatest Part of the Prosecution is employed in accusing Philocrates and Phrynon, and our other Colleagues, and Philip, and the Peace, and the Administration of Eubulus, but in every one of these I am included, while Demosthenes alone, through his whole Oration, is anxious for the Republic, and all others are Traitors. Nor hath he ceased from insulting, and pouring forth his lying Invectives, not against me only, but against the other Ambassadors. Yet while in general he treats me with Ignominy and Contempt, upon any sudden Alteration of his Opinion, from whatsoever Cause it happen, as if he prosecuted an Alcibiades or a Themistocles, who exceeded all our other Grecians in Authority, (6) he charges me with destroying the Cities of the Phocæans, alienating the whole Region of Thrace, and expelling Chersobleptes, an Ally and Confederate of the Republic, from his Kingdom.

He

(6) Οἱ πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξῃ διήμεγκαν, translated by Doctor Taylor, *qui Græcis longe fama præcelluere*, yet the

Reasoning of our Orator does not depend upon the Fame and Reputation of Alcibiades or Themistocles, but upon their Authority and Power.

He then attempted to compare me to Dionysius, the Sicilian Tyrant, (7) and afterwards with Violence and Clamour bids you beware of that wild Monster, Æschines. Then he repeated the Dream of the Woman of Himera, yet when he had carried the Affair to such a pitch of Extravagance, he envied me the Honour of these Calumnies, and ascribed the Cause of all our Misfortunes, not to my Orations, but to the Arms of Philip.

BUT besides his Impudence, and the portentous Falsehoods he utters, it is difficult to recollect every thing he said, and dangerous to answer such unexpected Calumnies. Yet in whatever Instance I can imagine this Discourse will be most clear, most informing to you, and in itself most just, I shall begin from thence; from his reasoning upon the Peace, and the Election of your Ambassadors. Thus shall I be better able to recollect, and to answer, and you be better informed.

I BELIEVE you all remember, that the Eubæan Ambassadors, after they had finished their Negotiations with the People upon the Peace they proposed for themselves, informed you, that Philip had empowered them to declare, that he was desirous of putting an End to the War, and concluding a Peace. Not long

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Y

after-

(7) We cannot form a Judgement of this Comparison between Æschines and Dionysius, or the Ridicule of mentioning this Himerian Woman's Dream, since neither of them appear in the Oration of Demosthenes. Valerius Maximus and Plutarch give us the Story of this Woman; that she dreamt she was carried to Heaven, and there saw a Man chained under the Throne of Jupiter; and when she afterwards saw Dionysius, she cried out, That is the Man.

afterwards Phrynon was taken Prisoner by some Macedonian Robbers, during the Truce proclaimed at the Olympic Games, as he himself complained. (8) When he returned hither, after having paid his Ransom, he implored you to send him in the Character of an Ambassador to Philip, that, if possible, he might recover the Money he had paid for his Liberty. Yielding to his Entreaties you joined Ctesiphon with him in the Embassy, who made his Report when he returned, concerning the Affair, for which he was sent, and then added, that Philip had assured him, he very unwillingly continued the War, from which he would now gladly be relieved. When Ctesiphon made this Declaration, and mentioned besides the exceeding Humanity of Philip; when the People greatly applauded Ctesiphon and approved of his Conduct; when no one rose in Opposition; Philocrates moved for a Decree, which the whole People unanimously confirmed, that Philip might be permitted to send Heralds and Ambassadors hither to negotiate a Peace. This Measure had before been opposed by some certain Persons, who were very solicitous about it, as the Fact itself evinced. They preferred a Decree against Philocrates, for enacting new Laws in contradiction to those already in Force; they inscribed upon it the Name of Lycinus; marked it at an hundred Talents, and entered it in Court. Philocrates being in an ill State of Health, called upon Demosthenes, not me, to be his Advocate.

(8) The Reader may find some on the first Volume, Page 178. Particulars of this Story in the Notes

cate. This Philip-Hater advanced, and consumed the whole Day in the Defence of his Client, who was at length acquitted, and Lycinus, who subscribed the Decree, had not the fifth Part of the Suffrages; these Circumstances you all know.

ABOUT this Time Olynthus was reduced, and many of our Citizens taken Prisoners, among whom were Stratocles and Eucratus. Their Relations addressed you in the customary Forms of Supplication for them, and implored your Protection. Demosthenes and Philocrates, not Æschines, appeared their Advocates, and they sent Aristodemus, the Comedian, Ambassador to Philip, by whom he was known, and received with Indulgence, on Account of his Profession. When he returned from his Embassy, being detained by his own private Business he did not attend the Senate, and Stratocles, having been set at Liberty by Philip without a Ransom, arrived before him from Macedonia. The People in general, when they heard that Stratocles brought the same Declarations from Philip, were angry, that Aristodemus had not made a Report of his Embassy. At length Democrates entered the Senate, and moved, that Aristodemus might be sent for. Demosthenes, who is now my Prosecutor, was then a Senator. Aristodemus being introduced, declared the good Intentions of Philip towards the Republic, and added, that he was extremely well inclined to become a Confederate of the Athenian People. Nor did he make this Declaration in the Senate only, but in a general Assembly,

while Demosthenes never offered any Opposition, but on the contrary, preferred a Decree to crown Aristodemus.

WHILE these Declarations were made in your Assembly, Philocrates proposed a Decree, to send ten Ambassadors to Philip, who might enter into a Negotiation upon the Peace, and some other Articles of mutual Advantage to both Parties. When these Ambassadors were appointed, I was proposed by Nauficles, and Demosthenes, who now accuses Philocrates, was however nominated by Philocrates. So earnest was he in the Affair, that he moved the Senate to indemnify Aristodemus, and send him as a Colleague of the Embassy, and to appoint other Ambassadors to the Cities, in which he had engaged to act, who should solicit an Alleviation of his Fine. (9) In Proof of these Assertions, take the Decrees, and read the Testimony of Aristodemus, taken when he was abroad, and then call the Persons, who witnessed it, that the Judges may know, who was the Friend of Philocrates, and who promised to persuade the People to give Aristodemus Presents of Indemnification.

The DECREES. The TESTIMONIES.

Such was the Beginning of this whole Affair, not directed by me, but by Demosthenes and Philocrates.

DURING

(9) Aristodemus had engaged to act in some of the Cities of Greece, under the Penalty of a certain Fine; the Scholiast says, double the Sum he was to receive for acting. Demosthenes, by this Account, proposes to take him with them in their Embassy, and either to solicit those Cities for an Alleviation of his Fine, or to make him Presents to indemnify him for any Loss he should sustain.

DURING our Embassy Demosthenes was very solicitous to be received into our Mefs, nor was he admitted by me, but by my Companions, Iatrocles and Aglaocreon, the Tenedian, whom you had chosen from among our Allies. He then affirms, that I pressed him, while we were traveling, with the Necessity of our mutually guarding against that Monster Philocrates. This Story is a most improbable Fiction. For how could I have urged Demosthenes to be cautious of Philocrates, when I was conscious he had been his Advocate in the Prosecution against him for enacting new Laws in Opposition to those already established; and had been nominated by him to this Embassy. Besides, we, who were his Colleagues, were not engaged with him in Discourses of this Kind, but were compelled, through our whole Journey, to suffer his impracticable, gloomy Temper. While we were consulting, what Arguments we should use, and Cymon declared he was apprehensive, that Philip would prove too powerful for us in pleading his own Cause, Demosthenes promised us such copious Fountains of Eloquence, and assured us, he had such things to urge with regard to the Justice of our Claim to Amphipolis, and the Beginning of the War, as would stich up Philip's Mouth with a dry Reed; (10) persuade the Republic to recall Leosthenes from Exile, and Philip to restore Amphipolis.

BUT

(10) A low, proverbial Expression, used in making Ropes or Matts, they signifying to do any Thing with Ease. were usually moistened in Water to render them more pliable. STEPHANS.
A dry Reed; because when Reeds were

BUT that I may not grow tedious in the Description of his excessive Arrogance, as soon as we arrived in Macedonia, we agreed among ourselves, that when we approached Philip, the eldest of us should speak first, and the rest in order of Seniority. It happened, that Demosthenes, as he assured us, was the youngest, but when we were summoned to our Audience — (11) Give me now your most serious Attention to the following Circumstances, by which you will perceive the unmeasurable Envy of the Man; his servile Timidity, and, at the same Time, his Malignity of Spirit, with such pernicious Schemes against his Companions and Colleagues in Embassy, as no other Man would have inhumanly formed even against his greatest Enemies. He professes to pay the highest Reverence to the Rights of Hospitality, and those Entertainments appointed by the Republic for her Ambassadors, although he be neither a Citizen of Athens, nor, I dare affirm it, allied to you by Blood: while we, who have the sacred Monuments and Sepulchres of our Ancestors in this our native Country; who have lived with you in Friendship and Familiarity, formed upon a Likeness of Manners, and the Principles of Liberty; whose Marriages have
 been

(11) Wolfius imagines the Remainder of this Paragraph is to be included in a Parenthesis. His Editors and Stephens are of the same Opinion. Yet there is no Connexion, as there should be if a Parenthesis intervenes, between *when we were summoned to our Audience*, and, *Hear therefore the Orations we made*. It seems a sudden Starting to some new Matter; or rather an oratorical Breaking away from his Subject, more strongly to catch that Attention of his Judges, which he with Earnestness demands, as he is now entering more regularly into his Defence. Such a long Parenthesis would here be most injudicious.

been legally solemnized; who have Relations and Children; who were, at Athens, esteemed worthy of your Confidence, for otherwise you would not have chosen us to this Trust, yet arriving in Macedonia we suddenly become Traitors: while he, who hath not any one Part about him unfold, not even the Mouth, from whence he utters these Sounds, as if he were an Aristides directing the Revenues of Greece, and distinguished by the Surname of Just, detests and despises Corruption and Venality.

HEAR therefore the Orations we made in Support of your Interests, and those, which this Pillar of the State, Demosthenes, pronounced, that I may regularly and punctually make my Defence against every separate Article of this Prosecution. Let me, however, exceedingly commend you all, for hearing me with Silence and Impartiality; from whence, if I do not acquit me of these Crimes, I shall not blame you, but myself. When our Ambassadors according to their Seniority had delivered their Sentiments, the Subject descended to me, and though I have already laid before the general Assembly of the People every Particular, that I myself had urged, and what Philip had replied, yet I shall now endeavour, in a summary Way, to recall them to your Remembrance. First, I mentioned to him, that Amity you had entertained for his Father, Amyntas, and the Obligations you had conferred on him, without omitting a single Instance, but repeating them all in their Order. I then
desired

desired him to remember some Circumstances, of which he was himself a Witness, and had happily felt the good Effects. For when Amyntas was just deceased, and Alexander, the eldest Brother, Perdiccas and Philip were Infants; when their Mother Euridice was deserted by those, whom she had esteemed Friends to her Children; when Pausanias had seized upon their Throne, and although he was an Exile, had grown powerful by some favourable Conjunctions, and gained a numerous Party to support him; when he commanded a Body of Grecian Troops, and had made himself Master of several strong Fortresses in Macedonia; when the Macedonians themselves were divided, yet in general favoured Pausanias; at this Time the Athenians sent Iphicrates with the Command of their Forces to Amphipolis, for the Amphipolitans were then possessed of a very strong City, and the Revenues of a considerable Territory. When Iphicrates arrived upon their Coast with only a few Ships, as intending rather to discover the Situation of Affairs in Amphipolis, than to besiege it, your Mother Euridice sent for him immediately, and as the Persons, who were present, declare, she delivered Perdiccas into his Arms, and having placed you, who were yet an Infant, upon his Knees, she thus addressed him; “ Amyntas, the Father
 “ of these Children, while he was alive, made you his Son by
 “ Adoption, (12) and always maintained a friendly Correspondence

(12) Here Wolfius asks, with his usual Honesty and Simplicity, how could Amyntas, when he had already three Sons, adopt Iphicrates, and why did not Iphi-

crates inherit? His Editors and Commentators have not thought proper to answer these Questions.

“ dence with the Athenians. You are therefore Brother to
 “ these Children in your private Character, and in your public,
 “ our Ally.” She then added the most earnest Supplications,
 with regard to your Glory, to herself, to the Kingdom, and
 lastly to the Safety of her Children. Iphicrates complied with
 her Request; drove Pausanias out of Macedonia, and preserved
 the Government to You.

I SPOKE afterwards of Ptolemy, who was appointed Regent
 of the Kingdom; how ungrateful and iniquitous his Conduct.
 I shewed, first, the Attempts he had formed against Amphipolis,
 and the League he had entered into with your declared
 Enemies, the Thebans; and then convinced him, that Perdiccas,
 when he was placed upon the Throne, had invaded Amphipolis,
 though under your Jurisdiction. I proved the Humanity, with
 which you always acted, even when you were injured, by shewing,
 that when you had gained, under the Command of Callisthenes,
 some considerable Advantages in the War against Perdiccas,
 you granted him a Truce, in Hopes of obtaining your just
 Demands. I endeavoured to refute the Calumny with regard
 to Callisthenes, by proving, that the People did not condemn
 him to suffer Death, for granting a Truce to Perdiccas, but
 for other Crimes. Neither did I hesitate to blame the
 Conduct of Philip himself, who succeeded Perdiccas in
 continuing the War against the Republic. In Proof of
 whatever I asserted, I produced their own Letters in
 VOL. II. Z Evidence,

Evidence, with our Decrees, and the Truce of Callisthenes, Concerning the original Possession of the Territories, and City of Amphipolis, anciently called the City of the nine Roads, and concerning the Sons of Theseus, one of whom, Acamas, was reported to have received that Country in Dowery with his Wife, it was then most fitting to speak, and I spoke with all possible Accuracy, although perhaps it may be necessary at present to shorten my Discourse. But whatever Proofs appeared, not from ancient Fables, but from Facts within our own Memory, those I mentioned. For Instance, when the Lacedæmonians, and all the other Powers of Greece had formed a general Confederacy, Amyntas, the Father of Philip, sent his Minister to the Congress, and, as far as he could influence the Suffrages, proposed a Decree, that Amphipolis, which rightfully belonged to the Athenians, should be conquered for them by the united Forces of Greece. The Decree itself, founded on the common Consent of all the Grecians, and the Names of the Persons, who subscribed it, I produced, as my Witnesses to the Fact, out of the public Records. Those Possessions therefore, which your Father (thus I told him) ceded in the Presence of all Greece, not in simple Expression only, but by Decree, it were most unfitting for you, his Son, to resume. If you resume them by Right of Conquest, we should acknowledge the Justice of your Title, if you had reduced that City to your Obedience, after a regular Declaration of War against us. You had then been its rightful Lord, and possessed it according to the Laws of War. But if you have
taken

taken from the Amphipolitans a City, that belonged to the Athenians, you hold Possession, not of their Territories, but those of the Athenians.

My Oration, and those of your other Ambassadors being ended, this Part of his Embassy devolved to Demosthenes. Every one was attentive, in expectation of hearing some Prodigies of the Power of Eloquence. For some over-abundant Assurances of this Kind, as we were afterwards informed, had been given to Philip and his Courtiers. While we were all thus disposed to hear, the Savage pronounces a Proæmium, obscure, and lifeless, through Fear; and when he had advanced a little Way towards the State of Affairs, on a sudden he was silent, and hesitated in Confusion. (13) At length, he totally lost the very Power of speaking. Philip seeing him thus disconcerted, desired him to be confident, and not to imagine, that any thing disagreeable should happen to him, as in a Theatre, from his Misfortune: that he should take Time, and recollect himself by Degrees, and then pronounce the Oration he had prepared. As he was once confused, and had wandered from his Notes, it was impossible for him to recover himself. How-

Z 2

ever,

(13) For the Honour of Demosthenes, Plutarch tells us, that Philip answered his Arguments with more Earnestness, than those of his Colleagues, although he treated him with less personal Affability. If there be any Truth in this Story, we may believe, that Æschines

has not given it the most favourable Appearance. What Philip probably said with Humanity and Goodnature, is represented, by the Circumstance of mentioning the Theatre, with an Air of Derision, very little becoming the Character of that Monarch.

ever, he again attempted to speak, and the same Accident happened. A profound Silence followed, and an Herald ordered us to depart.

WHEN we afterwards assembled among ourselves, this inestimable Demosthenes, with an Aspect horribly gloomy, declared, that I had ruined the Commonwealth, and her Confederates. Not I alone, but all our Colleagues being struck with Amazement, and demanding the Reason of such an Assertion, he asked me, whether I had forgotten the Situation of Affairs in Athens, or whether I remembered, that the People were exhausted by their Misfortunes, and vehemently desirous of Peace. “ Or are you greatly elated upon having fifty Gallies, indeed “ appointed by Decree, but never to be compleated? For “ you have so provoked Philip, and said such things, that Peace “ never can rise out of the present War, but out of the present “ Peace an implacable War.” While I was preparing to answer this Charge, Philip’s Ministers called us to attend him. When we went, and had taken our Seats, Philip attempted to make some particular Objection to every Argument, we had used, but dwelt a longer Time, and with Reason, upon my Oration, because, perhaps, I had neglected nothing, that could possibly, at least in my Opinion, have been proper to mention. He frequently named me in his Discourse, but, if I remember rightly, never once turned his Reflections towards Demosthenes, who had so ridiculously made his Retreat. This Circumstance was

was a suffocating Agony and Sorrow to him. But when Philip altered his Language to Expressions of Philanthropy and Love of Peace; when the Calumny, with which Demosthenes had accused me, in the Presence of our Colleagues, of being the Cause of the War, could no longer be supported, he appeared perfectly disordered in his Senses, so very grossly did he behave himself, when we were invited to the usual Feast of Hospitality.

WHEN we were preparing to return, on a sudden, and contrary to his Nature, he conversed with us all most familiarly upon the Road. Untill this Moment I never knew the Force and Meaning of those Words, by which we usually express our Ideas of Villainy, Treachery and Baseness; but having Demosthenes for my Guide and Interpreter, I was soon instructed. For taking each of us separately aside, to one he promised a public Pension, and his Assistance in his private Affairs; to another a considerable Post in the Army; but me he perpetually followed, congratulating me upon the Happiness of my Genius, and pouring forth Encomiums on the Orations I had spoken, untill he grew even troublesome in the Abundance of his Praises.

WHEN we were all at Supper together in Larissa, he pleasantly ridiculed himself, and the Hesitation, that happened to him when he was speaking, and of all Men under the Sun, pronounced Philip most eloquent. I too mentioned somewhat of Philip's having answered all our Speeches upon Memory; and
Ctesiphon,

Ctesiphon, the eldest of our Ambassadors, speaking of his own extraordinary Age, and the Number of Years he had lived, concluded, that in such a length of Time he had never seen so chearful, so jovial a Companion. Our Sisyphus, after having expressed his Approbation by clapping his Hands, declared, “ However, Ctesiphon, neither you, nor Æschines, should venture to tell the People of Athens, that Philip is such a powerful Orator, and of such uncommon Memory.” As we neither perceived, nor imagined the Treachery, which you shall instantly hear, he engaged us under a Kind of Compact to give you this Character of Philip, and then with a certain earnestness entreated me not to forget telling you, that Demosthenes had something particular to inform you of concerning Amphipolis.

THUS far our Colleagues are my Witnesses, whom he hath perpetually treated with Insolence and Invectives through his whole Prosecution. The Orations, however, which we pronounced on this Tribunal, you yourselves have heard, and it is therefore impossible for me to deceive you with a Falseness. But I implore you to hear with Patience the rest of this Narration. I perceive, you are all extremely desirous of knowing the Affair of Chersobleptes, and the Errors, that ruined the Phocæans; I therefore hasten to inform you. But unless you hear some Circumstances, that preceded them, you will not clearly comprehend those, that followed. Besides, if you per-

mit me to make my Defence in the Manner I myself could wish, you will be able to find sufficient Reasons to acquit me, if I am innocent, and to understand the controverted Points, by those that are acknowledged. For when we returned hither, and had given the Senate a summary Account of our Embassy, and delivered Philip's Letters, Demosthenes pronounced our Panegyric before the Senators, and swore by the Altar erected in the House to Jupiter the Adviser, that he congratulated the Republic upon her sending such Ambassadors, who both in Eloquence and Probity were worthy of the Commonwealth. With regard to me particularly, he said, I had not deceived the Hopes of those, who had appointed me to the Embassy, and concluded with a Motion, that we should be crowned with Olive in Reward for our good Intentions to the Athenian People, and invited to an Entertainment in the Prytanæum. In Proof of what I have asserted, let the Secretary take his Decree, and then read the Testimony of our Colleagues.

THE DECREE. THE TESTIMONY.

WHEN we had reported our Embassy to the People, Ctesiphon, as a Privilege of his Age, rose first, and among other Things, which he had agreed with Demosthenes to mention, he spoke particularly of Philip's Affability, and Urbanity in his Comutations. Philocrates having made a short Speech, and after him Dyrcyllus; I then came forward. When I had lightly run over the other Circumstances of our Embassy, I proceeded

to

to the Particulars, in which we had all agreed, and mentioned that Strength of Memory, and Power of Eloquence, with which Philip had answered us. Neither was I forgetful of the Request of Demosthenes; that he was appointed, if we passed over any thing of Importance, to speak to the Affair of Amphipolis. Last of all Demosthenes arose, fashioning his Deportment and his Countenance, according to his wont, in a most portentous Manner, and rubbing his Forehead. When perceiving the People gave Signs of their Approbation, and applauded what I had said, he declared himself much surprized both at the Audience and at his Colleagues, who equally misemployed and wasted away the Time of debating what Answer should be given to Philip's Ambassadors, or of proposing any Measures for the public Advantage; and in an Affair of domestic Concernment indulged an Impertinence of talking, totally foreign to the Subject; for that nothing was more easy, than to give an Account of an Embassy. But I will inform you, says he, in what Manner this Affair should be conducted. He then ordered a particular Decree of the People to be read, and afterwards added, "by this Decree we were appointed Ambassadors, and executed what it ordained. Now take the Letter we brought home from Philip." When that was read, "you have now Philip's Answer, and it only remains for you to deliberate upon it." While the People were rising in Tumults round him, some of them applauding him, as a nervous, concise Speaker, but the Majority, as malignant and envious;

Now

Now behold, said he, how succinctly I shall lay before you all other Circumstances of this Affair. Does Philip appear to Æschines a Man of extraordinary Memory, and powerfully eloquent? To me far otherwise. For, in my Opinion, if any one should take away from him his present Fortune, and give it to another, that Person would not be greatly his Inferior. Did he appear to Ctesiphon to have a certain Splendour in his Aspect? To me the Comedian Aristodemus, who was one of our Ambassadors, had not less Dignity. Was he formidable in drinking largely? Our Colleague Philocrates much more formidable. Did one of your Orators inform you, that he left it to me to speak upon the Affair of Amphipolis? Yet never would that Orator give either to you, or me an Opportunity of speaking. But these Circumstances are Trifles. I will move for a Decree to negotiate a Truce with the Herald and Ambassadors, whom Philip shall send hither; to order the proper Magistrates, when they arrive, to appoint Assemblies during two Days, not only to treat of Peace, but an Alliance, offensive and defensive; to pronounce the customary Panegyric upon our Ambassadors, and invite them the Day following to a public Entertainment, if they appear worthy of such Honours. To convince you of the Truth of these Assertions, Secretary, take his Decrees, that you may perceive the Waywardness and Malignity of the Man; his joining with Philocrates in all his Schemes; and his own insidious and faithless Manners. Then call our Colleagues, and read their Testimony.

The DECREES of DEMOSTHENES.

Nor did he only propose these Decrees, but afterwards declared in the Senate, “ I will appoint a place for Philip’s Ambassadors, “ when they arrive, to see the public Games, during the “ Festival of Bacchus.” Read this Decree.

The DECREE.

Now read the Testimony of our Colleagues, from whence you may behold, Athenians, that Demosthenes is incapable of being an Orator in Defence of the Republic, but meditates his Declamations against those, who have any Engagements with him of Intimacy and Friendship.

The TESTIMONY.

You find therefore in these Transactions with regard to the Peace, not my Connexions with Philocrates, but those of Demosthenes and Philocrates. I have produced very sufficient Proofs, I presume, of whatever I have said. You are yourselves my Witnesses of the Report I made of my Embassy. I have given you my Colleagues in Evidence of our Speeches in Macedonia, and whatever happened in our Journey. You have heard, and must remember the late Prosecution, which Demosthenes opened with his Remarks on my Oration to the People concerning the Peace. But although that Part of his Prosecution was one continued Falsehood, yet in one particular Article he was most terribly distressed; for he assured you, that my Oration was pronounced in the Presence of those Ambassadors,

dors, whom the Grecians, upon your Invitation, had sent either to engage with the Athenians, if necessary, in one common War against Philip, or to enter into a general Peace, if that should appear of greater Advantage. (14) Now consider the enormous Villainy of the Man, and his excessive Assurance. For the Names of the Ambassadors, whom you sent to the Grecian States, while we were engaged in open War against Philip; the Time of their being appointed, and being sent, are all entered in your public Records; neither are they now in Macedonia, but present here in Athens. Besides, the Senate determines by Decree upon the Introduction of all foreign Embassies to the People, and he affirms, that the Ambassadors of Greece were really present in your Assembly. Come then, Demosthenes, come forward on this Tribunal; take Part of the Time allotted me for my Defence, and tell us the Name of any one Grecian City, from whence you assert these Ambassadors arrived; give us to read the Decree of the Senate, which introduced them to the People, then summon our own Ambassadors, whom we sent to the States of Greece, to give Evidence for you, and if they testify, that they were present, or rather, do not affirm, that they were not yet returned from their Embassy; if you can prove the Introduction of those foreign Ambassadors to the Senate, or produce any Decree for that Purpose, at the Time you mention, I will descend from the Tribunal, and condemn myself to Death.

A a 2

Now

(14) The Reader may find this Charge in the tenth Page of this Volume.

Now read the Resolution of our Confederates, in which it is expressly written, “ Since the People of Athens are now
 “ deliberating upon a Peace with Philip; since the Ambassa-
 “ dors, whom they sent into Greece to animate her Cities to
 “ defend their common Liberty, are not yet returned, it seem-
 “ eth good to the Confederates, that when the Ambassadors
 “ shall return, and make Report of their Embassy to the
 “ Athenians, the Magistrates should appoint two Assemblies
 “ according to Law. In them let the People of Athens con-
 “ sult upon the Peace, and whatever they determine, let it be
 “ the common Resolution of the Confederates.” Read me
 the Resolution of the Plenipotentiaries of our Confederates.

The RESOLUTION.

READ me now the Decree preferred by Demosthenes, in which he commands the Magistrates, after the Festival of Bacchus, celebrated within the City, (15) and the customary Assembly held in his Temple, to appoint two general Assemblies on the eighteenth and nineteenth; thus precisely marking the Time, and pressing forward the Assembly before the Return of our Ambassadors. Besides, the Resolution of our Confederates, which I acknowledge I supported, only directs you to deliberate upon a Peace with Philip, but Demosthenes urges you to conclude a League offensive and defensive. Read his Decree to the Judges.

HIS DECREE.

YOU

(15) To distinguish it from the Festival of the same God, celebrated in the Fields.
 WOLFIIUS.

You have heard, Athenians, both these Decrees, by which Demosthenes is plainly convicted of having asserted, that the Ambassadors, although not yet returned from their Embassy, were present at your Assembly, and of having rendered ineffectual the Resolution of your Confederates, although you were willing to have complied with them. For they had expressly declared, you should wait for the Return of the Embassy you sent to the States of Greece, but Demosthenes most opprobriously and precipitately changed your Determinations, and not in Words alone opposed your waiting, but in very Fact, and by his Decree, when he ordered you to enter immediately upon your Deliberations.

BUT he affirmed, that in the first Day's Assembly, when Philocrates had harangued the People, I rose after him, and blamed the Peace he had proposed, calling it dishonourable, and unworthy of the Republic: that the Day following I supported Philocrates, and successfully carried the Assembly into my Opinion: that I persuaded you to pay no Attention to those, who talked to you of the Battles and Trophies of your Ancestors, nor ever to send Succours to any of the Grecian States in their Distress. (16) That this Accusation is not only false, but impossible to be true, Demosthenes himself shall give me one proof in Evidence against himself; a second the whole People of Athens, and you yourselves, if you recollect; a third, the

(16) The Oration of Demosthenes, tenth Page.

the Absurdity of the Charge itself; a fourth, Amyntor, a Man of Character, of unexceptionable Credit, and considerable Authority in the Commonwealth, to whom Demosthenes shewed a Decree, not in Opposition to that proposed by Philocrates, but the very same, and with whom he consulted, whether he should give it to the Secretary, to be laid before the Assembly. Read me the Decree, wherein he positively directs, that there should be a general Liberty of debating the first Day, but that the proper Officers should next Day collect the Votes, and that no speaking should be allowed. Yet he asserts, that at this very Time I spoke in Defence of Philocrates.

The DECREE of DEMOSTHENES.

DECREES, indeed, remain as they were first written, but the Speeches of Calumniators are changed occasionally from Day to Day. My Accuser makes me speak twice to the People; Truth and the Decree, but once. For if we were not permitted to speak in the second Day's Assembly; if forbidden by the Magistrates, there was certainly no possibility of such Orations. But with what Intention, if I determined to support Philocrates, did I accuse him the first Day, and after the Intervention of only one Night, undertake his Defence before the very same Audience? Did I propose to purchase Honour to myself, or obtain some Advantage for him? Neither of these was possible; but very possible to gain your universal Detestation, and not succeed in any other Instance. Now summon

mon Amyntor, and read his Testimony. Yet I would previously mention, in what Manner it is written. “ Amyntor bears
 “ Witness to Æschines, that when the People consulted upon
 “ entering into an Alliance with Philip, according to the
 “ Decree of Demosthenes, on the second of the Assembly-
 “ Days; when all public speaking was forbidden, and the
 “ Suffrages only concerning the Peace and Alliance were to be
 “ collected, in this very Assembly, Demosthenes sitting by him
 “ shewed him a Decree, on which the Name of Demosthenes
 “ was inscribed, and asked his Advice whether he should give
 “ it to the Secretary, to be laid before the People by the proper
 “ Officers. In this Decree were inserted the Conditions, upon
 “ which a Peace and Alliance should be concluded, the very
 “ same that Philocrates had proposed.” Summon Amyntor,
 and take Witnesses of your Citation if he should refuse to
 appear.

THE TESTIMONY OF AMYNTOR.

YOU have heard, Athenians, this Testimony. Now consider, whether Demosthenes appears to have accused me, or, under my Name, to have accused himself.

BUT while he condemns my Oration, and misrepresents every thing I said; I shall neither avoid, nor deny whatever I have asserted. Nor am I ashamed, let me rather boast of the Advice I have given. Let me however desire you to recollect the Circumstances:

cumstances of the Times, in which you held these Councils. We engaged in the War at first for the recovery of Amphipolis. It happened that our General lost seventy-five Cities, of which Timotheus had once taken Possession, and reduced under your Jurisdiction (for I am determined to speak without Reserve and with Freedom, that either by speaking Truth I may be acquitted, or, if you judge otherwise, be treated with your utmost Displeasure; nor shall I refuse my Punishment) he took out of your Arsenal an hundred and fifty Gallies, and brought home forty eight. These Facts the Accusers of Chares perpetually prove in all their Prosecutions. Besides, he lavished away fifteen hundred Talents, not upon his own Athenian Soldiers, but upon the Insolence of the Commanders of his mercenary Troops, and on a Number of Vagabonds collected through all Greece, besides the Wretches, who attend for Hire on our Tribunals and Assemblies. (17) These Commanders annually raised sixty Talents Contribution upon the miserable Islanders, and plundered the Grecian Merchants on the open Seas, while instead of her former Authority, and the Sovereignty of Greece, the Republic was stigmatized with a Character befitting Myonesus, and its Pyrates. But when Philip had marched out of Macedonia, the Contest between us was no longer for Amphipolis, but for Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros, our proper Dominions. Our Citizens abandoned Chersonesus, confessedly belonging

(17) Our Commentators acknowledge the Difficulty of this Passage, or rather think it imperfect, and that some Words of the Text are lost. The Translator hath endeavoured to preserve the general Sense of the Context.

ing to Athens. You were compelled to summon with Terror and Confusion several extraordinary Assemblies. In such an uncertain, dangerous Situation were your Affairs, that Cephisophon, a Friend and Intimate of Chares, was obliged to prefer a Decree, that Antiochus, who commanded some light Pinnaces, should sail with the utmost Expedition, and find the General, to whom you had intrusted the Command of your Forces, and tell him, wherever he should happen to meet him, “ the People of Athens are astonished, that Philip is
 “ marching to invade Chersonesus, the acknowledged Territo-
 “ ries of the Athenians, while they neither know where their
 “ General is, nor the Forces under his Command.” (18) To confirm the Truth of what I have asserted, hear the Decree, recollect the Events of that War, and then demand an Account of the Peace from your Generals, not from your Ambassadors.

The DECREE.

SUCH was the Situation of the Republic when we debated on the Peace. But these Orators, entering into a regular Conspiracy together, whenever they rose to speak, never attempted to mention the Safety of the Commonwealth, but exhorted you to turn your Eyes towards the Portico of the Citadel, (19) and to recall to your Remembrance the Sea-fight against the Persians at Salamis, with the Sepulchres and Trophies of your Ancestors.

VOL. II.

B b

I too

(18) The Reader may find some other Circumstances of this General's Story in the first Volume, Page 138.

(19) Where all the glorious Actions of their Ancestors were painted.

I too desired you to recollect all these Circumstances, and to emulate the Wisdom of your Ancestors, but to guard against their Errours, and ill-timed Spirit of Faction. I recommended to you to imitate with Ardour their Victories over the Persians, at Plataea, Salamis and Marathon; the Sea-fight at Artemisium, and the Conduct of Tolmidas, who marched in Security with a thousand chosen Athenians through Peloponnesus, an Enemy's Country; but to avoid the Sicilian Expedition, in which they sent Succours to the Leontines, even while the Lacedaemonians had made an IncurSION into their own Territories, and Decelia was fortified against them. I advised you to avoid their last Imprudence, when although they were unsuccessful in the War, and the Lacedaemonians invited them to Peace; although, besides Attica, they were in Possession of Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros; while their democratical Constitution of Government, established by Law, was yet unviolated, yet they refused all Proposals, and determined to carry on a War, they were unable to support. Cleophon, a Maker of Lyres, whom many People remembered in the Shackles of a Slave, threatened to cut any Man's Throat with his Sword, who even mentioned the Name of Peace. To such Extremity did they, at length, reduce the Republic, that they were abundantly satisfied to conclude a Peace, after having ceded all their Dominions, rased the Walls of Athens, received a Lacedaemonian Garrison and Governor, and surrendered their Democracy to thirty Tyrants, who put to Death fifteen hundred Citizens, even without a Trial.

Such Imprudence, I confess, I advised you to guard against, but to imitate the Actions I have just now mentioned. Nor did I hear these Circumstances, but from the Man, to whom of all others I am most nearly allied. For my Father Atrometus (whom you, Demosthenes, calumniate, neither knowing nor considering what he was in his Youth; although you yourself derive your Descent, on your Mother's Side, from the houseless Scythians) this Father fled from the Tyranny of the thirty, and was one of the Leaders, who brought home the People from Exile. My Mother's Brother, Cleobulus, was joint Commander with Demænetus of the Fleet, that gained a Victory over the Lacedæmonian Admiral Chilon. Thus it hath been customary to me to hear from my own Family the fortunate, or adverse Accidents of the Republic.

You besides object to me my Oration before the great Council of Arcadia, and my Conduct as an Ambassador; you represent me as a Deserter to the Enemy, thyself the veriest fugitive Slave, and only not stigmatized like a barbarian Fugitive. Yet, to the utmost of my Power, I engaged the Arcadians, and other Grecian States, in a War against Philip. But when no Mortal succoured the Republic; when some waited indolently for the Event, and others turned their Arms against us; when our City-Haranguers converted the War into an Income to supply their Luxury, I confess I then advised the People to be reconciled to Philip, and conclude that Peace, which you, Demost-

henes, who never handled a Sword, imagine dishonourable, but which I pronounce to be far preferable to War. But, Athenians, you should consider your Ambassadors with regard to those favourable Conjunctions, which may have happened in their Embassies, as you judge of your Generals with regard to the Forces they Command. Yet you erect Statues, and appoint the most honourable Seats in your Theatres, and Crowns and Entertainments in the Prytanæum, not for them, who bring you home Conditions of Peace, but for them, who conquer your Enemies. But if Prosecutions are to be the Portion of your Ambassadors, and honours of your Generals, you will render your Wars perpetual, without Negotiations of Peace, or Heralds to propose them. No Man will ever be an Ambassador.

IT now remains to speak to the Affairs of Chersobleptes and the Phocæans, with other Articles, of which I am accused. (20) I made an exact Report, Athenians, of whatever I saw, both in my first and second Embassy, in the Manner I saw it; of whatever I heard, in the Manner I heard it. Do you, therefore, ask either what I saw, or what I heard with regard to Chersobleptes? I saw, and all our Ambassadors saw his Son delivered, as an Hostage to Philip. He continues such at this Instant. But it happened, when we were discharging our first Embassy, that I returned hither with my Colleagues, and
Philip

Philip marched into Thrace; but he promised us not to invade Chersonesus, while the Peace was under your Consideration. In that very Day, therefore, in which you decreed this Peace, there was not the least Mention made of Chersobleptes. When we were afterwards appointed to demand Philip's Oath, nor had yet set forward upon our second Embassy, an Assembly was summoned, of which Demosthenes, who now accuses me, was elected President. In this Assembly Critobulus declared, he was sent by Chersobleptes, and desired, that he might be allowed to tender the Oaths to Philip's Ambassadors, and that the Name of Chersobleptes might be enrolled among your Confederates. (21) When he had made this Declaration, Aleximachus, of the Pelegian Tribe, gave a Decree to the Presidents of the Assembly to be read, in which it was resolved, that Critobulus, in Conjunction with your other Confederates, might tender the Oaths to Philip. When this Decree was read, as I presume you all remember, Demosthenes rose from among the Presidents, and declared, that he would not propose this Decree to the People, nor dissolve the Peace with Philip, nor acknowledge such Confederates, as acted like People, who have no other Concernment in a Sacrifice, than to partake of its Libations: but that, however, he would appoint another Assembly to take the Affair into Consideration. When you received

(21) That as the Athenians and their Allies administered the Oaths of Ratification to Philip's Ambassadors, so Cri-

tobulus might be allowed to do in the Name of Chersobleptes, as one of their Allies.

received this Declaration with repeated Clamours, and called upon the Presidents by their Names to come forward on the Tribunal, you confirmed the Decree in Opposition to his Opinion. In Proof of these Truths, summon Aleximachus, who preferred the Decree, and the Colleagues of Demosthenes, when he was President. Then read their Testimony.

The TESTIMONY.

DEMOSTHENES, therefore, who lately wept over the Name of Cherfobleptes, appears evidently to have excluded him from the general Confederacy. As soon as that Assembly was dismissed, Philip's Ambassadors tendered the Oaths to our Confederates in the Court appointed for the Councils of your Generals. Yet my Prosecutor had the Assurance to tell you, that I had driven Critobulus, the Ambassador of Cherfobleptes, from the Sacrifices, in Presence of your Confederates, while the People were deliberating on their Decree, and the Generals were sitting in Council. Whence had I such Authority? How was the Affair passed over in Silence? If I had dared to act in such a Manner, would you, Demosthenes, have suffered it? Would you not have filled the Assembly with Vociferation and Clamour, if you had seen me, as you lately affirmed, driving an Ambassador from the Sacrifices? But let the Crier summon the Generals, and the Deputies of the Confederates, that you may hear their Evidence.

The EVIDENCE.

Is it not then, Athenians, most terrible, that any Man shall dare to utter such Falsehoods against a Fellow Citizen, not his indeed, for there I would correct myself, but yours, when under the Danger of a capital Trial? Did not our Ancestors wisely ordain in Prosecutions for Murder in our great Court of Judicature, the Palladium, when they obliged the Person, who was acquitted, to take out the Bowels of the dead Body, and to swear (and this ancient Custom is still preserved) that the Judges, who had determined in his Favour, had pronounced a just and upright Sentence? If otherwise, he imprecated Perdition to himself and his Family, while he prayed for every Blessing to his Judges. This Institution, Athenians, was of much Wisdom and good Policy. (22) For if none of you would willingly charge himself with pronouncing Sentence on the guilty, (23) much more should you avoid condemning the innocent by a Sentence, which takes away his Life, or deprives him

(22) Perhaps this Passage is not so difficult as the Translator imagines, for otherwise our Commentators would not have passed it over in Silence. Stephans understands it in a Manner very different from that of Wolfius and his Editors. He gives *his Opinion* upon it with a Modesty befitting his great Learning, *quibus verbis puto eum innuere*, and the present Translation follows his Opinion, as well as his Reading, *τέμνοντας τὰ τόμια*, which makes a considerable Alteration in the Sense. Yet still the Expressions *Ἐαυτὸν ἀναπλῆσαι Φόνε δικαίε--ἤπε ἀδίκε* are unexplained, and the Reasoning is inconclusive and obscure. Some

of our Critics, in almost all other Instances so judicious, would here very unnecessarily read *νικῶντα* for *νικῶντας*, and unhappily confine the Spirit and Liberty of Oratory and Orators by the meer Mechanism of grammatical Rules. However, when Scaliger proposes *τεμνόντα τὰ τόμια* applied to *νικῶντα* he seems to point to the true Reading and Construction.

(23) It should seem by this Custom, that the Judges imagined themselves absolved from any Error in acquitting the Person, prosecuted for Murder, if he swore to the Justice of their Sentence.

him of his Property, or degrades him from the Privileges of a Citizen, after the Loss of which some have put themselves to Death, and others have retired from the Affairs of the Public. (24) Will you not then, Athenians, grant me your Forgiveness, if I should call him a polluted Wretch, impure in his Person, and prostituted in his Eloquence? I shall then demonstrate, that the Remainder of his Charge, with regard to Chersobleptes, is evidently false. For it is the happiest Circumstance, and in my Opinion, of utmost Importance to them, who are accused, that the Remembrance of particular Conjunctions, with the Decrees formed upon them, and the Names of the Persons, who proposed those Decrees, are for ever preserved in your public Records.

BUT Demosthenes hath asserted, that Chersobleptes was ruined, because, although he himself had earnestly advised our going into Thrace, when that Monarch was besieged, and entering our Protest against the Conduct of Philip, yet, being of principal Authority in the Embassy, and particularly distinguished by your Favour, I had absolutely refused, and with the other Ambassadors sat down indolently in Oreum, receiving Entertainments of Hospitality. Now hear the Letter Chares sent to the People, the twenty-fifth of February, when Chersobleptes had already lost his Kingdom, and Philip had made
himself

(24) δημοσίᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν, translated by Wolfius, *publice perierunt*, and confirmed in his Notes by θανάτῳ κατα- γνωσθέντες. However, he very honestly acknowledges, that the Passage is obscure.

himself Master of the sacred Mountain. Demosthenes, one of our Colleagues, was President of the Assembly on the twenty-fourth of the same Month.

The LETTER.

YET we did not only stay here the remaining Days of this Month, but did not set out upon our Journey 'till March. In Evidence of this Fact, I can produce the Senate itself; for its Decree, which orders the Ambassadors to leave Athens and to receive Philip's Oath, is still extant. Read me that Decree, and afterwards at what Time it was proposed.

The DECREE. The TIME.

°You hear it was proposed the third of March. How many Days therefore had Cherfobleptes lost his Kingdom before I left Athens? Your General Chares and his Letters declare the Month before, if February be indeed the Month before March. Could I then have preserved Cherfobleptes, who before my Departure from home was totally undone? Can you imagine that this Man ever told you a Syllable of Truth with regard either to Macedonia or Theffaly, who thus utters his Lies against the Senate, and your public Records; against the Evidence of Time and the Meetings of your Assemblies? Did you then, Demosthenes, at Athens exclude Cherfobleptes from our Capitulation with Philip when you were President of the Assembly, and did you at Oreum lament and pity him? Do you now

accuse me of Corruption, you, who suffered a Fine to be inflicted upon you by the Areopagus for not prosecuting the Action of Battery you had laid against your Cousin-German, although you had yourself broken your own Head? And do you now presume to talk to us with an Air of Importance, as if we did not know you to be the Bastard Son of Demosthenes the Sword-Cutler?

BUT you have attempted to prove, that besides abjuring the Embassy to the Amphictyons I acted in Violation of my Character as an Ambassador. (25) To this Purpose you have recited one Decree, and passed over another. But when I was appointed Ambassador to the Amphictyons, although I was then in a very languid State of Health, yet with much Chearfulness I made you my Report of the Embassy, from which I had returned, nor did I abjure the other, but promised to undertake it, if I were able. When my Colleagues were departing, I sent my Brother with my Nephew, and my Physician, to the Senate, not to abjure the Office in my Name (for the Laws do not allow us to abjure in the Senate an Employment conferred upon us by the People) but to declare my ill State of Health. Yet when my Colleagues heard the Misfortunes, that had befallen the Phocæans, and were returned, an Assembly was summoned, at which I was present, now perfectly recovered from my Disorder, and the People insisting, that we should all engage in this third

I

Embassy,

Embassy, who had been chosen at first, I esteemed it my Duty not to prevaricate with the Athenian People. You did not afterwards accuse me with regard to this Embassy, when I made my Report, but you now attack me upon the second, appointed for demanding Philip's Oath, which I can clearly and justly defend. To you indeed it is most convenient, as to all Liars, to alter the Situation and Circumstances of Time, but I shall regularly pursue my Discourse, beginning with our Departure on our second Embassy. First then, among our ten Ambassadors, to whom another was added by our Confederates, not one would ever eat with this Demosthenes, when we departed for our second Embassy; nor upon the Road, wherever it was possible to avoid it, would they enter the same Inn, because they perceived he had formed some villainous Designs against them. But with regard to going into Thrace, there was not the least Mention of it, for the Decree gave no Instructions about it, and only ordered us to receive Philip's Oath, with some other particular Directions. Nor indeed, if we had gone, was it possible to have rendered any Service to Chersobleptes, as his Affairs were in such a Situation, as you have been just now informed; nor has Demosthenes told you one Syllable of Truth, but invents these Falsehoods, and having nothing real whereof to accuse me, he utters these monstrous Calumnies.

BUT two Men followed him carrying a couple of Blankets, in one of which, as he informed us, was a Talent of Silver.

From thence his Colleagues recollected some of his ancient Nicknames. While he was a Boy, he was called Battalus for his Debauchery and Infamy; when he came to age, and had taken out an Action against his Guardians, for ten Talents, he was furnamed the Serpent: but having commenced Man, he assumed the common Title of all Villains, and was styled, the Calumniator. Thus he travelled, as he then said, and as he lately assured you, redeeming Prisoners, although he knew, that Philip never had demanded a Ransom during the War for any Athenian Prisoners, and heard from all his Friends, that he would give the rest their Freedom, whenever a Peace was concluded. But while there were Numbers under this Misfortune, he carried a Talent with him, a Ransom only sufficient to redeem a single Prisoner, and even that single Prisoner not extremely rich.

WHEN we arrived in Macedonia, and had assembled together, and found Philip returned from Thrace, the Decree, upon which we were empowered to act as Ambassadors, was read, and we enumerated the Particulars we had in Command besides those that regarded the Requisition of Philip's Oath. But while none of us mentioned the greater Concernments of our Embassy, but dwelt rather upon Matters of less Importance, I pronounced an Oration, which it is now become necessary to repeat. And here, Athenians, let me conjure you by the Gods, that as you have heard me accused according to the
good

good Pleasure of my Adversary, so you will also hear me regularly make my Defence, and grant me the same Attention to the remainder of this Discourse, as you have given to the beginning. When our Ambassadors were assembled, as I have already said, I spoke to them in this Manner; “ that they seemed
 “ to me greatly to misunderstand the principal Command of
 “ the People: because, if the Republic had sent her Ministers
 “ with Authority to treat of the Requisition of Philip’s Oath,
 “ and any other particular Articles, and to mention the Affair
 “ of the Prisoners, I imagined every thing might be executed
 “ with Ease. But to consult with Judgement and Integrity
 “ upon the Sum of things, with regard either to you, or Philip,
 “ is the proper Office of wise and upright Ambassadors; I
 “ mean particularly the Expedition into Thermopylæ, which
 “ you behold is now in Agitation. But I will demonstrate by
 “ very powerful Arguments, that I do not unadvisedly form
 “ my Conjectures upon this Affair. The Theban Ambassadors
 “ are already arived; the Lacedæmonians are coming, and we
 “ bring with us a Decree of the Athenian People, in which is
 “ expressly written;” THE AMBASSADORS ARE EMPOWERED TO
 ACT IN ALL OTHER INSTANCES, IN THE BEST MANNER THEY
 ARE ABLE. “ The Grecians in general look with Earnest-
 “ ness towards the Event. If the Athenian People therefore
 “ had esteemed it befitting their Dignity to declare openly
 “ to Philip, that he should restrain the Insolence of the
 “ Thebans, and restore the Cities of Bœotia, they would
 “ have

“ have certainly mentioned it in this Decree. However, in
 “ the uncertainty of the Event, they left the Explanation of
 “ this Affair to their Ambassadors, who possibly might be able
 “ to prevail upon Philip, and they determined to make the
 “ Experiment in our Persons. Yet it becomes whoever is
 “ studious of the public Welfare, not to invade the Province
 “ of others, whom the People might have sent instead of us,
 “ and to be cautious of giving Offence to the Thebans; one
 “ of whom, their General Epaminondas, unawed by the Dig-
 “ nity of the Athenians, expressly declared in a Theban Af-
 “ sembly, that the Arcade of the Athenian Citadel should be
 “ carried to Thebes, and placed before the Temple of
 “ Cadmus.”

WHILE I was thus speaking, Demosthenes, as all our Col-
 leagues know, cries out aloud, “ In addition to our other
 “ Misfortunes this Æschines is an errant Bœotian.” Among
 others these were some of his Expressions. “ This Man is
 “ fond of wild and dangerous Projects; while I confess my-
 “ self

(25) It was the political Interest of Athens to repress the Power of Thebes, and for that Purpose to restore the Cities of Bœotia. Æschines must therefore very absurdly charge Demosthenes with favouring the Bœotians, yet thus our great Translator and his Commentators understand him. *Περὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν σπυ- δάξει ὁ Δημόσθενης.* Thus the Reasoning of both these supposed Speeches becomes confused, and our Orator

argues against himself. The seeming Prudence of not provoking the Thebans; the invidious Manner of telling the Story of Epaminondas, so apt to provoke the Indignation of his Audience; the Art of making Demosthenes reproach him with his Zeal for the Bœotians in the Boldness of his Projects, the Timidity under which he represents his Adversary, are totally lost.

“ self of a more timorous Disposition, and apprehensive even
 “ of a distant Danger. I disclaim the Design of setting the Re-
 “ public at variance with the Thebans, and imagine our
 “ Instructions for acting in the best Manner we are able, con-
 “ sist in not being impertinently busy. Philip is now marching
 “ to Thermopylæ. I withdraw from all Concernment in this
 “ Affair. No Man shall ever impeach me for Philip’s Victo-
 “ ries, but only whether I spoke, or acted in punctual Obedi-
 “ ence to my Instructions.” To conclude, our Colleagues
 agreed, that as each of us should be separately asked his Opinion,
 he should deliver it, as he thought would be most expedient for
 the Commonwealth. To prove what I assert, summon our
 Colleagues, and read their Depositions.

The DEPOSITIONS.

WHEN there was a general Congress of all the Ambassadors of
 Greece assembled at Pella; when Philip was present, and the
 Herald had summoned the Athenian Ambassadors, we advanced,
 not as in our former Embassy, according to our Age (a Custom
 once held in esteem, and reputed honourable to the Republic)
 but according to the shameless Assurance of Demosthenes. For
 although he professed himself the youngest of us all, he declared
 he would not yield the privilege of first addressing Philip, or
 suffer any other, pointing to me, to take Possession of his Atten-
 tion, and leave the other Ambassadors nothing to say. He
 began his Speech with accusing his Colleagues, that they did

not

not all come with the same Sentiments, or agree in their Opinions, and then particularly mentioned the good Offices he had himself performed for Philip; first, that he had supported the Decree of Philocrates, when he was indicted for proposing, in Contradiction to the Laws already enacted, that Philip might be permitted to send Ambassadors to Athens to negotiate a Peace. He repeated the Decree, that he himself had written, in which he had ordered, that the Peace should be concluded with Philip's Herald and his Ambassadors; and that some certain Days should be appointed, upon which the People should deliberate on the Conditions. He then insinuated, that he had effectually stopped the mouths of those, who would have opposed the Peace, not by his Speeches only, but by thus fixing the Time of the People's Deliberations. He afterwards produced another Decree, directing the People to consult upon entering into a League offensive and defensive with Philip; and another, appointing a principal Seat for his Ambassadors, at the Bacchanalian Games. He then added his Solitude on their Account; his placing the Cushions for them at our Entertainments, besides his Watchings, and his Wakings, occasioned by those, who envied him, and would willingly do Dishonour to his Reputation. The rest was so perfectly ridiculous, that his Colleagues for Shame covered their Faces; “ he had entertained
“ Philip's Ambassadors most hospitably; had hired for them,
“ when they departed, a Chariot with a couple of Mules, and
“ accompanied them himself on horse-back, not concealing in
“ Dark-

“ Darknefs, as certain others had done, but openly profelling
 “ his Zeal for his Service.” He then with earneftnefs corrected
 his former Affertions; “ I did not fay, you are handsome, be-
 “ caufe Woman is of all Creatures the handfomeft; I did not
 “ fay, you were a powerful Drinker, becaufe I thought drinking
 “ was Praise for a Sponge; I did not fay, you had an extraor-
 “ dinary Memory, becaufe I imagined it an Encomium for an
 “ hireling Pleader.” Not to be tedious, fuch were in general
 his Expreffions in the Prefence, I might almoft affirm, of all
 the Ambaffadors of Greece, from whence there arofe no com-
 mon Peals of Laughter.

WHEN he had ended, and Silence enfued, I was compelled
 to fpeak after thefe ftrange Abfurdities, and the exceffive Bafe-
 nefs of his Adulation. I was of neceffity obliged to make fome
 Remarks upon his Calumny againft his Colleagues, and I faid,
 “ the Athenians had appointed us their Ambaffadors, not with
 “ an Intention of pleading for ourfelves in Macedonia, but that
 “ we might be thought worthy of the Republic, in the
 “ Opinion of our Fellow-Citizens.” I lightly mentioned the
 Requifition of his Oath, which we were come to receive, and
 ran over the other Articles you had given us in Command; for
 the copious and powerful Orator Demofthenes had totally for-
 gotten every thing neceffary. I then fpoke of Philip’s Expedi-
 tion, the Temple of Delphos, and the Council of the Amphic-
 tyons, but implored him epecially to determine the Affair of

Delphos, not by Force of Arms, but by the Suffrages of all Parties, and an equitable Decifion. If however fuch a Decifion were impoffible (and this manifefly appeared, for he had a large Body of Troops affembled round him) I affured him, whoever propofed to regulate the religious Rights of the Grecians ought to have great Regard to Religion in general, and to pay much Attention to thofe, who endeavoured to inftruct him in the Ufages of particular Countries. At the fame Time I mentioned, as a neceffary Preliminary, the building the Temple at Delphos, and as foon as poffible affembling the Amphictyons. I then repeated the Oath, which was fworn by our Anceftors, “ I
 “ never will deftroy a City within the Amphictyonic Confede-
 “ racy, nor drive its Inhabitants from the running Stream,
 “ either in War or Peace: if any one violates this Oath, I
 “ will take up Arms againft him, and utterly deftroy his Cities
 “ to the Ground: if any one facrilegioufly plunders the Trea-
 “ fures of Apollo, or is privy to fuch Impiety, or fhall form
 “ any Defign againft whatever is contained in his Temple, I
 “ will with all my Faculties, Feet, Hands and Voice avenge
 “ the God.” I then added, that there were ftrong Execra-
 tions to confirm this Oath.

I CONCLUDED with faying, that in my Opinion we fhould not fuffer the Cities of Bœotia to continue in Ruins, fince they were included in the Amphictyonic Confederacy. I reckoned the twelve Nations, who participated of the Rights of the Temple,
 Thef-

Theſſalians, the Bœotians in general, not the Thebans only, the Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnetes, Locrians, Oetæans, Phthians, Maleens, Phocæans, (26) and I proved, that each of theſe Nations had an equal Vote in the Council, the greateſt and the leaſt; thus the Deputy from Dorium or Cytinium (27) had a Suffrage as powerful as the Lacedæmonians, for each Nation had two Votes: thus the Ionian Deputies from Erythræa and Priene were equal to the Athenian; and all others in the ſame Manner. I declared my Opinion, that his Expedition was indeed founded in Religion and Juſtice, but when the Amphictyons ſhould have aſſembled in Apollo's Temple, and obtained a Freedom of debating and voting, I imagined, that they, who firſt attempted to ſeize upon the Temple at Delphos, ſhould be brought to their Trial; not their Countries, but the Perſons themſelves, who either by their Actions, or their Counſels, were guilty of ſuch Impiety; but that the Cities, which delivered up theſe Criminals to their Trial, ſhould not be liable to Punishment. “ But if you march with an Army againſt the
 “ Phocæans, you will ſupport and confirm the Injuſtice of the
 “ Thebans, yet when you have aſſiſted them, they never will
 “ be grateful to you, for you never can confer ſuch Benefits
 “ upon them as the Athenians did formerly, and which they

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“ no

(26) Authors differ in their Catalogues of theſe Nations, and Æſchines, or his Tranſcribers, have here omitted one of them.

(27) Theſe were Lacedæmonian Cities, though leſs conſiderable than Sparta,

as Erythræa, and Priene, were Cities of Ionia, but leſs powerful than Athens. Their Deputies however had the ſame Power and Privileges in the Amphictyonic Council.

“ no longer remember. (28) Then you will treat with Injustice
 “ the Phocæans, whom you desert, while the Thebans will
 “ become more formidable Enemies, rather than Friends by
 “ this Addition of Power.”

BUT that I may not tediously waste your Time by repeating exactly every thing said upon the Occasion, I shall conclude with giving you a general and summary Account. Fortune and Philip were to dispose of Facts, while I had only my Zeal for your Service, and the Freedom of speaking. Whatever I said was just in itself, and conducive to your Interests. The Event was determined not by our Wishes, but by Philip's Actions. Whether then is it more reasonable, that he, who never had even an Inclination to do you Service, should be honoured with your good Opinion, or he, who never neglected any possible Opportunity of supporting your Interests? Many Instances of which I must however at present pass over unmentioned for want of Time.

BUT he charged me with asserting a Falsehood, in assuring you, that within a few Days the Thebans would become more humble; that the Eubœans were extremely alarmed, while I seduced you into some idle Expectations. (29) Now learn, Athenians, the real State of this Affair. When I was with Philip I made it my Request, and when I returned hither I delivered

(28) In their Wars with the Lacedæmonians.

(29) Demosthenes Oration, Page 13.

delivered it in my Report of our Embassÿ, as a Measure I thought most reasonable, that the Thebans should submit to the Authority of Bœotia, not Bœotia be subdued to the Power of the Thebans. Yet what I declared as my Opinion only, Demosthenes asserts, I absolutely promised. I then told you, Chleochares the Eubæan, professed his Wonder at the sudden Reconciliation between you and Philip, because you had given it in Command to us in your Decree, “to act besides in the best Manner we were able;” for Citizens, like him, of considerable Cities, are always alarmed at any secret Articles in the Treaties of the more powerful. Nor does he say I mentioned this occasionally in the Course of my Report, but asserts that I positively promised Philip would cede the Island of Eubœa. But I was of Opinion, that when the Republic consulted upon the general Situation of her Affairs, she should listen to every Argument offered by the other States of Greece. (30)

AMONG the Articles, into which he hath divided this Prosecution, he hath calumniously affirmed, that when he proposed to lay before you a faithful Account of your Affairs, he was hindered by me and Philocrates. But I would willingly ask, whether an Athenian Ambassador was ever hindered, especially by his Colleagues, from making the Report of his Embassy to
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(30) The Reasoning of this Paragraph regularly ends at the last Sentence, and this appears to be a Conclusion drawn from some other Arguments. If Demosthenes had accused our Orator of refusing

to admit the general States of Greece to the Athenian Councils, this Assertion of his Opinion would appear with more Propriety and Connexion.

the People; or after having suffered such an Indignity from those Colleagues, did he ever propose, that they should be received with all public Honours, and invited to an Entertainment in the Pyæum. But Demosthenes, when he returned from our second Embassy, by which he now affirms the whole State of Greece was overturned, not only applauded us in his Decree, but when I reported to the People the Orations I had made with regard to the Amphictyons and Bœotians, not in the summary and hasty Manner in which I have now repeated them, but as accurately as possible in the very Words I spoke; when the People received them with exceeding Approbation, he was summoned by me and the other Ambassadors and asked, whether I had truly reported what I had said to Philip, and while all our Colleagues gave their Testimony in my Favour, and applauded me, he rose after all, and assured you, that I had not only spoken in Macedonia, as I had at present, but doubly better. You, who are to give your Suffrages upon this Trial, are now my Witnesses to the Truth of these Circumstances; and yet what fairer Opportunity could he possibly have found of instantly convicting me, if I had ever betrayed the Republic?

YET you declare you did perceive in our first Embassy, that I had entered into a Conspiracy against the Commonwealth, but you were sensible of it in the second, in which you have openly appeared an Advocate in my Defence. (31) But while
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(31) Demosthenes Oration, Page 9.

in Fact your Indictment is laid against the first Embassy, you assure us you do not accuse me for my Conduct in that, but in the other, appointed for the Requisition of Philip's Oath. If however you condemn the Peace, yet you yourself proposed a Confederacy with Philip offensive and defensive; and if he deceived the Republic, he told an Untruth to obtain that Peace, which was of Advantage to his Affairs. (32) Such were the Circumstances of the first Embassy; the second was appointed upon Conditions already fixed and concluded. Where then were these traiterous Designs? You may compute, by what he hath said, that they existed in the Imagination of this Impostor.

HE says I passed over the River Loidia in a Canoe by Night to Philip, (33) and wrote for him the Letter he sent hither. Thus it seems, Leosthenes, who was banished from hence by these Calumniators, was utterly incapable of writing this Epistle, though some People do not hesitate to pronounce, that, next to Callistratus, he is of all Mankind most eloquent. Neither was Philip himself capable of writing it, to whom Demosthenes was unable to reply in your Defence; nor Pytho, who assumes to himself the Glory of being a Writer, but the Affair, so it appears, required my Assistance. But though you assert, that

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(32) The Translator thinks it his Duty to confess he does not understand the Meaning of this last Sentence. However

he can assure his English Reader, it is an exact Translation.

(33) This does not appear in Demosthenes his Oration.

WOLFIIUS.

I frequently conversed with Philip alone in the Day-time, yet you accuse me of passing over the River to him by Night, so absolutely did the Affair require a nocturnal Epistle. But Aglaocreon and Iatrocles, with whom I slept every Night during the whole Time, are come hither to give Evidence, that every thing you have asserted is false; and they are conscious, that I never was absent from them any one Night, or even Part of a Night. Besides, I bring my domestic Slaves; I deliver them to the Torture, and if my Prosecutor consents, I will here finish my Discourse. Let the Executioner appear, and, if you command, torture them before you. The remainder of the Day is sufficient for the Purpose, since I am allotted eleven Hours for my Defence, (34) and if when they are put to the Question, they say I ever slept one Night from my Companions, do not, Athenians, shew Mercy to me, but rise from the Judgement Seat, and let me be capitally condemned. But if you, Demosthenes, are convicted of Falsehood, let this be your Punishment, to acknowledge in the Presence of this Assembly, that you are but an half-born Athenian, and not a genuine Citizen. (35) Summon hither my Domestics on the Tribunal, and read the Depositions of our Colleagues.

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(34) The Translation *eleven Hours* is not perfectly exact. The Original says *eleven Hour-glasses*.

(35) Ὁμολόγησον ἀνδρόγυνος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἐλεύθερος. Confitere te semivirum esse, & non ingenuum. WOLFIVS. Yet if ἀνδρόγυνος signifies a Creature of a mixed and monstrous Birth, μὴ ἐλεύ-

θερος must then signify *unnatural, not of Nature's free and genuine Productions*. But Æschines more probably alludes to the civil Birth of Demosthenes, and his being descended from an Athenian Father and a Scythian Mother. Ἐλεύθερος will then preserve its common Signification.

The DEPOSITIONS. The APPEAL.

SINCE therefore he refuses this Appeal, and says, that no Credit is to be given to the Tortures of Slaves, take me the Letter which Philip sent, and which I was kept sleeplefs to write, for manifest it is, that with exceeding Subtlety it hath imposed upon the Republic, and in Matters of weighty Concernment.

The LETTER.

You have heard, Athenians, Philip says, “ I have administered
“ the Oaths to your Ambassadors, and have written down the
“ Names of my Confederates, who were present, themselves
“ and their Cities.” He then promises to send you the Names of those, who were absent. Is it impossible to conceive, that Philip could have written in this Manner by Day-light even without my Assistance? But, by the Gods, Demosthenes, in my Judgement, only computes how he may gain the Reputation of Eloquence, and whether he shall afterwards appear of all our Grecians most worthless, about this he is very little anxious.

BUT what Credit can be given to the Man, who ventures to assert, that Philip penetrated into Thermopylæ, not by his own military Conduct, but by my Orations to an Athenian Assembly? Then he hath entered into a Detail of the Days, in which I made my Report of our Embassy; in which the Couriers of the

Phocæan Tyrant, Phalæcus, carried from hence the News of your Determinations, and in which the Phocæans, in their Reliance on me, received Philip into Thermopylæ, and delivered to him their Cities. (36) These Circumstances my Accuser hath invented; but the Phocæans were ruined, first, by the Power of Fortune, that absolute Mistress of all Mankind; secondly, by the Length of Time, and a ten Years War, for the same Circumstance, that raised the Phocæan Tyrants, destroyed them. They laid the Foundation of their Power by daring to invade the sacred Treasures, and by their mercenary Troops they changed the Form of Government in different States, but were ruined by their Want of Money, which they had expended in paying their Armies. Thirdly, a Mutiny, the usual Attendant of an ill-paid Soldiery, broke their Authority, and lastly, the Ignorance of Phalæcus with regard to Futurity. For the united Forces of the Thessalians and Philip were in Sight, nor was it long before the Peace you had concluded with Philip that Ambassadors arrived from the Phocæans, demanding Succours and promising to deliver into your Hands the Fortresses, that commanded the Pass of Thermopylæ. Yet when you had decreed, that they should deliver these Places to Proxenus, your General; that fifty Gallies should be fitted out, and that all our Citizens, under thirty Years of Age, should immediately take the Field, instead of delivering those Fortresses to Proxenus, the Tyrants threw the Ambassadors, who made the Promise, into

(36) Demosthenes, Page 28.

into Prison, and of all the Grecians the Phocæans alone refused to receive the Priests, who carried the mystic Sacrifices for Celebration of the Eleusinian Festival. When Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian, afterwards offered to receive and defend those Fortresses, they would not consent, but answered him, that Sparta should be apprehensive, not for them, but for her own Safety. (37) You had not then absolutely agreed with Philip, but the very Day you deliberated upon the Articles of Peace, you received Letters from Proxenus informing you, that the Phocæans had not delivered those Fortresses to him, and that they alone of all the Grecians refused to admit the holy Mysteries for the Celebration of the Eleusinian Sacrifices, and had thrown into Prison the Ambassadors, who had come hither to propose a Cession of those Fortresses. In Proof of these Truths, call me the Persons employed in carrying the sacred Mysteries, and the Ambassadors, whom Proxenus sent to the Phocæans. Then hear his Letters.

The LETTERS.

You hear, Athenians, the particular Dates of these Transactions verified by your public Records. You hear the Witnesses, who have given Evidence, that before I was appointed Ambassador, Phalæcus, the Phocæan Tyrant, was diffident both of us and the Lacedæmonians, and placed his entire Con-

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fidence

(37) A French Writer translates these *cours, que de leur mauvaise Fortune.*
 Words, which Wolfius says are equivocal, *qu'ils se desoient encore plus de son se-*
 OLIVIER. Life of PHILIP.

fidence in Philip. But was he alone ignorant with regard to the Event? How were you yourselves affected in your Assemblies? Did you not all expect, that Philip, having observed their Insolence, would repress the Authority of the Thebans, and not enlarge the Power of that perfidious People? Did not the Lacedæmonians join with us in an Embassy against the Thebans, and at last openly affront and threaten their Ambassadors in Macedonia? Were they not extremely doubtful in what Manner they should act? Were not their Ambassadors greatly alarmed? Did not the Thessalians ridicule us all, and boast, that the Expedition was undertaken for their Sake? Did not the Intimates of Phalæcus declare, (38) that Philip would order the Cities of Bœotia to be reinhabited? Did not the Thebans, in a Diffidence of their Situation take the Field with all their Forces? Did not Philip, when he perceived it, send Letters engaging you to march with all your Troops to succour whoever had the justest Cause? Did not these Warriors, who now call the Peace dishonourable and cowardly, hinder you from marching, by declaring they were apprehensive, that Philip, after having concluded a solemn Peace and Alliance with you, would seize upon your Soldiers, as Hostages?

W H E T H E R

(38) The Translator hath here inserted the Name of Phalæcus instead of Philip, which appears in all Editions. Our Orator can hardly be supposed to say, *the Intimates of Philip declared, that Philip would order &c.* Besides, the general Sense of the Passage, which describes the

Hopes and Fears of the different States of Greece upon Philip's Expedition, seems to require, that Phalæcus and his Party should express their Sentiments upon it. Doctor Markland has corrected the same Mistake in the next Paragraph.

WHETHER then have I forbidden the People to imitate their Ancestors, or you, and they, who conspired with you against the public Welfare? Would not an Expedition have been then more easy, and more honourable to the Athenians, when the Madness of the Phocæans raged in its highest Vigour; when they maintained the War alone against Philip; when they were in Possession of these Fortresses, which commanded the Streights of Thermopylæ, and which Phalæcus had not yet delivered to the Macedonians; when they refused the Treaties, by which we should have been engaged to succour them, (39) nor would receive the sacred Eleusinian Mysteries; when we were guarded from the Incurfions of the Thebans; (40) when Philip himself, with whom we had entered into a Confederacy ratified by our mutual Oaths, invited us to march; and when the Thessalians and the other Amphiçtyons were in Arms? Was not this Period far more honourable, than that, in which the Athenians, by your Cowardice, and Malignity of Spirit, fled into the City with their Property, (41) at which Time, I was employed in my third Embassy to the General Council of the Amphiçtyons; that Embassy, which you dare to assert I undertook without being appointed by the People; and yet, although my declared Enemy, you never called me to a Trial for a Crime, which you know to be capital, and now only accuse me of Misconduct

in

(39) Probably, from a Confidence of their own Strength.

(40) In the Original, *when we left the Thebans behind us*, which Wolfius

explains, *because Phocis hindered them from entering Attica.*

(41) The Reader may remember the Decree of Callisthenes upon this Occasion, Page 42.

in my former Embassy; though surely you do not envy me even the Punishment, that might affect my Life.

WHEN the Thebans therefore were encamped, and entreated Philip to lead them to the Destruction of the Bœotians; when you had thrown the City into Confusion, and our Forces were not yet assembled; when the Thessalians had joined the Thebans, by your Irresolution, and the ancient Hatred they bore the Phocæans, who had cruelly misused their Thessalian Hostages; (42) when Phalæcus, before the other Ambassadors and I had arrived where the Amphictyons were met in Council, had marched away under Articles of Treaty; when the Orchomenians, being greatly terrified, only demanded Security for their Persons, and promised to leave Bœotia; when the Theban Ambassadors surrounded Philip, and the Republic was in open Enmity with the Thebans and the Thessalians, then were our Affairs ruined, not by me, but by his Treachery, and his hospitable Engagements with the Thebans. Of these Facts I am well assured I can give sufficient Proofs. (43)

BESIDES, if any Part of what you assert were true, surely the Bœotians and the Phocæan Exiles would accuse me, some
of

(42) Plutarch tells this Story somewhat differently; that the Phocæans killed their Thessalian Governors, and the Thessalians in Revenge put their Phocæan Hostages to the Torture. Κατηλόγησαν, flagris ceciderunt. STEPHANS.

TAYLOR. *Briserent avec des meules.*

ΑΜΥΟΤ.

(43) This whole Narration, says Wolfius, is so intricate, that it seems intended merely to impose upon the Audience.

of whom I must have driven out of their Country, and hindered others from returning from Banishment. Yet not reasoning upon Events, but favourably receiving my Zeal to serve them, the Bœotian Exiles have in a general Council appointed Advocates in my Defence. Ambassadors are arrived from the Cities of the Phocæans, whom in my third Embassy to the Amphictyons I preserved from Destruction, when the Oetæans had given their Opinion, that all the Youth of Phocis should be thrown headlong down a Precipice, and whom I conducted to the Amphictyons, that they might have an Opportunity of pleading their own Cause. Phalæcus had marched away under the Sanction of a personal Treaty, and these innocent People were condemned to die, and only saved by my Intercession. Call me then the Phocæan Mnafo, and the Colleagues of his Embassy with the Persons appointed by the Bœotian Exiles. Come up hither, Liparus and Pythion, on the Tribunal, and now return me that Obligation of Life and Safety, which I once conferred on you.

The Intercession of the BŒOTIANS and PHOCÆANS.

Shall I not therefore be most unjustly treated, if I be condemned on the Accusation of Demosthenes, the Patron of the Thebans, and of all the Grecians the most abandoned, when the Phocæans and Bœotians appear in my Defence?

BUT he hath dared to affirm, that I stand convicted by my own Expressions. For he says, I declared, when I accused

Timarchus, that all Mankind had heard of the Infamy of his Impurities: that Hesiod, an excellent Poet, says,

What all report can never be a Lie,
And born a Goddess, Fame can never die :

that this Goddess now comes to accuse me, for all Mankind affirm, I have taken Bribes from Philip. But you are well convinced, Athenians, that there is a mighty Difference between Fame and Calumny. Fame hath nothing in common with Prosecutions, but Prosecutions are nearly allied to Calumny. I will define each of them exactly. Fame is the voluntary Assertion, without any particular Motive, of a Multitude of Citizens concerning the Commission of any certain Fact. But Calumny is an Accusation maintained by some single Person in the Presence of the Many, whether in our Assemblies, or the Senate. To Fame we publicly offer Sacrifices, as to a God; but we publicly prosecute Calumniators, as Wretches most impious. Do not then, Demosthenes, confound things of highest Excellence with those of extreme Turpitude.

I SUFFERED with Grief and Indignation several Articles of this Indictment, but especially when he charged me with being a Traitor to my Country; for if I could be convicted of this Crime alone, I must appear a very Monster, unfeeling of all natural Affection, and formerly guilty of many other Crimes. Of my general Course of Life, and even my daily Manner of living, I do imagine you are very sufficient Witnesses. Yet
there

there are particular Instances, that escape the Discernment of the Multitude, though deemed of highest Importance by Persons of Penetration. Many of these, which will bear an honourable Testimony in my Favour, I shall produce to public View, that you may know what Pledges I left here for my Conduct, when I entered upon my Embassy to Macedonia. You, Demosthenes, have invented these Falsehoods against me, but I shall explicitly declare how honourably and regularly I was educated.

BEHOLD my Father Atrometus, almost the oldest of our Citizens, for he is now ninety four Years of Age. In his Youth, before the Loss of his Property in the Peloponnesian War, he was distinguished for his Skill in athletic Exercises, but when he was driven into Banishment by the thirty Tyrants, he enlisted himself a Soldier in the Wars of Asia, and was eminently distinguished for his Courage. He is descended from a Tribe, that holds religious Communion with the genuine Offspring of Butes, from whence the Priestess of Minerva, the guardian Goddess of Athens, is chosen. As I have already mentioned, he was one of the Leaders, who brought home the People from Exile. (44) Besides, it hath been my good Fortune, that all my Relations by my Mother are free-born. She herself appears even now before my Eyes, (45) terrified for the Danger of her Son, and distracted with her Sorrows. This Mother, Demosthenes, fled with her Husband to Corinth from the Tyranny

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F f

of

(44) Page 187.

(45) Rather an imaginary, than real Appearance. WOLFIIUS.

of the thirty, and shared in the Calamities of her Country. But you, who contend for your being a Man (though I should hesitate extremely to pronounce that you are really a Man) were prosecuted for deserting your Rank in the Day of Battle, and escaped only by buying off the Evidence of Nicodemus, whom you afterwards murdered with the Assistance of Aristarchus, and then rushed into the Forum with your Hands stained with Blood.

My eldest Brother, Philocrates, who does not, as you calumniously affirm, spend his Time in unmanly amusements, but in the generous Exercises of the Gymnasium; who was Fellow-Soldier to Iphicrates, and three successive Years a General of your Forces, comes hither to implore your Compassion to preserve me. My youngest Brother Aphobetus maintained, with a Dignity befitting the Republic, the Character of your Ambassador to the King of Persia, and when you appointed him in the Direction of the public Revenues, he managed them with Honour and Integrity. His Children are legitimately begotten, for he never prostituted his Wife to Onosion, as thou hast done. He now is present in Contempt of your Invectives, for Invectives, not founded upon Truth, pass no farther than the Ears.

BUT thou hast dared to speak against my other Relations, shameless as thou art and ungrateful, not to love, not to adore
the

the Father of Philon and Epicrates by whom you were enrolled a Denizon of Athens, as the elder Citizens of the Pæanian Tribe are perfectly conscious. Yet I am struck with Astonishment, that you dare to calumniate Philon in the Presence of these Athenians, who are eminently distinguished for their Love of Justice, who have entered this Court with a Resolution to pronounce such a Sentence, as may be of greatest Advantage to the Republic, and who pay more Attention to the Lives of the Criminal and Prosecutor, than to their Orations. Yet can you imagine, they would not rather choose ten thousand Soldiers like Philon, thus fashioned in their Persons, thus temperate in their Courage, than thrice ten thousand prostituted Wretches, like thee? Then you turn the well-educated Manners of Epicrates into Reproach; and indeed who ever saw him behave himself indecently either by Day, as you affirm, in the Festival of Bacchus, or by Night? You cannot assert, he escaped by his Obscurity, for he was not unknown.

By Philodemus his Daughter, the Sister of Philon and Epicrates, I have three Children; a Daughter and two Sons, whom I bring hither with my other Relations, for the sake of one Question, which I shall now ask, and for a particular Argument with regard to my Judges. I ask, Athenians, whether you think it probable, that besides my Duty to my Country, the Commerce of my Friends, the Participation of our religious Rites, and the Sepulchres of my Ancestors, I

should betray my Children, to me the dearest of all human Beings, to Philip, or should rate his Friendship at an higher Value, than their Safety. By what Pleasure have I ever been enslaved? When did I ever do any thing unworthy of my Reputation for the sake of Money? Not Macedonia, but their own natural Disposition, renders Men vitious or virtuous; nor are we different, when we return from an Embassy, from what you sent us, but the very same. But I have been joined in Office with a Man, (46) eminently practised in all Impostures, of a malevolent Spirit, who never willingly spoke Truth; who ushers in his Lies with an Oath, and an Eye of Impudence; who not only asserts his Facts, and the Manner in which they happened, but mentions the very Day, and according to his Invention, in Imitation of those who tell Truth, he adds the Name of some Person, who by chance was present.

HOWEVER, we, who are innocent, are in one Instance most fortunate, that with his extraordinary Genius for lying, he never preserves his Senses in the Composition of his Stories. You may compute at once the Imprudence, and Ignorance of the Man, who invented against me such an improbable Falsehood, as that of the Olynthian Woman, in which he was interrupted by you, when he was speaking, and driven out of the Assembly; (47) for

(46) It may be worth observing, that Stephans reads *συμπλέκομαι* instead of *συμπέπλεγμαι*, the Reading of our Editions.

(47) Demosthenes Oration, Page 89.

for he accused a Person most distant from such Turpitude before those, who were conscious of the Purity of his Manners. But consider how long he was preparing himself for this Calumny. Aristophanes, an Olynthian, generally resided here in Athens. He was recommended by some certain Persons to Demosthenes, who was informed besides, that he was a very powerful Orator, and who therefore endeavoured by every possible Art to engage him in his Interests, and induce him to give a perjured Evidence against me. He promised, if he would form some miserable Story, and assure you, that in a drunken Riot I had insulted a Woman, who was his Relation, and a Captive, he would instantly give him five hundred Drachmas, and five hundred others, when he had given Evidence of the Fact. Aristophanes answered, as he himself assured us, that with regard to his Banishment and his Poverty, Demosthenes had not erroneously, but rather with all possible Sagacity aimed his Conjectures; but that he erred extremely in his Opinion of his Morals, for he never would commit so infamous an Action. In Proof of what I have asserted, I shall produce Aristophanes himself, as a Witness. Let him be summoned; let his Testimony be read; then summon Dercyllus and Aristides, who heard him tell this Story, and informed me of it.

The TESTIMONY.

You hear the Witnesses, and their Evidence, given upon Oath; and do you not remember those unhallowed Arts of Oratory,

tory, which he boasted to our young Citizens (48) and which he now employs against me; how he wept, how he lamented the Fate of Greece; how excessively he applauded Satyrus the Comedian, for having at a Banquet entreated Philip to give him some Persons, with whom he had formerly lived in Hospitality, and who were then Prisoners and in Chains, digging in his Vineyards? Having laid this Foundation, he added, raising that shrill and direful Voice, how deplorable is it, that Satyrus the Representative of two inconsiderable Cities (49) should appear with such Generosity and Magnanimity, and that I, who directed the Counsels of a powerful Republic, who presumed to give Advice to the supreme Assembly of Arcadia, could not restrain the Licentiousness of my Manners, but heated with Wine, at an Entertainment to which we were invited by Xenodocus, (50) one of Philip's Friends, I dragged by the Hair, and scourged with my own Hands, a captive Woman? If you had therefore either given Credit to him, or if Aristophanes had joined with him in vouching this Falsehood against me, I might have perished unjustly for a Crime of the most excessive Turpitude. Will you then suffer this Wretch, his own Evil Genius (for never
may

(48) To inflame their Passions and raise their Indignation against his Adversary. Doctor Taylor has with great Learning given us many different Meanings for the Word *επάγγελεται*. None of them will explain the present Passage, and Wolfius is suffered to translate it *poll'cetur*.

(49) In the Original, *Cariones and*

Xanthia. The Matter is not of Importance, yet much Diligence hath been used to find the History or Situation of these Countries. Neither Wolfius nor his Commentators mention them in their Notes.

(50) By Demosthenes called Xenophon, Page 89; for by a Mistake of the Press it is there printed *Xenophon*.

may he prove such to the Republic) to dwell any longer among you? Will you purify this Assembly, and in your Decrees offer up your Vows through him? Will you send forth Armies, and appoint naval Expeditions under his Name? Yet Hesiod pronounces

For one Man's Crimes, on many a destin'd State
Impetuous descends the Wrath of Fate.

LET me add one Remark more to what I have already said; that if there be any Species of Villainy among Mankind in which I cannot demonstrate, that Demosthenes is a principal Character, I shall acknowledge, I ought to be capitally condemned.

BUT many severe Distresses attend the accused. His Danger calls back his Thoughts from every particular Repentment against others to the Consideration of his own proper Safety, and obliges him to reflect, lest he should pass over any Article of the Accusation. I shall therefore endeavour to recall to your remembrance, and my own, the principal Articles of this Prosecution; then do you, Athenians, consider them separately. For what particular Decree, that I have preferred, am I now accused? What Conventions have I ever formed against the Interests of the Republic? When did I erase whatever you decreed concerning this Peace, or insert what you disapproved? Did the Peace displease some of our Orators? Should they not either have opposed it then, or not accuse me now? Some of them
during

during the War grew rich by our Tributes, and the public Revenues. Those Methods of growing rich are now ceased, for Peace will not maintain Idleness. But since they, who never were injured and yet are perpetually injuring the Republic, would now take vengeance of him, who supported this Peace, will you, who have experienced the Advantages of it, desert the Persons, who have rendered themselves thus useful to the Public?

BUT I sang Hymns in Honour of Apollo with Philip, while the Cities of the Phocæans, as my Accuser asserts, were lying in Ruins. (51) And by what Argument can he clearly prove the Truth of this Assertion? I was invited to the usual Entertainment of Hospitality with my Colleagues. There were besides invited, and who supped with us and the other Grecian Ambassadors, not less than two hundred Persons. Among this Number, for so it appears, I was conspicuously distinguished, not for my Silence, but my singing, as you are assured by Demosthenes, who was neither present himself, nor hath produced a single Witness, who was present. But by what Means could I be thus conspicuous, unless perchance, as in a Chorus, I sang before the rest of the Company? If I was silent therefore, you charge me falsely; but when our Country was in perfect Safety, and our Citizens not oppressed by any general Misfortune, if I then sang an Hymn in Honour of Apollo with the other Ambassadors,

dors, and the Athenians were not dishonoured by it, I acted with a pious Regard to Religion; I committed no Crime, and should now in Justice be acquitted. Yet upon these Accounts, I am it seems a Man unworthy of Compassion, while you, who prosecute your Colleagues, in Violation of the sacred Duties of our common Entertainments and Libations, are pious and religious.

BUT you have reproached me with the Absurdity of my political Conduct in going Ambassador to Philip, when I had before encouraged the Grecians to take up Arms against him. However, you may make this Objection, if you please, to the whole Athenian People in their public Counsels. You had entered into War against the Lacedæmonians, and after the unfortunate Battle of Leuctra you sent them Succours. You restored the exiled Thebans to their Country, and afterwards met them in the Field at Mantinæa. You declared War against the Eretrians and Themison; you afterwards preserved them. With regard to numberless other Grecian States you have acted in the same Manner. For it is necessary, either for a private Person, or a Republic, to yield to the Force of Conjunctures, and manage them to the best Advantage. How should an able Senator act? Should he not upon any imminent Occasion consult the Interests of his Country? The malevolent Prosecutor, what Language shall he speak? Shall he not conceal particular Conjunctures, and accuse particular Circumstances of Conduct? How shall

we distinguish the Man, who is by Nature a Betrayer? Is he not distinguishable by abusing, as you have done, the Confidence of those, who employ him, by writing Declamations for them to be pronounced in our Courts of Judicature, and afterwards taking a Bribe to expose them to their Adversaries? (52) Thus you got Money for writing a Declamation for Phormio the Banker, and you gave a Copy of it to Apollodorus, who had indicted Phormio for a capital Crime. You entered into the happy Dwelling of Aristarchus, which you laid in Ruins. You took three Talents from Aristarchus before his Banishment, and afterwards plundered him of the Pittance he had provided to support him in his Exile. Nor did you blush at the Report, that you pretended to be an Admirer of the young Man's Beauty. Your Admiration was indeed pretended, for real Love never admits of Villainy. Such is the Betrayer, and such as these the Marks of his Character.

BUT he some where mentioned my military Expeditions, and called me a most accomplished Soldier. (53) Yet not in regard to his Calumny, but in Consideration of my present Danger, I may be permitted to vindicate my Reputation as a Soldier, without being exposed to any invidious Reflections. For where,

or

(52) The Alteration of a Comma in Stephens upon the Word ἐκφέρω gives this Sentence a Meaning very different from that of our Editions. It is followed by this Translation. λόγους εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια γράφοντα, μισθῶ τέττας, &c.

Not writing for Hire, but betraying for a Bribe.

(53) Demosthenes, Page 52, calls him a *marvellous Warrior*, θαυμάσιος στρατιώτης.

or when, or among whom, excepting this Day, shall I ever mention it? When I had passed the Age of Boyhood, I was two Years in Garrison upon our Frontiers. I shall produce the young People of my own Rank, and who served in the same Station, as my Witnesses to the Fact. In my first Campaign I was stationed in that Body of Troops, which are reserved at Distance from the Danger of Battle. (54) I marched under the Command of Alcibiades with my Contemporaries in the Expedition to Phlius, and in an Engagement at the Nemeæan Gulph I was honoured with the Approbation of my Generais for my Behaviour. I served in all other Campaigns during my Youth, and the Years of military service appointed by the Laws, according to that regular Succession, by which our Citizens relieve each other in the Course of a War. (55) In the Battle of Mantinæa I behaved myself not dishonourably, nor in a Manner unworthy of the Republic. I was a Soldier in the Eubœan Expedition, and in the Tamynean Engagement so distinguished

G g 2

myself

(54) This Passage, both with regard to the Difficulty, and the historical Importance of it, well deserves a larger Explanation, than the Compass of these Notes will allow.

The Athenian Youth, at the Completion of their eighteenth Year, took the military Oath, and for two Years were appointed to guard the Frontiers of Attica. During this Time they were called *περίπολοι*, *circutores*. They were afterwards enlisted among the regular Troops, but stationed, in Time of Action, in some Place of Safety, and at a

Distance from Danger. From thence the Phrase *ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι*, *militia in partibus*, or as Æschines expresses it, *τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι καλεμένην μάχην*, *pugniam, que in partibus dicitur*. The Years of military Service from the Age of eighteen to that of sixty were numbered by annual Magistrates called Eponymi, from whence the Expression of serving *in Eponymis*, or *Eponymiana militia*. CORSINI.

(55) *Ἐκ διαδοχῆς*. Demosthenes explains this Expression in the first Philippic. Page 60 of the first Volume. Line 5.

myself even in a Body of Troops selected from the rest of our Army for their Courage, that I was crowned by our Generals in the Field, and a second Time by the People, when I returned to Athens. I made the Report of our Victory, and Temenides, who commanded the Troops of the Pandionian Tribe, and who came hither with me by Appointment of the General, informed you in what Manner I had behaved myself in the Battle. In Attestation of these Facts, read the Decree, then summon Temenides and my Fellow-Soldiers, who joined with me in fighting for the Republic. Summon Phocion, our General, not yet an Advocate in this Cause, but liable to a Prosecution, if he gives a false Evidence.

The DECREE. The TESTIMONY.

Since therefore I brought you the first News of your Victory, and the happy Success of your Sons in Battle, let me implore this first Favour of you, the Preservation of my Life; especially, since I am neither an Enemy to the popular Constitution of my Country, as my Accuser asserts, but an Enemy to all bad Men, nor would suffer you to imitate the Ancestors of Demosthenes (he has indeed no Ancestors) but would encourage you zealously to emulate that Plan of Wisdom, which hath been glorious to the Republic. I shall now run over some Instances of this Wisdom, beginning with those of an earlier Date.

THE Glory of the Athenian Republic arose from the Sea-fight at Salamis against the Persian, and although our Walls were
 rased

raised to the Ground by the Barbarians, yet as we were at Peace with the Lacedæmonians our democratical Form of Government still subsisted. But when Tumults and Dissentions were introduced amongst us by some certain Persons, we declared War against Lacedæmon, and after we had suffered a thousand Calamities, and wrought as many to our Enemies, we concluded a Truce of fifty Years under the Mediation of Cimon, who had received all the public Rights of Hospitality among the Lacedæmonians, and we enjoyed the good Effects of it thirteen Years. During this Time we fortified the Pyræum, raised the northern Wall of the City, built an hundred Gallies in addition to our Fleet, levied three hundred Horse, took into our Pay as many Scythian Archers, and still firmly maintained our Democracy. But when Men, illiberally born, and licentiously profligate in their Morals, entered irregularly into the Administration, we again declared War against the Æginetes, and after having sustained no inconsiderable Distresses, we solicited a Peace, and having sent Andocides with an Embassy to the Lacedæmonians, we concluded one for thirty Years, which wonderfully exalted our Republic. For we carried a thousand Talents in Money into the Citadel, equipped another hundred Gallies, erected Arsenals, levied twelve hundred Horse and as many Archers, built the long northern Wall, nor did any Man attempt to destroy our democratical Constitution. Again we were persuaded to declare War in Favour of the Megareans, and after having abandoned the Territories of Attica
to

to the Devastations of the Enemy, and been despoiled of many valuable Possessions, we sued for Peace, which was concluded by Nicias. During this Time we carried into the Citadel seven thousand Talents, arising from the Advantages of this Peace. We now commanded not less than three hundred Gallies, completely equipped; our Revenues amounted annually to more than twelve hundred Talents; we held possession of Chersonesus, Naxos, Eubœa; and sent abroad in this Period many Colonies. Possessed of so many valuable Blessings, we were again hurried into a War against the Lacedæmonians in Favour of the Argives and by their Persuasion, untill by the Spirit of Contention among our Orators we were reduced to receive a Garrison into the City, and at first four hundred, and afterwards thirty impious Tyrants into the Government; neither did we conclude a voluntary Peace, but were compelled to accept one from our Conquerors. When we again grew wiser in our Administration, and the People were returned from their Exile in Phyle; when Archinus and Thrasylbulus stood forth the Patrons of Liberty, and confirmed by an Oath a general Amnesty, for which all Mankind agreed, that our Republic had acted with the highest Wisdom; when the People were now inspired with new Life, and resumed their ancient Vigour, a Set of Men, fraudulently enrolled among our Citizens, seduced the infirm and weaker Parts of the Republic to their Faction; raised War after War by their Errors in Politics; represented in their Speeches under the most formidable Appearances

ances the Dangers, that threatened us during the Peace; irritated the Spirits of a People, fond of Glory, and apt to be inflamed; never in our Wars handled a Sword themselves; were severe Inquisitors into the Conduct of others; presided over our naval Expeditions; begot a spurious Race of Children; rendered themselves infamous by their Prosecutions, and reduced the Republic even to the last Danger. They supported the Name of a Democracy, not by their Manners, but by a servile Adulation to the People. They were Enemies to Peace, by which a Democracy is preserved, and they united in the Support of War, by which all democratical Governments are ruined. Having now formed themselves into one Body, they advance hither against me, and affirm that Philip purchased this Peace, and in the Articles of it possessed himself of every Advantage in it. Yet he himself hath violated this Peace, thus greatly advantageous to him. (56) But they really do not accuse me as an Ambassador, but as if I were a Surety for Philip, and his Observance of the Peace. Thus while I was only Master of what was proper to be said, they demand of me an Account of what was done, and although I am only a tenth Ambassador, yet I alone am obliged to give an Account of my Embassy. But I have shewn, that the very same Man, who

(56) Our Critics treat this Passage with an Air of ironical Pleasantry, and then gravely propose to alter the Text, *μη̄ συμφέρουσιν*. Yet Æschines himself better employs this ironical Pleasantry in

ridiculing the Absurdity of his Adversaries. *They have objected against me, that Philip hath gained every Advantage by this Peace, yet, strange indeed! he himself hath violated this Peace.*

who now accuses me, formerly applauded me in his Decrees. (57)

Now behold the Persons, who come hither to join in their Supplications to you for Mercy; my Father, who implores you not to deprive him of his Age's Hopes; my Brothers, who will not accept of Life, if divided from their Brother; my Relations, these Infants too, though yet not sensible of Danger, but miserable indeed, if any Misfortune should happen to their Father. For them I implore, for them I supplicate your Care and Protection. Do not deliver them to their Enemies; to this Wretch, who hath nothing of Man in his Composition, with all the implacable Resentments of Woman. I here invoke the immortal Gods to preserve me, and make my next Supplications to you, who are to pronounce the decisive Sentence in this Cause, and before whom I have made my Defence, as far as I have been able to remember, against every single Article of which I have been accused. Let me implore your Protection. Do not deliver me into the Hands of this Scribler of Declamations, this malignant Scythian. Whoever is a Father among you, and loves his Sons; whoever regards his younger Brothers with Affection, let him recollect the ever-memorable

(57) The learned Reader will forgive the Transposition of this Sentence. It seemed necessary to preserve that Method and Connexion, which Reasoning and Arguments demand. The Remainder of the Oration is in the Spirit and Lan-

guage of the Passions. Happy the Translator, if he hath been able to preserve that animated Disorder and Confusion both of Sentiments and Expression, which we feel so powerfully in the Original.

memorable Cause I maintained in Defence of Innocence and Virtue by the Prosecution of Timarchus. With regard to all others in this Audience, if I have lived among you with no uncheerful Asperity of Manners (I am by Birth a Plebeian, and in my Fortune, like you, of moderate Circumstances) in our political Contests if I alone never joined in Factions against your Interests, I now implore you to acquit me. I have acted in my Embassy with the utmost Sincerity of Affection to the Republic, and alone sustained the tumultuous Violence of Calumniators, which many, who have been gloriously distinguished by their Victories in War, have not been able to sustain. Neither is Death itself terrible, but Ignominy, at our last Moments, is indeed terrible. How miserable is it to behold the Face of an insulting Enemy, and to hear, with our Ears, his Reproaches? This however must be endured; my Life too is in Danger. I was educated among you; in your Amusements, Studies, Exercises, I have lived; no Man was ever injured in his domestic Happiness by the Licentiousness of my Pleasures, or driven from his Country by any Prosecution of mine in our Inquisitions into the Freedom of our Citizens, or in danger of his Life, when obliged to render an Account of his Conduct in Employment. Permit me to mention some few other Circumstances, and I descend. For I had it indeed in my Power, (58) O Men of Athens, not to betray your Interests, but

not

(58) A remarkable Instance of that passionate Disorder, mentioned in the last Note. Our Orator appeared, by his
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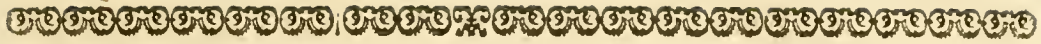
last Sentence, as, if he were calmly entering into some new Matter; but he starts away into his usual Invectives, and
H h begins

not to be accused was an Act of Fortune, who hath allotted for me to contend with a barbarian Calumniator, regardless of the sacred Obligations of Ambassadors to each other, their Libations, and Entertainments. With Design to terrify others, who might hereafter contradict him, he comes forward against me with this Prosecution and its Falsehoods. If however you be willing to preserve those, who contend for Peace and your Security, the Republic shall happily find numerous Defenders, and ready with Chearfulness to meet every Danger for her Interests.

AMONG our Citizens, most eminent for their political Abilities and their Virtue, I do implore Eubulus to be my Advocate; and Phocion, among all our Generals, most distinguished at once for his Victories and his Integrity. Among my Acquaintance, and the Companions of my Youth, I request the same Favour of Nauficles, and of all others, whose Friendship I have enjoyed, and with whom I have pursued the same general Plan of Life. My Oration is now ended, and my Life surrendered by me and by the Laws to your Determination.

begins his next Period, as if it were a Conclusion drawn from somewhat he had already said. *For, &c.* Ἐγὼ γὰρ, which Wolfius has not translated, nor have his Commentators taken Notice of his Neglect. One of his Editors very temperately begins a new Paragraph with these Words.

End of the O R A T I O N.



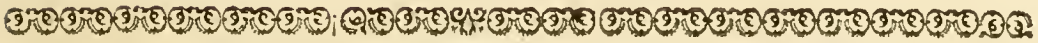
O R A T I O N

O F

A E S C H I N E S

A G A I N S T

C T E S I P H O N.





The A R G U M E N T.

IT was customary among the Athenians to reward the Merit of their Citizens with Crowns of Olive, interwoven with Gold. Ctesiphon had proposed a Decree in the Senate, that Demosthenes should be crowned in the Theatre for his distinguished Virtue, and eminent Services to the Republic. Æschines prosecutes Ctesiphon for this Decree. He attempts to prove it illegal in itself, and in all its Circumstances. It exposes those Honours to Contempt, which were originally designed to animate and reward the Virtue of their Citizens. It deceives the People, whom it is highly criminal to deceive, when it proposes to crown Demosthenes for his personal Merit, or his public Services to the Commonwealth. For Demosthenes is infamous in his private Character, and in his public Administration the Dishonour and Ruin of his Country.



O R A T I O N

O F

Æ S C H I N E S

A G A I N S T

C T E S I P H O N.

YOU certainly behold, Athenians, what Preparations are formed; what Forces, drawn up in Order of Battle; what earnest Solicitations are employed by certain Persons in this Assembly, with Intention to destroy the regular and customary Proceedings of the Republic. As for myself, I appear before you having placed my Confidence, first, in the immortal Gods; next, in the Protection of the Laws and in your Integrity; being fully persuaded that no Faction can have an Influence over you more powerful, than our Laws and Justice.

I COULD

Our Orator is by some of his Critics very rigorously condemned, and by others very generously and zealously defended with regard to this Exordium. He is accused of violating that Temper and Simplicity, generally acknowledged as essential to the opening of all Orations, by a too vehement Pathetic, by figurative Expressions, and Images wholly so-

reign to his Subject. He is defended by the Importance of a Trial, that must affect his Liberty or Life; by the Consciousness of his Innocence, and the just Indignation, with which it must inspire him against his Accuser; by the great Example of Demosthenes, and his more vehement Exordium in the next Oratian.

I COULD however wish, Athenians, that our Senate, and our popular Assemblies, were regularly governed by their several Presidents; that the Laws, which Solon enacted for the decent Behaviour of our Orators, might recover their original Authority; that a Privilege were granted, as the Laws ordain, to the eldest Citizen, to advance with Modesty on the Tribunal; and, without Confusion or Tumult, to propose, according to his Experience, such Counsel, as shall be most salutary to the Republic; and that afterwards, whatever other Citizen thought proper, might in his Rank of Seniority successively declare his Opinion upon every separate Question in your Debates. Thus alone, in my Judgement, shall the Commonwealth be happily governed, and these Impeachments become less frequent. But since these ancient Institutions, universally acknowledged of such Excellence, are at present abolished; since certain Persons wantonly propose Opinions directly contrary to the Laws in Being, and others, who never were regularly elected to preside in the Senate, but had obtained their Seats by the Interest of a Faction, presume to make such extraordinary Motions; since every other Senator, although legally chosen to preside, and with Integrity declaring the Number of Votes in each Debate, is threatened with Impeachments of high Treason by a Party, who presume the Administration is not of common Right, but their peculiar Prerogative; who have reduced our Plebeians to the most abject State of Slavery, and assumed to themselves an almost arbitrary Power; since they have absolutely destroyed the
legal

legal Forms of our judicial Proceedings, and by temporary Decrees determine all Causes, as they are actuated by their Passions, that excellent and wisest Proclamation in the Republic is no longer heard, “ What Citizen above fifty Years of Age
 “ proposes to harangue the People, and afterwards what other
 “ Athenian in his Degree of Seniority ?” Indeed, neither the Laws, the Magistrates, nor the ruling Tribe, are any longer able to repress the indecent Licentiousness of our Orators.

SINCE, therefore, such is our Situation; such the present Circumstances of the Republic, as you yourselves must perceive, the only surviving Part of our Constitution (if haply I possess any Degree of Knowledge) consists in preferring Articles of Impeachment against the Violators of our Laws. If you abolish this Custom, or suffer others to abolish it, I venture to foretell, you will imperceptibly by such Concessions betray the Constitution to this ambitious Faction. For you perfectly well understand, Athenians, there are only three Forms of Government amongst Mankind; Monarchy, Oligarchy, and Democracy. Monarchies and Oligarchies are governed according to the arbitrary Pleasure of their Rulers; but democratical States by fixed and established Laws. Let not any therefore among you be ignorant; let them rather know with utmost Certainty, that whenever he enters upon the Judgement-Seat to give Sentence on an Impeachment for proposing any Laws in Opposition to those already enacted, he shall that very Day pronounce upon
 his

his own proper Independence. For this Reason, the Legislator placed this Article in the Beginning of the Judges Oath, I WILL GIVE SENTENCE ACCORDING TO LAW; being fully sensible, that while the Laws are observed with Reverence in any Republic, so long shall a popular Government continue in Safety. | While you recollect these Maxims, you ought to behold with Detestation and Abhorrence whoever proposes a Decree subversive of your established Laws, and not esteem a Crime of this Nature trivial and inconsiderable, but in every single Instance most atrocious. Of this your undoubted Right let not any Man despoil you; neither the Patronage of your Generals, who have long since conspired with certain of your Orators, and now absolutely destroy the Constitution; neither the Supplications of Strangers, whom some Persons have introduced into our Assemblies, and by their Influence escaped the Punishment due to their own illegal Administration. But as each of you would blush to desert the Rank, in which he was placed by his Commander in the Day of Battle, so should you blush to desert that Station, in which you are this Day placed by the Laws of your Country, the Guardians of her Liberty. (1)

✓ You should also constantly remember, that the whole Body of your fellow-Citizens have this Day deposited in your Hands,
and

(1) The Dignity and Beauty of this Comparison must have been sensibly felt by a People, among whom every Citizen was a Soldier. It is a noble Compliment paid by the Orator to the Courage of his Audience, and at the same Time a severe, though seemingly casual, Reflexion upon the Cowardice of Demosthenes in the Battle of Chæronea. This last Remark is due to Mr. Tourreille,

and committed to your Integrity the Republic and its Constitution. Some of them are present and hear the pleadings in this important Cause; others are absent, necessarily engaged in their private Occupations. Inspired with a reverential Regard for them; attentive to your Oaths, and to the Laws, which you have sworn to maintain, if I clearly convict Ctesiphon of having preferred a Decree directly opposite to those Laws, to Truth, to the general Interests of the Commonwealth, annul, Athenians, this illegal Decree; confirm to Athens her Democracy; punish whoever during their Administration, act in Contradiction to your Laws, the general Utility of the Republic, and your peculiar Interests. If you come hither with this disposition of Mind, and will hear the Reasonings I shall now produce, I am assured, you will pronounce a Sentence equitable in itself; religiously conformable to your Oaths, and of singular Advantage to yourselves and to the whole Republic.

I HOPE, therefore, that I have sufficiently opened the general State of this Prosecution. But I would willingly make some short Remarks concerning the Laws enacted against those, who have not yet rendered an Account of their Conduct in the Offices, with which they have been intrusted: those Laws, in direct Opposition to which Ctesiphon hath preferred his Decree. (2) For, in these latter Times, some of our Citizens,

who

(2) Whoever had born any public Office in the State was obliged to render

who were invested with the most considerable Employments in the State, and managed the public Revenues, though guilty of Peculation and Corruption in their several Offices, yet having gained over to their Cause some powerful Orators both in the Senate, and in our popular Assemblies, have by Praises and Proclamations, iniquitously purchased, prevented their ever being compelled to render an Account of their Conduct. From thence, when they have been called upon to pass their Accounts, their Prosecutors, and especially their Judges, have been extremely doubtful how to proceed; so that many of them, although manifestly convicted of having embezzled the public Money, yet eluded all judicial Inquiry. Neither is this extraordinary. For the Judges, I can well imagine, were not insensible of the Ignominy, that the very same Man, in the same City, perhaps within the same Year, but certainly not long before, should by Proclamation amidst our public Games be honoured by the People with a golden Crown for his Virtue and Integrity, yet that this very Man should afterwards depart from a Court of Justice, convicted of Peculation. The Judges therefore

an Account of his Conduct in it to the People. Until he had discharged himself of this Obligation, he was incapable of alienating his Fortune when living, or bequeathing it at his Death; of being adopted into any other Family, or of leaving Athens, and, in particular regard to the present Cause, of receiving any public Honours. Æschines asserts, that Demosthenes is in these Circumstances.

He urges the Proofs of this Assertion with his utmost Force; he repeats and varies them with his best Art and Address; he considers them as the principal Strength of his Prosecution. Yet the Part most interesting to the Orator, it is confessed, is least entertaining to his Readers. It will appear to an English Reader like the pleading of a common Lawyer, quoting Statutes and Precedents.

therefore were compelled to pronounce Sentence, not with Regard to the Criminal, but to the Dishonour, which his being condemned must have reflected on the People.

ONE of our Legislators, therefore, observing these Abuses, enacted a Law, in itself really excellent, and which expressly forbids our crowning any Person, who hath not passed his Accounts. Yet, however wisely provident our Legislator, certain fallacious Reasonings have been invented, which have assumed a Power superior to the Authority of his Law, and by which, if you be not rightly informed, you may be insensibly deceived. For some, who contrary to Law propose to crown the Magistrate, yet accountable for his Conduct, have a Kind of natural Modesty (if he can possibly be called Modest, who violates the Laws of his Country) and throw a Veil over the Turpitude of their Designs. They write in the Preamble of their Decrees, “ Let such a Person be crowned, when he hath given in his Accounts, and those Accounts have been approved.” The Republic is however equally injured, for by the Praises and Crowns thus irregularly decreed, all future Inquiries are precluded; while he, who prefers the Decree, convinces his Audience, that he violates indeed the Laws of his Country, yet blushes for the Crime he commits. But Ctesiphon, O Athenians, having notoriously transgressed an established Law, and even omitted that plausible Evasion, I have just now mentioned, hath proposed to crown Demosthenes, before his giving in his Accounts; before those

Accounts have been examined ; and even while he still continues in his Office.

THEY will offer, Athenians, another Manner of reasoning, somewhat different from that already mentioned ; that whoever is created by the Decree of any particular Tribe, is not properly a Magistrate, but simply executes some certain Office and Employment. For Magistracies, they assert, are what the Thesmothetæ distribute by Lot in the Temple of Theseus, or those, which the People have been accustomed to decree at a general Election ; such as the Command of your Infantry and Cavalry, with others of the same Nature ; but that all the rest are meerly Employments, appointed by Decree of some particular Tribe. In Opposition to these Arguments I shall produce a Law, which you yourselves enacted, imagining it would effectually obviate such Pretexts. It is there expressly written, “ all those Employments are strictly Magistracies, that are conferred by a Decree of the People.” When the Legislator hath included them under one general Term, and declared, that all Offices, conferred by the Suffrages of the People, are properly Magistracies, he then particularly mentions the Surveyors of the public Works (Demosthenes is even now appointed to repair our Walls, and oversee the most important of our public Works) all, who execute any Office more than thirty Days ; all, who preside in any Courts of Judicature (but all Surveyors of the public Works really have their Courts of Judicature,

dicature, in which they preside)——What does he command them to do? Not to administer an Office, but execute a Magistracy, when they have been approved of in the proper Courts; for even they, who are elected by Lot, cannot enter upon their Employments, untill they have been regularly approved. (3) He commands them to pass their Accounts before the proper Officers. In Proof of what I assert, the Secretary shall read the Laws themselves.†

The LAWS.

SINCE therefore, Athenians, what the Legislator names Magistracies, these People call Offices and Employments, it is your Business to remember this Law; to set it in Opposition to their frontless Assurance, and to suggest to them, that you approve not of that pernicious Sophist, who is confident he shall with Words overturn your Constitution; but that in Proportion, as he speaks with greater Eloquence, when he proposes a Decree, which violates your Laws, so shall he feel your severer Indignation.‡ For the Orator, O Athenians, and the Law should necessarily speak the same Sentiments; but when the Laws utter one Language, and the Orator another, it is your Duty to give your assent rather to the Justice of the Law, than to the Confidence of the Orator.‡

WITH

(3) Whoever accepted any Office in the State was obliged to pass an Examination of his Life and Manners. If he was found vicious or scandalous in his private Character, he was not supposed capable of acting with Probity or Reputation in the Affairs of the Public.

WITH regard to what Demosthenes calls an invincible Argument, I would willingly premise some short Remarks. He will argue thus; “I am appointed to rebuild our Walls. “I acknowledge it. But I have liberally given to the Republic an hundred Minæ, and the Work hath been executed by my Care with greater Dignity. For what therefore am I accountable, unless we must account for our voluntary Bounty?” To this fallacious Reasoning hear me answer with Justice to Him, and Advantage to You. In this City, thus ancient, thus powerful, among the Numbers who have engaged in the Service of the Public, in whatever Kind of Employment, there never was a single Person exempted from the Obligation of rendering his Accounts. This I shall demonstrate in Instances almost incredible. The Law commands our Priests and Priestesses, both collectively for their Societies, and separately for themselves, to be accountable, although they receive no pecuniary Reward, but Honour only for offering up their Prayers to the Gods for your Welfare. Nor private Persons alone, but Families, supported by the Public, such as the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces and all others of this Kind, are subjected to this Inquiry. Thus the Law obliges even those, who have fitted out Gallies at their own Expence, to pass their Accounts; who never touched the public Money, nor after having rapaciously plundered your Revenues, and then paid back some inconsiderable Part of it, profess they have liberally contributed out of their private Fortunes, when

when they meerly restore some little Portion of your own Treasures; but even they, who have confessedly expended their paternal Estates to demonstrate their Zeal and Ambition to serve you; nor they alone, but even the highest Councils of the Republic, submit themselves to the Inspection of the Courts, appointed to receive their Accounts! For the Law commands the Senate held in the Arcopagus to render in writing to the proper Officers a general Account of their Conduct, and to give in their Accounts of Money received or expended; and even this supreme Court submits to your Judgement its gravest and most important Decisions. “ Shall not the Senate then of “ the Arcopagus be crowned?” It is not agreeable to their Institution. “ Are they not animated with the love of Glory?” So entirely, as not to be satisfied, that none of their own Body commits any flagrant Offence, but they punish the most inconsiderable Errors with Severity. Yet these your Orators exult in their Licentiousness.

· *AGAIN*, the Legislator hath made the Council of five hundred accountable, and so vehemently does he suspect the Person, who hath not passed his Accounts, that in the very Beginning of the Law he declares, whoever is yet accountable for his Magistracy, (these are his Words) let him not leave the City. / “ In “ the Name of Hercules (thus might any one exclaim) because “ I have been a Magistrate, shall I not leave the City?” No; to prevent your flying from Justice, after having embezzled

our Treasures, or been guilty of Irregularities in your Office. Again. He forbids the Person, who stands accountable, to consecrate his Wealth to the Gods; to suspend any votive Ornaments in their Temples; to alienate his Fortune by being adopted into any other Family; or to bequeath his Possessions by Will, with many other such Instances. In a Word, the Legislator seizes the Property of all these Persons, as a Pledge and Security, untill they have given in their Accounts to the Republic. † “ Acknowledged. But there are some perhaps, who
 “ never received, nor ever expended, any of the public Mo-
 “ ney, but meerly executed some common Office in the State.” Even this Man, the Legislator obliges to bring in his Accounts to the Clerks of the Treasury. † “ But how is it possible, that
 “ a Man, who has neither received, nor expended any such
 “ Money, shall bring in an Account of it?” The Law itself answers, and informs him, what he ought to write; “ I have
 “ neither received, nor expended any sums belonging to the Re-
 “ public.” For in this Republic there is not any Employment, that is not liable to the strictest Examination and Inquiry. In Proof of these Assertions, hear the Laws themselves.

The LAWS.

WHEN Demosthenes therefore shall be most confident, and declare, he is not accountable for his Liberality, make him this Reply; “ you ought however, Demosthenes, to permit the
 “ Crier, employed by the Tribunal of Accounts, to publish the
 “ Pro-

“ Proclamation, derived to us from our Ancestors, and sup-
 “ ported by our Laws; WHO WILL ACCUSE? Permit our
 “ Citizens, whoever pleases, to make it Matter of Doubt,
 “ whether you have really given thus liberally, or of the nu-
 “ merous Sums, still in your Hands for repairing the Walls,
 “ whether you have expended but a very inconsiderable Part,
 “ although you received ten Talents for that Purpose. Do not
 “ extort from us this Glory of being liberal; tear not, from the
 “ Hands of your Judges, those Tablets, by which they shall
 “ pronounce your Sentence; nor presume to direct, but be
 “ content as a Citizen to follow the Laws; for such Conduct
 “ only can support a democratical State.”¹

IN Answer to the weak Pratexts therefore, which they will hereafter urge, I have hitherto spoken. But that Demosthenes, when Ctesiphon preferred this Decree, was really accountable, as a Magistrate presiding over the Funds belonging to the Theatre, and those destined for repairing our Walls; and that he hath never given you an Account of his Conduct, or of the Money committed to his Care in either of these Employments, I shall now endeavour to convince you by the public Records. Read therefore under whose Archonship, in what Month, what Day, and what Assembly, Demosthenes was elected into the Management of the theatrical Funds, from whence it will appear, that Ctesiphon preferred a Decree to crown him, when only half his Magistracy was expired. | Read.

COMPUTATION of DAYS.

SHOULD I therefore urge no farther Proof, Ctesiphon would be with Justice condemned ; for not my Accusation condemns him, but the public Records. Formerly, O Athenians, a Comptroller was appointed, who laid before the People, every thirty-five Days, an Account of the public Revenues. But from the Confidence you placed in Eubulus, they, who were elected to superintend your theatrical Funds, held at once, untill Hegemon's Law, the different Employments of Comptrollers, Receivers-General, Surveyors of the Marine, Inspectors of our Arsenals, and Overseers of the High-Ways ; indeed almost all the great Offices of the Administration. Neither do I purpose to accuse, or reflect any Dishonour upon them, but I would willingly demonstrate to you, that our Legislator, if the Citizen, who holds any one even the least considerable Employment, shall be accountable, certainly permits not his being crowned, before he hath given in, and proved his Accounts. Yet Ctesiphon hath not hesitated to decree a Crown to Demosthenes, who executed at once all the principal Magistracies in Athens.†

THAT he was really Superintendant for repairing our Walls, when Ctesiphon preferred this Decree ; that he had the Management of the public Revenues ; imposed Fines, like other Magistrates ; exercised a judicial Power of determining Causes ; of all these Assertions I shall produce Demosthenes himself and Ctesiphon

as Witnesses. For when Chæironidas was Archon, Demosthenes, in an Assembly held the twenty-ninth of May, preferred a Decree, that all the Tribes should assemble the second and third of June. He then ordered, that certain Persons should be elected for Inspection of the Walls, and the Distribution of the Revenues. A truly excellent Decree, by which the Republic might have Persons, from whom it might receive an Account of whatever Money was expended. Read the Decrees.

The DECREES.

Yet Demosthenes will perplex the Question, and immediately reply, that neither by Lot, nor by Election of the People, was he appointed Overseer of the Walls. Upon this Subject both Ctesiphon and Demosthenes will make their very copious Orations. Mine shall be short, and clear, and able instantly to expose all their Fallacies. Yet I would first mention some Particulars, necessary for your Instruction. There are, Athenians, three Kinds of Magistracies in our Republic. The first, which is universally known, includes those, who are chosen by Lot, or elected by the Suffrages of the People: the second, who exercise any Employment in the Commonwealth, more than thirty Days, and particularly those, who are Superintendants of any public Works. The third is expressly written in the Law itself: “ And if any others, elected by the People,

“ receive a judicial Power in any of our Courts, let them enter

“ upon their Magistracy, when they have been approved of by
 “ a legal Examination into their Lives and Manners.”¹ If we
 therefore take away from this Number, those who are appointed
 by Election, and by Lot, it then remains, that they, whom
 either a whole Tribe, or a third of it, or the Boroughs of At-
 tica choose out of their own Body to expend the public Money,
 must be acknowledged Magistrates, duly elected. This hap-
 pens, whenever, as in the present Instance, any public Work
 is decreed to the Tribes, whether to compleat your Intrench-
 ments, or build your Gallies. That I assert the Truth, you
 shall be informed by the Laws themselves.

THE LAWS.

✓ You remember what I have already urged, that the Legisla-
 tor commands those, who have been elected by their Tribes, to
 enter upon their Magistracy, when they have passed the judicial
 Examination with Regard to their Reputation.¹ But the Pan-
 dionian Tribe declared Demosthenes a Magistrate and Super-
 intendant of our Walls, and he received, out of the Funds
 assigned for repairing them, little less than ten Talents. Yet
 another Law expressly forbids any Magistrate, who hath not
 given in his Accounts, to be crowned:¹ You have sworn to
 pronounce Sentence according to the Laws: Ctesiphon hath
 proposed to crown a Man yet accountable, and even without
 adding, “ after he shall have given in, and proved his Ac-
 counts.”¹

THUS

THUS have I clearly proved the Illegality of this Decree, and at once produced the Laws, your own Decrees, and even my Adversaries as my Witnesses. How can any Man more clearly demonstrate, that another hath preferred Decrees most directly contrary to Law? But I shall now convince you, that the Proclamation of this Crown is absolutely illegal. For the Law expressly commands, “ if the Senate decrees a Crown, it shall be
 “ proclaimed in the Senate-House; if the People, in their own
 “ Assembly. Never in any other Place.” | Read the Law.

The LAW.

THIS Law, Athenians, is really excellent. For, in my Judgement, the Legislator did not imagine it necessary, that an Orator should make himself honoured by Strangers, but content himself with being esteemed in his own Republic by the People, and not make a Trade of publishing these Proclamations. (4) Thus the Legislator; but Ctesiphon, how does he act? Read his Decree.

The DECREE.

You hear, Athenians, that the Author of the Law commands, whoever is crowned by a Decree of the People, shall be proclaimed in their own Assembly, nor in any other Place.

But

(4) μή ἐργολαθεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. *tega de i bandi.* ITALIAN TRANSLATOR.
 Quæstum exercere in pronunciandis præ- Non briguer des proclamations par des
 miis, hoc est, in perferendis promulga- veuës d'un indigne interest. TOUR-
 tionibus. BUDÆUS. *E non faccia bot-* REIL.

But Ctesiphon proclaimed it in the Theatre, not only transgressing the Laws by decreeing the Crown, but by changing the Place of proclaiming it: not in full Assembly of the Athenian People, but where our new Tragedians are acting; (5) not before the People, but before the Grecians in general, that they may be equally conscious, as we are, upon what Kind of Man we confer the Honours of the Republic. |

HAVING therefore preferred a Decree thus manifestly illegal, he will join his Forces, as if in Battle Array, with those of Demosthenes, and form his Fallacies against the Law, he has violated. These I shall clearly lay open, and I now foretell them, that you may not incautiously be deceived by them. That the Laws forbid the Person, whom the People have decreed to crown, to be proclaimed in any other than in their own Assembly, neither Ctesiphon, nor Demosthenes have it in their Power to deny. But in their Defence, they will cite a Law, that concerns only your Bacchanalian Festivals; they will cite it partially, to impose upon their Audience; they will produce a Law totally foreign to the present Indictment; they will assert, that there are two Laws, with regard to Proclamations, of equal Force in the Republic. One of these I have quoted, expressly forbidding the Person, who is honoured with
a Crown

(5) τραγωδῶν καιῶν. The Italian and French Translators render the Words, *new Tragedies*; certainly against their strict Meaning. Besides ἀγωνίζεσθαι,

signifies in itself, *fabulas agere*. Who these new Tragedians were, or what new Tragedies they might have acted, is equally unknown.

a Crown by the People, to be proclaimed out of their own Assemblies. The other, they will affirm in direct Contradiction grants a Power of proclaiming the Crown in the Theatre, during the Representation of our Tragedies, IF THE PEOPLE APPROVE! According to this Law, they will conclude, that Ctesiphon preferred his Decree.

IN Opposition to these Subtleties I shall produce your Laws, which I have endeavoured to make my great Patrons and Advocates through this whole Prosecution. For if it indeed be true; if such a Custom hath insinuated itself into your Constitution, that obsolete Laws are to be reckoned among those in full Force; if ever two shall meet directly contradicting each other in the very same Cause, by what Name shall we call that Government, in which the Laws command and forbid the very same Actions? But not such our present Situation; and may you never hereafter fall into such Confusion. Nor was this Care neglected by the Legislator, who founded our Democracy; for he hath expressly appointed certain Conservators of our Laws to revise and correct them every Year in public Assembly; accurately to examine, and attentively consider, whether any one Law contradicts another; whether the obsolete are retained among those in Force, and whether there be more than one upon the same Subject. If they find any such, he commands, that they shall be written upon Tables, and placed in public View before the Statues of our guardian Heroes; that the
proper

proper Magistrates should convoke an Assembly, and after having inscribed upon each Law the Name of the Person, who had proposed it, the President of the Assembly shall grant to the People a Power of voting, which they will annul, which they will retain, that there may be only one Law, no more, upon every single Fact. † Now read the Laws.

The LAWS.

IF therefore, Athenians, their Assertions were true; if there were indeed any two Laws in Force with regard to these Proclamations, of Necessity, I presume, when the Magistrates had found, and the Senators of the presiding Tribe had presented them to the proper Officers, one of them had certainly been repealed; either that which granted, or that which denied a Power to proclaim. But since nothing of this Kind was ever done, both Ctesiphon and Demosthenes are manifestly convicted of uttering not Falshoods only, but even absolute Impossibilities.

I SHALL inform you, from what Source they have derived these Falshoods, when I have mentioned for what Reasons the Laws concerning Proclamations in the Theatre were enacted. When Tragedies have been represented in this City, some certain Persons proclaimed, without having obtained the Consent of the People, that they were crowned by their own Tribes, or by their Boroughs; others corrupted the Herald to proclaim, that they generously set their Slaves at Liberty, and thus they called

called upon the Grecians to be Witnesses of their Generosity. Yet still more provoking and odious, they, who were appointed to receive and entertain Foreigners at the public Expence, contrived to have it proclaimed, that the People, for Instance of Rhodes or Chios, or any other City, had crowned them for their Virtue and Magnanimity. (6) Nor did they act in this Manner, as if they were crowned by your Senate, or by your People; as if they had persuaded you to consent, or were supported by your Decrees, or had laid some mighty Obligation upon you, but they seized upon the Crown without asking or obtaining your Approbation. Hence it hath happened, that the Spectators, the Directors of the Sports, and the Actors were often disturbed, while they, who were proclaimed in the Theatre, were far more gloriously distinguished, than they, whom you yourselves crowned. These last had only one particular Place, the general Assembly, in which they must necessarily receive this Honour; the others were proclaimed in open View of all Greece. These acted under Sanction of your Decree, and by your Consent; the others without any Authority. Conscious

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of

(6) Προξενίας τινές ευρημένοι εν ταῖς ἕξω πόλεσι. The Words, in their first natural Construction, seem to mean, *They, who had been hospitably received in foreign Cities, and in this Manner are they rendered by all our Interpreters. The Sense however leads us to a very different, indeed opposite, Meaning. The Crime of these People, so strongly marked, ἐπιφρονώτατον, invidiosissimum, was their*

misusing their Employments, and the Funds appointed for the Entertainment of Strangers, to influence those Strangers to decree them a Crown of Virtue and Magnanimity. In support of this Reasoning, we have the great Authority of Budæus upon the Word προξενιοί; sic enim dicebantur, quibus publice hoc munus delegatum erat, ut legatos civitatum honoris causa hospitio susciperent.

of these Irregularities, one of your Legislators enacted a Law, which has nothing in common with that, relating to Persons crowned by you, neither does it abrogate that Law, (for not your Assembly was disturbed, but the Theatre) nor proposes any thing in Opposition to others formerly established (for this could never be permitted) but regards only those, who without your Decree were crowned by their own Tribes and Boroughs; those, who had made their Slaves free; or those, who were honoured with Crowns granted by Foreigners. He therefore expressly forbids, either that a Slave shall be made free in the Theatre, or that any Person should be proclaimed to be crowned by the People of his own Tribe, or Borough, or by any others, and then orders, that the Herald who violates this Law, shall be stigmatized with Infamy.

SINCE he therefore precisely appoints the Senate-House for proclaiming those, who are crowned by the Senate, and for those, who are crowned by the People, their own Assembly; since he hath absolutely forbidden those, who are crowned by their own Boroughs and Tribes, to be proclaimed in the Theatre during the Representation of our Tragedies, lest any one, by obtaining Crowns, and Proclamations by private Interests and Friendships, should obtain the unmerited Glory of having served his Country: since he declares, that the Crowns conferred by the Senate and the People, the Tribes and Boroughs shall be proclaimed in the Senate-House or Assembly, what then

then remains, except that the Crowns conferred by Foreigners can alone be legally proclaimed in the Theatre? In Proof of this Reasoning, I shall produce to you one powerful Argument from the Laws themselves. They take away the golden Crown, proclaimed in our Theatre, from the Person to whom it was given; and command it to be consecrated to Minerva. Yet who shall dare to condemn the People of Athens of an Action thus illiberal? For not the Republic only, but even no private Athenian could be so degenerate, as in the same Moment to proclaim, and take away, and consecrate that very Crown, which he himself had bestowed. But, in my Opinion, this Consecration arises from its being conferred by Foreigners; lest a Citizen of Athens more highly valuing the Affection of Strangers, than that of his own Country, may be corrupted in his Principles. But the Crown, which hath been proclaimed in full Assembly of the People, is never consecrated. It is permitted to be possessed by him, to whom it was given, that not he alone, but all his Posterity, preserving in their Houses this glorious Monument, may never entertain a Thought injurious to this Republic. Thus the Legislator hath added; “no foreign Crown shall be proclaimed in the Theatre, except the People shall confirm it by Decree,” that whatever State shall have an Inclination to crown a Citizen of Athens may be obliged to send Ambassadors to solicit the Permission of our People; and that whoever is thus proclaimed may be conscious of a greater Obligation to you, for the Crown he receives, than

to those, who crown him, because you permitted the Proclamation. To evince this Truth, hear the Laws themselves.

The LAWS.

WHEN therefore, with an Intention of deceiving you, they shall affirm, that it is written in the Law, “Let it be permitted to crown in the Theatre if the People shall decree,” remember to answer them, Yes, if any other City crown you; but if the People of Athens, the Place is then pointed out to you, where the Ceremony must be performed. It is absolutely forbidden to proclaim you out of the general Assembly. For by this Expresssion, “Not in any other Place,” talk the whole Day to explain it, you shall never clearly shew, that you have preferred a legal Decree.

THERE yet remains one Part of my Accusation, to which I am particularly attentive; the Prætext, upon which Ctesiphon supposes Demosthenes worthy of being crowned. For thus he speaks in his Decree, “And the Herald shall proclaim in the Theatre in Presence of all the Grecians, that the People of Athens crown Demosthenes for his Virtue and Fortitude, and” (what is most extraordinary) “because he constantly pursues in all his Words and Actions the Welfare of the Republic.” The Remainder of my Discourse will be to me extremely simple, and to you most easy to form your Judgment upon it. My Duty as an Accuser obliges me to inform
you,

you, that the Praises given to Demosthenes are absolutely false ; that he never proposed the most salutary Counsels, nor at present perseveres in his Actions to promote the Welfare of the Republic. † If I clearly prove this Assertion, Ctesiphon shall justly be convicted upon this Article, for all our Laws forbid us to insert a Falsehood in any public Decrees. Ctesiphon in his Defence must manifestly prove the contrary. You shall be Judges of our Reasonings. Behold the Cause therefore fairly stated.

MINUTELY to inquire into the Life of Demosthenes, would be the Work, I imagine, of a very long Oration. But wherefore should I mention, either what befell him, when he cited his Cousin-German Democles before the Areopagus, upon an Action of Battery for Wounds he had given himself ;^l or when he received Cephisodotus, General of the Expedition to the Hellespont, on board the Galley he commanded, and although he had eaten with him at the same Table, performed the same Sacrifices, the same Libations, (Honours which the General conferred upon him because he had a Friendship for his Father) yet he hesitated not to become his Accuser in an Indictment for a capital Crime ? Wherefore mention the Affair between him, and Midias, and the Buffetings he received in the Orchestra, when he was Superintendant of the public Games ? Or how he sold for thirty Minæ at once the Affront itself, and the Judgement of the People, who had by Decree condemned Mi-

dias

dias in the Temple of Bacchus? These, and many other Instances like these, in my own Opinion, I may pass over in Silence without either betraying your Interests in the Cause, or making any Concessions in the Dispute to gratify my Adversaries, but merely apprehensive of your objecting, that I assert Truths indeed, but Truths obsolete, and generally acknowledged. The Man therefore, O Ctesiphon, whose enormous Turpitude is so notorious, so universally believed, that his Prosecutor is not apprehensive of appearing to urge a Falseness against him, but of seeming to impose upon his Audience with Truth of ancient Date repeatedly acknowledged, whether ought he to be crowned with a golden Crown, or stigmatized with Infamy? Or you, who impudently dare to write in your Decree things equally false, as illegal, whether ought you to treat with Contempt the Justice of your Country, or suffer that Punishment, which the Vengeance of the Republic demands?!

OF his public Crimes, I shall endeavour to speak more clearly, for I hear, when Leave is given to him and Ctesiphon to reply, he will compute, that there were four particular Periods of much Importance to the Commonwealth during his Administration. As one of these, and indeed the principal, so I am informed, he reckons the Time, when we entered into a War against Philip for the Preservation of Amphipolis. This Period he concludes with the Treaty and Alliance, which Philocrates, and he ratified by their Decrees, as I shall demonstrate. The
 second

second he dates from the Time, when we enjoyed a general Peace, even to the very Day, in which this Orator himself violated that Peace, and decreed a War. The third, while we maintained that War, untill the Misfortune at Cheronæa. The fourth, is the present Time. Having divided them in this Manner, he proposes, as I am informed, to call me, and ask, upon which of these, his four Periods, I accuse him, or at what Time, during his Administration, I assert his having acted contrary to the Interests of the Republic. If I refuse to answer, or hide my Head with shame, or desert the Cause like a Coward, He threatens to lay me open to public View; to drag me to the Tribunal, and compel me to answer. That he may not therefore triumph in his Strength; that you may be previously acquainted with his Designs; that I may answer you, Demosthenes, before our common Judges, in Presence of our Fellow-Citizens, who stand round the Tribunal, and of the Grecians, who are anxious to hear this Trial (for I behold them in no inconsiderable Numbers; indeed far greater than in the Memory of Man were ever assembled at a public Trial) I answer, that I accuse you upon all the four Periods, into which you divide your Administration: and if it be the good Pleasure of the Gods; if our Judges hear us impartially, and I can recollect the Crimes, I am conscious you have committed; I am wholly confident, I shall convince our Judges, that the immortal Gods, and the Magistrates, who directed your Affairs with a milder Spirit, and more temperately, were the Preservers

of the Republic, and that Demosthenes hath been the sole Author of all our Misfortunes. I shall preserve the same regular Plan of Discourse, which, I am informed, he designs to use. I shall begin with his first Period ; then speak to the second and third in their proper Order, and end with the present Situation of our Affairs.

I RETURN therefore to that Peace, which you, Demosthenes and Philocrates, decreed. It was in your Power, Athenians, to have concluded it with the general Consent of all Greece, if certain Persons had permitted you to wait for the Return of the Embassies, you sent at that important Conjunction to the Grecian States to invite them to assist at the Council assembled to deliberate upon declaring War against Philip ; and in Process of Time, you might have recovered the Sovereignty of Greece by the universal Consent of the Grecians. Of all these Advantages you are deprived by Demosthenes and Philocrates, who conspiring against the Republic have engaged in Practices most fordidly corrupt. Yet if any among you, when he hears this unexpected Assertion, should think it incredible, let him give such Attention to the Remainder of this Oration, as when we sit down upon an Account of Money long since expended. For we sometimes come hither with very false Impressions, yet when the Account hath been in every Article regularly stated, no Man can be so perverse and obstinate of Spirit, as not to depart acknowledging and assenting to the Truth, which the
Account

Account itself demonstrates. Give me therefore such equitable hearing, and if any of you come hither long since prepossessed with an Opinion, that Demosthenes never pleaded, in Collusion with Philocrates, in Favour of Philip; if any of you be thus persuaded, let him neither acquit, nor condemn, before he hears the Proofs; he will otherwise be most unjust. But if you give me your Attention, while I briefly recollect these Periods; while I produce the Decree, that Demosthenes and Philocrates preferred; if the very Calculation of Truth itself shall convict Demosthenes of having with Philocrates proposed more than one Decree in Favour of that former Peace and Alliance; of having even to a shameless Excess of Adulation flattered Philip, and his Ambassadors, nor waited for the Return of the Embassies you had sent to animate the Grecians to engage in a Confederacy against him; of being the sole Cause, that the People of Athens ratified a separate Peace with Philip, without the Concurrence of the general Council of Greece; of having rendered Chersobleptes, King of Thrace, a Confederate and Ally to this Republic, a Tributary to Philip; if I manifestly demonstrate all these Articles, I shall implore you to grant me one very reasonable Request. Acknowledge, in the Name of the immortal Gods, that he hath acted neither honourably, nor advantageously for the Republic, during this first Period. I shall begin from whence you may follow me with greatest Ease and Certainty.

PHILOCRATES preferred a Decree, that Philip might be permitted to send Heralds and Ambassadors hither to negotiate an Alliance, offensive and defensive. This Decree was opposed as contrary to Law. The Day of Trial came; Lycinus, who laid the Indictment, entered upon the Prosecution. Philocrates made his Defence; Demosthenes supported him, and Philocrates was acquitted. The following Year Themistocles is made Archon. Then enters the Senator Demosthenes into the Senate-House, neither chosen by Lot in his own Right, nor appointed to succeed upon a Vacancy either by Death or Misconduct of any of the Senators, but getting a Seat by Bribery and Intrigue, with an Intention upon all Occasions both of speaking and acting in support of Philocrates; as the Event itself hath demonstrated. | For Philocrates violently carried another Decree, in which he commanded, that ten Ambassadors should be chosen, who shall solicit Philip to send his Plenipotentiaries hither to negotiate a Peace. One of these was Demosthenes, who returning from Macedonia, pronounced a Panegyric on the Peace, and made the very same Reports, as his Colleagues, of their Negotiations. Yet he alone of all our Senators proposed a Decree, for concluding a Peace with the Herald and Ambassadors of Philip, in perfect Conformity with the Decrees of Philocrates. He gave Philip Leave to send Heralds and Ambassadors hither, and Demosthenes concludes the Treaty. Give me now your earnest Attention to the Circumstances, that followed. Very little Business was transacted by
Philip

Philip with the other Ambassadors (whom Demosthenes upon this Alteration of Affairs, in numberless Instances calumniated) but with Philocrates and Demosthenes. Nor without Reason; since they acted together in their Embassy, and together formed the following Decrees. 'The first forbids you to wait for the Return of the Ambassadors, whom you sent to engage the States of Greece against Philip, and orders you without their Concurrence to conclude a separate Peace. 'The second not only directs you to confirm this Peace, but to enter into a League offensive and defensive, with Philip, that if any of the Grecians were well-intentioned to this Republic, they might fall into the last Despair, when they perceived you encouraging them to War, and at home confirming by your Decrees not Peace alone, but even the strictest Confederacy. The third commands, that Cherfobleptes should be neither included within the Oath of Treaty, nor interested either in the Peace, or Alliance; yet even at that Moment Philip had denounced Vengeance, and was preparing an Expedition against him.

WHEN Philip purchased their Decrees, he committed with regard to you nothing unjust, for before his Oaths and Ratification of the Treaties, you had no right to resent his making Use of his own Advantages. But they, who either have betrayed, or communicated the Strength of the Republic to Philip, certainly deserve your heaviest Indignation. But he, who now professes himself an Enemy to Alexander, as formerly

to Philip; this Demosthenes, who reproaches me with being the Guest of Alexander, prefers a Decree, by which he deprives the Commonwealth of the regular Seasons for her Deliberations, and commands the Magistrates to convene an Assembly of the People on the eighth of March, when the Festival of Æsculapius was to be solemnized, and the Games before it celebrated; a sacred Day, upon which no Man ever remembered an Instance of convening an Assembly. But what Excuse did he make for this Manner of acting? “That the People” (so he speaks in his Decree) “when Philip’s Ambassadors arrived, might deliberate with the soonest upon their Embassy to him.” Thus anticipating the Resolutions of the Assembly before the Arrival of his Ambassadors; preventing every favourable Conjunction, that might possibly happen, and violently precipitating the whole Affair, that without the Consent of other Grecian States, whenever your Ambassadors returned, you might conclude a separate Peace. Immediately after these Transactions Philip’s Ambassadors arrived, while yours were still abroad forming a general Confederacy against him. Here

Demost-

(7) This Passage must certainly be difficult, since two of our old Translators do not attempt the Word *προαγών*, and all the rest differ in the Manner of rendering it. To those mentioned by Wolfius let us add the Italian, *e si provavano i giuochi di Bacco*; and an old French Translator, Du Vair, *Et proposent un affaire de consequence a un jour de feste*. Atque de hac re, antequam

tum est die festo. LAMBINUS. *De faccon que le Sénat forma son decret préliminaire un jour de feste*. TOURREIL. *Antequam populus id scisceret*. FOULKES and FREIND. The present Translation, as in numberless other Instances, follows Doctor Taylor. He points the Text, *καὶ ὁ προαγών, ἐν τῇ ἱεργῇ ἡμερᾷ, Et praeludia celebrarentur, in die, inquam, sancto, quo nemo unquam meminuit concionem haberi*.

Demosthenes violently carried another Decree, in which he directs, that without waiting for the return of your Ambassadors, you should enter into a Consultation, not only upon concluding a Peace, but even an Alliance offensive and defensive, immediately after the Festival of Bacchus, celebrated in the City the eighteenth and nineteenth of March. That these Assertions are true be convinced by hearing the Decrees themselves.

The DECREES.

As soon therefore, Athenians, as the Festival of Bacchus was celebrated, two Assemblies were convened. In the first was recited the general Resolution of our Confederates, the principal Articles of which I shall briefly repeat. First, they directed you to confine your Deliberations to the Peace alone, and passed over the very Name of Alliance; not because they had forgotten it, but because they esteemed the Peace rather necessary, than honourable. Then they wisely opposed Demosthenes, with an Intention of finding a Remedy for his Corruption, and inserted in their Resolution, "Let it be permitted to whatever
 " States of Greece shall think proper within three Months to
 " have their Names inscribed upon the same Column with that
 " of the Athenians, and to enjoy all Advantages of Oaths and
 " Treaties." Thus they provided for two Points of utmost Importance: first, they gained three Months; a Time, sufficient for assembling the Grecian Ambassadors; and then conciliated to the Republic the Affections of Greece in this her general
 Coun--

Council, that if our Treaties with Philip should be violated by him, we might neither enter into the War alone, or unprepared; both which Misfortunes are now fallen upon us by the Conduct of Demosthenes. That I assert only Truth, you shall hear and be convinced by the very Decree.

DECREE of the CONFEDERATES.

To this Decree I confess, I gave my Assent, as did all your Orators, who spoke in the former Assembly, and the People departed, possessed with an Opinion, that a Peace ought necessarily to be concluded; that it were better not to debate upon an Alliance, as our Ambassadors were yet abroad forming a Confederacy against Philip, but that it should be ratified by common Consent of all the Grecians. Night intervened, and we were next Day summoned to the Assembly. There Demosthenes forceably taking Possession of the Tribunal, and not permitting any other to speak, declared, that all Resolutions of the preceding Day were insignificant and invalid, unless Philip's Ambassadors consented; nor could he conceive, that a Peace could possibly subsist without an Alliance. For we ought not (I remember the very Words he used, both from the Dissonance of the Speaker and the Expression itself) to tear asunder the Peace from the Alliance, nor wait for the Tardiness of the Grecians, but either continue the War ourselves, or conclude a separate Peace. Then calling Antipater up to the Tribunal, he asked him some Questions, having before informed him,
what

what he himself should ask, and instructed him to return an Answer most prejudicial to the Republic. Thus did this pernicious Measure prevail. Demosthenes extorted your Consent by very Violence of Words, and Philocrates confirmed it by Decree.

It yet remained to render Chersobleptes, and all his Thracian Dominions, tributary to Philip. This they executed the twenty fifth of March before Demosthenes departed for his second Embassy appointed for the Requisition of Philip's Oath in Ratification of the Peace. For this Enemy to Alexander ; this Enemy to Philip ; this your favourite Orator twice went Ambassador to Macedonia ; though he never should have gone even once ; he, who now advises you to treat the Macedonians with the vilest Contempt. Having taken his Seat in the Assembly, held the twenty-fifth, a Senator by meer Intrigue, in Collusion with Philocrates he delivered up Chersobleptes a Tributary to Philip. For Philocrates had secretly inserted this Clause, besides many others, in his Decree, for which Demosthenes had moved, that all the Ministers of our Allies at that Time in Athens should upon the same Day give their Oaths of Ratification of the Peace to Philip's Ambassadors, when Chersobleptes had not any Minister Resident among us. When he therefore ordered all the Ministers then present in the Council to take the Oaths, he necessarily excluded Chersobleptes, who had not any Resident at Athens. That I speak Truth, read to me the Names of the
Persons,

Persons, who preferred the Decree, and the President, who put the Question.

The DECREE. The PRESIDENT.

EXCELLENT, O Athenians, excellent indeed, the Preservation of our public Acts; for they remain unmoveable, nor ever vary with those, who desert from Party to Party in their Politics, but give the People a Power, whenever they please, of inspecting into the Lives of those, who were formerly guilty of the most execrable Crimes, and yet upon any Alteration of Affairs assume the Character of being valuable and upright Citizens.

It now remains, that I mention some Instances of the servile Compliances of Demosthenes with regard to Philip. Although he had been a Senator a whole Year, he never invited any foreign Ambassadors to the front Seats in the Theatre. This was the first and only Instance. He placed the Macedonian Ambassadors there, laid their Cushions himself, spread the purple Carpets on their Seats, and at the first Appearance of Day-Light, conducted them into the Theatre, in such a Manner, as to be hissed for his Turpitude and Adulation. (8) When they departed for Thebes, he liberally hired six Mules for them, and marched before them in much Solemnity, making the Re-

public

(8) This Instance of Adulation is well explained by a Passage in Theophrastus, quoted by Tourreil. A Slave was appointed to give People of Distinction

Cushions to sit upon in the Theatre. But the Flatterer can descend to the Vileness of snatching one for his Patron, and placing it himself on his Seat.

public itself perfectly ridiculous. But that I may confine myself to my Subject, give me the Decree of Precedence granted to the Macedonians.

The DECREE.

HOWEVER, this Flatterer of Philip; this Flatterer of such enormous Magnitude, having first heard the Death of that Monarch from the Spies of Charidemus, pretended that a Dream was sent him from the Gods, and villainously declared, he heard the Fact, not from Charidemus, but from Jupiter and Minerva. Those Deities, whom he affronts with his Perjuries by Day, he protests, converse with him by Night, and foretell him the great Events of Futurity. Then, seven Days after the Death of his Daughter, before he had mourned for her; before he had performed the customary Ceremonies of Sepulture, crowned with Flowers, and clothed in white, he sacrificed an Ox, and impiously violates the Rites, by Nature due to that Child, whom the miserable Wretch had lost; his only Child, the first, that ever called him Father. Nor do I mean to insult him with this great Calamity, but inquire into the Manners and Genius of the Man. For the Father, who does not love his Children, can never prove a good Minister to the Republic. Whoever does not cherish with paternal Tenderness these dearest, these domestic Charities, will never be more anxious for your Wellfare, than that of Strangers; whoever is in private Life dishonest, will never become virtuous in public; whoever is a

worthless Citizen in Athens, will never become an honourable and faithful Ambassador in Macedonia. He hath not changed his Genius, but only altered his Situation.

FROM whence he hath maintained so various a Character in various Conjunctions (for this the second Period of his Administration) or what Cause can be assigned, why Philocrates, engaged in the same political Measures with Demosthenes, was driven into Banishment for Crimes against the State, while Demosthenes continues a public Accuser; and by what Means this execrable Wretch hath plunged us into these our present Calamities, are Circumstances more especially worthy of your Attention.

As soon therefore as Philip had marched into the Streights of Thermopylæ; unexpectedly destroyed the Cities of the Phœceans, and rendered the Thebans, as you then judged, more powerful, than the Conjunction itself, and your Interests would allow; when, terribly alarmed, you carried your Effects out of the open Country into the City; the severest Accusations were formed against the Ambassadors, who negotiated the Peace, but beyond all others against Philocrates and Demosthenes, who had not only ratified the Peace during their Embassy, but preferred the Decree, by which it was concluded. It happened at the same Time, that Demosthenes and Philocrates quarrelled for almost the very Reasons you yourselves suspected.

pected. (9) But amidst the general Consternation, occasioned by Philip's marching into Phocis, Demosthenes began to form his future Designs according to the innate Distemperature of his Disposition, his Timidity, and the Jealousy he entertained of Philocrates with regard to their Division of the Treasures arising from their mutual Corruption. He then imagined, if he should appear an open Accuser both of his Colleagues in his Embassy; and of Philip, that Philocrates would undoubtedly be ruined, the other Ambassadors brought into extreme Danger, and he himself greatly honoured; and while he was indeed a perfidious Betrayer of his Friends, he esteemed faithful to the Interests of the People. The Enemies of our Tranquility observing his Conduct, with Pleasure invited him to the Tribunal, calling him the only uncorrupt Minister in the Commonwealth. He advanced, and then laid the Foundation of War and Confusion. This was the Man, Athenians, who first discovered the Serrian Fortifications, Doriscus, Ergisca, Murgisca, Ganos, and Ganides; Places, whose very Names we never knew before; and so totally did he pervert every thing, that if Philip had refused to send Ambassadors, he then would have asserted, that he treated the Republic with Contempt; if he did send them, he then sent Spies, not Ambassadors. Philip was willing to submit the Decision of our mutual Complaints to the Mediation of some equal, impartial State. Demosthenes affirmed, there

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never

(9) Because Philocrates had cheated he had received from Philip for their Demosthenes of his Share of the Money common Perfidy. BRODÆUS.

never could be found an impartial Arbiter between us, and him. Philip yielded Halonefus : Demosthenes forbad you to receive it, unless when he CEDED the Possession, he likewise RECEDED from all past or future Rights to it. Thus was he merely cavilling for Syllables. (10) Lastly, by crowning those, who joined with Aristodemus in his Invasion of Theffaly and Magnesia contrary to the Faith of Treaties, he openly violated the Peace, and brought on us Calamity and War.

HOWEVER, with brazen and adamantine Walls, as he himself expressed it, he fortified our Dominions by his Alliance with the Eubœans and Thebans. Yet, even in this Alliance you were injured in three important Instances, of which you are still perfectly ignorant. Impatient as I am to explain this most important Confederacy with the Thebans, yet that I may proceed more regularly, I shall first mention that with the Eubœans. For, Athenians, many are the Wrongs and great, that you have received both from Mnesarchus, the Father of Callias and Taurosthenes (whom this Demosthenes, for a sordid Bribe, had the Boldness to enroll among the Citizens of Athens) and
in

(10) A Sentiment of great Dignity is here given up to Laughter for the Words, in which it is expressed. Philip was willing to yield the Island of Halonefus to the Athenians, but in Terms, that expressed his giving, and consequently their receiving it as an Obligation. They would gladly have recovered it, but Demosthenes advises them to insist upon such

Words in the Treaty, as must necessarily assert their own Rights to the Island, and oblige Philip to acknowledge an unjust Possession. The Words, perhaps, may be liable to Ridicule, but the Sentiment is truly noble, and worthy of a great Minister, more jealous of the Honour of his Country, than anxious to extend her Dominions.

in another Instance, from Themison, the Eubœan, who violently ravished Oropus from you, even in Time of profound Peace. Yet voluntarily forgetting these Injuries, when the Thebans made a Descent upon Eubœa, determined to enslave its States, you generously sent them, in five Days Time, such powerful Succours both of Ships and Men, as compelled the Thebans, before thirty Days were passed, to return home under Articles of Truce and Composition. When you became Masters of the Island, you honourably and justly restored to the Eubœans their Cities and their Liberties, which they had committed in Trust to your Integrity, not esteeming it equitable to remember your Anger at the Moment when they gave you such Proofs of their Confidence. Yet the Chalcideans, who received these important Obligations, did not repay them with equal Gratitude. When you made a Descent upon Eubœa to succour Plutarch, at first indeed they pretended to be your Friends, but instantly, when we had marched as far as Tamynæ, and traversed the Mountain Cotylæus, then Callias, this Chalcidean, upon whom Demosthenes, for his Bribe, pronounced an absolute Panegyric, seeing the Forces of the Republic inclosed in certain disadvantageous Defiles, from whence, except by Victory, there was no possible Retreat, nor even any Hope of Succours either by Land or Sea, levied Troops through all Eubœa; sent to Philip for Reinforcements, joined his Brother Taurosthenes, who now courteously gives his Hand to every Citizen of Athens, and smiles upon them most graciously; transported from Phocis the Mer-

↓ cenaries

cenaries he had levied there, and then marched furiously against us, as if determined totally to destroy. Had not some Deity preserved your Army; had not your Soldiers, both Infantry and Cavalry, been Men of approved Valour; had they not formed in the Hippodrome of Tamynæ, where they gained a complete Victory, after which they permitted your Enemies to march away, though under such Terms of Submission, as they were pleased to impose, your Republic had been much in Danger of suffering whatever is most ignominious. For a Misfortune in War is not the greatest Evil; but when we have engaged with Enemies, unworthy of us, if we then are conquered, the Calamity, with Reason, is doubled upon us. Yet however injured; however ungratefully treated, you again entered into Terms of Amity with them.

CALLIAS having obtained your Pardon, in a very little Time impetuously returned to his natural Genius. For while he pretended to convene to a general Council of the Eubœans at Chalcis, in Fact he fortified Eubœa against you, and attempted to seize the sovereign Power of the whole Island. Then hoping, that Philip would assist him in his Designs, he went into Macedonia; waited upon the very Footsteps of that Monarch, and was numbered among his Favourites. Having offended Philip, he fled from Macedon, and entered into the Service of the Thebans. Abandoning them also, and more irregular in his Motions, than the Euripus, upon the Banks of which he dwells, he

he precipitates himself into a Quarrel at once with the Thebans, and with Philip. Uncertain how to dispose of himself, an Army being now actually levied against him, he perceived his only remaining Hope of Safety consisted in engaging the Athenian People in a solemn Treaty, that they might assist him under the Name of a Confederate, if any other Power should invade him, as would apparently happen, unless you prevented it. Revolving this Project in his Mind, he sends hither his Ambassadors, Glaucetes, Empedones, Diodorus, so honourably distinguished for his Swiftncfs in our public Races, with many fallacious Hopes to the People, but with Money to Demosthenes and his Faction. Thus Callias purchased at once three great Advantages; first, that he should be for ever protected by your Alliance. There was indeed no Medium in his Fortune. If the People of Athens, recollecting his former Perfidy, had refused to receive him into their Alliance, it only remained for him to fly from Chalcis, or to be taken and die a Prisoner; such powerful Forces were forming against him, both by Philip and the Thebans. Secondly, very considerable Rewards were brought for him, who decreed the Confederacy with this additional Article, that the Chalcideans should not be obliged to attend the Congress at Athens. Thirdly, that they should not pay Subsidies. Nor was Callias disappointed in any of the Schemes he proposed. For this Tyrant-Hater Demosthenes, as he boasts himself, whom Ctesiphon affirms to have always been your best and wisest Adviser, absolutely sold the most favourable

Conjunctures of the Republic, and inserted in the Treaty, that we should assist the Chalcideans; although he a little altered the Expression, and for the sake of Appearances, added to his Decree, that the Chalcideans should succour the Athenians, if ever they were invaded. (11) Their Attendance at the Congress, and their Payment of Subsidies, by which a future War could alone be maintained, he positively sold, clothing with fairest Words the most dishonourable Deeds, and impelling you by very Violence of Words (12) to believe it was the Duty of this Republic, first effectually to succour whatever Grecians implored her Aid, and afterwards to found your Alliances upon the Benefits, you had conferred. (13) That you may be perfectly convinced I speak Truth, take the Decree passed in Favour of Callias, (14) and the Treaty of Alliance. Read the Decree.

The

(11) Demosthenes in Effect engaged the Athenians to succour the People of Chalcis, if they were invaded, when he stipulated, that Chalcis should assist the Athenians, if they were attacked, since all Engagements of Succours were mutual. The Terms of the Treaty expressed only the Chalcidean Succours; the Meaning and Implication necessarily supposed those of the Athenians.

(12) *Impelling you.* προσειάζων ὑμᾶς. Stephans quotes the Passage προσειάζων, yet adds, *ubi προσειάζων legitur.* Lambinus probably read προσειάζων, for he translates, *pene dicam vim afferens ad credendum.* The Italian Translator, *È con parole imbarcandovi a farvi credere;* the French, *inculquer dans l'esprit par la*

force de son éloquence cette maxime spécieuse.

(13) μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας will bear a very different Construction, *after Benefits, either granted or received,* and the Translators are accordingly divided. There seems however more Generosity of Sentiment, consequently somewhat more pleasing to the Spirit of the Athenians, to form their Alliances with those, whom they had obliged, than from whom they had received Obligations.

(14) *Take the Decree.* τὴν Καλλιᾶς γραφὴν. Lambinus, Foulkes, and Freind, surely without any historical Authority, translate *Calliæ accusationem;* Tourreil la dépêche de Callias. Wolfius, *Scripturam;* the Italian, *prendi il decreto sopra Callia.*

The DECREE.

YET still it does not appear a very enormous Crime to sell the favourable Conjunctions of the Republic, the Dispensations of attending the Congress here, and the Subsidies for supporting a War, but certainly most enormous is the Crime, that I am going to mention. To such Excess of Insolence and Avarice did Callias proceed; to such Excess of Corruption this Demosthenes, He, whom Ctesiphon thus extravagantly applauds, that they pilfered the Subsidies from Oreum, and those from Eretria, amounting to ten Talents, while you looked on; while you were conscious of their Villainy, and beheld it with your Eyes. Besides, they removed from Athens the general Congress of the Grecian Deputies, whom they sent to Chalcis, and what they called the Eubœan Council. But in what Manner, and by what iniquitous Artifices they executed this Project, is well worthy of your Attention. Callias no longer negotiates with you by his Ambassadors, but comes in Person, and advancing into your Assembly repeated a long Oration, which Demosthenes had laboriously composed. He told us he came from Peloponnesus, where he had lately formed a Plan for a general Contribution amounting to an hundred Talents, to carry on the War against Philip. He calculated the Sums, that each Nation was to contribute; the Achæans and Megaræans, sixty Talents; the Cities of Eubœa, forty; a Fund sufficient to maintain a Fleet and Army. He then assured us, that several

other States would chearfully contribute their Proportion; that there could not poffibly be any Want either of Money, or Men; that all thefe Particulars were perfectly clear, and that he had negotiated, by Methods not to be mentioned, fome other fecret Articles, which certain of your own Citizens would attelt. At the Conclufion of his Speech he called upon Demofthenes by Name, and defired him, as a Matter of Juftice, to declare his Affent. He came forward with very complete Solemnity; praifed Callias beyond all Bounds, and even pretended to know the fecret, unmentioned Article. He then profefled, he was ready to make Report of his Embaffy both to Peloponnefus, and Acarnania. This however was the Sum of his Difcourfe, that he himfelf had regulated the Contributions of all the Peloponnefians, and Acarnanians for maintaining a War againft Philip; that the Amount of thefe Funds would be fufficient for the complete Equipment of an hundred light Gallies, ten thoufand Foot, and a thoufand Horfe; that to thefe would be added Forces from different States; from Peloponnefus above two thoufand heavy-armed Foot; as many from Acarnania; that the Command of the Army would be conferred upon you by all the Confederates; and that the whole Scheme would be very foon carried into Execution, even precifely on the fixteenth of February; for it had been notified by him, and publifhed in every City, that Deputies from all the Confederates fhould affemble at the full Moon in Athens. For Demofthenes hath one peculiar and uncommon Faculty. Other vain-glorious Impoftors, when they utter a

a Falschhood, endeavour to speak in undetermined and dark Expressions, fearful of being detected; but when he displays his Impostures, he impiously swears to his Lies, and imprecates utter Perdition to himself, if he swears falsely; then boldly pronounces, what he well knows, will never come to pass; calculates even the Moment when it shall happen, and mentions the Names of People, whose Persons he never saw, to impose upon his Audience, and imitate the Man of Veracity. Thus is he doubly detestable, that besides being himself a Villain, he corrupts and destroys those Criteria, which alone distinguish an honest Man.

ENDING his Oration, he gives the Secretary a Decree to read, longer, in very Truth, than Homer's Iliad; more trivial than the Speeches he generally makes; more futile, than the Life he lives; fraught with Hopes, never to be fulfilled, and Armies never to be raised. Leading you therefore far away from all Suspicion of his intended Villainy, and holding you high in Suspence by pure Hopes, he collects his whole Force, and prefers a Decree, empowering Ambassadors to be chosen, to implore the Eretrians (for it was absolutely necessary, so it seems, to implore them) no longer to pay their five Talents of Contribution to you, but to Callias, and another Embassy to the Oritans, to solícite an Alliance with the Athenians, acknowledging the same Friends, the same Enemies. From hence he manifestly appears to have inserted all these Particulars in his

Decree, (15) with a View to his intended Fraud; since he directs our Ambassadors to intreat the Oritans to pay their five Talents, not to you, but to Callias. To evince the Truth of these Assertions, leaving the Pomp of his Expression, and his Gallies, and his Arrôgance out of the Decree, read it, and insist only upon the Fraud, which this impure and unholy Wretch hath committed; whom Ctesiphon however affirms, and even in this very Decree, to have constantly persevered in all his Words, in all his Actions, to promote the Welfare and Honour of the Athenian People.

The DECREE.

Gallies therefore, and Armies, and the full Moon, and Deputies for a general Council, you have indeed heard in Words, but the Contributions of your Allies, their ten Talents, in very Fact you have lost.

IT now remains to prove, that Demosthenes received a Bribe of three Talents, for enrolling this Decree; one from Chalcis; another from Eretria, and a third from Oreum, by which he was discovered; for the Government of the Oritans was at that Time

demo-

(15) Wolfius gives us the different Constructions of this Passage by the Translators before his Time, and seems himself to think the Text corrupted. Nor among our modern Translators have any two agreed in the same Meaning, or any one of them acknowledged the Difficulty. The present Translation therefore has no Authority to support it.

Ἀναφαίνεται γράψας is an Expression not unlike *ἐκεῖνος ἀναφαίνεται ψευδόμενος*, *manifestus est mendacii*. Plautus uses, *manifestum tenere mendacii*. *Ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι* is a Manuscript Reading. *Mais sur le fin, il descouvert que ce decret n'etoit que pour cacher son larrecin.*

DU VAIR.

democratical, and all their public Acts regulated by popular Decrees. Exhausted by their War with Philip, and absolutely reduced to Indigence, they send Gnosidemus, Son of Charigenes, who had been Sovereign of Oreum, beseeching Demosthenes to remit the Talent to their Republic, and promising to erect a Statue of Brass to him in their Capital. He answered, that he wanted not a worthless Parcel of Brass, and would make Callias oblige them to pay the Talent. Compelled therefore, and yet unable to pay, they mortgaged to him, as a Security, their public Revenues, and paid him, as Interest for his Bribe, a Drachma every Month for each Mina, untill they discharged the Principal. The whole Process was transacted by Decree of the Oritans, to which I appeal.

The DECREE.

This Decree, Athenians, is indeed a Reproach to your Republic, yet no mean Proof of Demosthenes his Administration, and a manifest Conviction of Ctesiphon. For whoever can be thus fordidly corrupt, it is impossible he can ever become an honest Man, which Ctesiphon however hath impudently dared to insert in his Decree.

HERE the third Period comes regularly before us, of all others the most unfortunate, in which Demosthenes absolutely ruined the Affairs of Greece and of this Commonwealth, when he sacrilegiously violated the Temple of Delphos, and decreed a pernicious and unequal Alliance with the Thebans. I shall begin with

with his Impiety towards the Gods. There is a Plain, Athenians, named Cirrhæum, and a Port at present called the unhallowed and accursed. The Cyrrhæans and Graugallidæ formerly inhabited this Country; a barbarous, lawless Generation, who profaned the Temple of Apollo, plundered the consecrated Ornaments devoted to the God, and violated the Amphictyons, the Guardians of his Temple. Your Ancestors, as is reported, with exceeding Indignation, and afterwards the other Amphictyons, resenting these Outrages, solemnly consulted the God, what Vengeance they should inflict upon this impious People. The Pythian Priests answered, that they should wage War against the Cyrrhæans and Graugallidæ both Day and Night; that when they had ravaged the Country, and enslaved its Inhabitants, they should consecrate the Land to Pythian Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva, the Provident, to lie waste for ever, and neither cultivate themselves that Tract of Country, nor suffer others. Receiving this Oracle the Amphictyons decreed (Solon, the Athenian, an able Legislator, nor meanly conversant in Poetry and Philosophy, having declared his Opinion) that an Army should be raised against these unhallowed Wretches, in Obedience to the Oracle. Levying therefore a sufficient Force, they sold the People to Slavery, blocked up their Ports, raised their City, and consecrated their Lands, as the God had commanded. Besides they swore a solemn Oath, neither themselves to cultivate this devoted Ground, nor permit any other, but to assist the God, and maintain his Rights in the sacred Land,

by

by every possible Effort, and by their united Forces. Nor were they contented with having sworn this Oath, but added Curfes to confirm it, and powerful Imprecations. For it is written thus in the Imprecation. “Whoever violate these
 “Engagements, whether City, or private Person, or Nation,
 “let them be devoted to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva,
 “the Provident.” It imprecates besides, “May their Lands
 “neither produce Fruit, nor their Wives bear Children, like
 “their Fathers, but Monsters; nor their Cattle bring forth their
 “Young according to Nature. May they be ever conquered
 “in War; in every Court of Justice; in every popular Af-
 “sembly; may they perish even to utter Destruction, them-
 “selves, their Families, their whole Generation; may they
 “never offer an acceptable, holy Sacrifice either to Apollo, Di-
 “ana, Latona, nor Minerva, the Provident. May these Dei-
 “ties never accept their Offerings.” To justify what I assert, read the Oracle of the God. Hear this Imprecation, and remember the Oaths, your Ancestors, and the Amphictyons solemnly swear.

The O R A C L E.

To take this Fortrefs all Attempts are vain,
 'Till Amphitrite to this hallow'd Fane,
 Roll her wild Waves tumultuous o'er the Plain. (16)

T H E

(16) When the Amphictyons besieged Cirrha, they consulted Apollo upon their Success, and the God returned them this Answer. Solon advised them, in view to the Completion of the Oracle, to consecrate the Cirrhæan Lands, which lay between Delphos and the Sea, to Apollo, that the Sea might thus be nearer his

Tem-

THE OATH AND IMPRECATION.

AFTER this Imprecation, these Oaths, this Oracle, still extant in our public Records, the Amphiffæan Locrians, or the Persons rather, who presided in their Councils, Violators of all Laws, again cultivated this Land : again fortified and inhabited this unhallowed and accursed Port; exacted Customs from whoever sailed along their Coasts, and corrupted certain of the Deputies, who were going to the general Assembly at Delphos, one of whom was Demosthenes. He had been appointed by your Decrees your Deputy at the Council, and received a thousand Drachmas from the Amphiffæans, not to mention them to the Amphictyons. It was stipulated besides, that twenty Minæ should be sent him hither yearly for ever out of the nefarious and execrable Customs of their Port, for which, by every possible Method, he should protect them in Athens. From this impious Corruption it hath appeared, even more remarkably than formerly, that whenever he hath engaged in the Interest of either private Citizen, or Magistrate, or Republic, he hath involved them in Misfortunes incurable.

Now behold how Fate and Fortune avenged the Sacrilege of the Amphiffæans. When Theophrastus was Archon, and

Diognetus

Temple; ἵνα δὴ τῷ τεμένει τῆ Ἄ-
πόλλωνος γένηται γείταν ἢ θάλασσα.
PAUSANIAS. The Oracle, according to
Polyænus, declared, that Cirrha should
never be taken, ἕως ἂν ψαύσῃ τῆς ἱερᾶς

γῆς ἢ θάλασσα, until the Sea washed the
Lands, consecrated to the God. Who-
ever would reconcile these Differences
should consult Meurfius, upon the Passage
in Polyænus.

Diognetus elected to superintend all Affairs of Religion, (17) you appointed Midias (who, for many Reasons, I wish were still alive) Thrasycles, and me, your Deputies to the Amphictyonic Council. It happened, a little Time after our Arrival at Delphos, that Diognetus fell sick of a Fever, and that Midias was seized with the same Distemper. The other Amphictyons however assembled, when we were informed, by Persons willing to shew their Affection for this Republic, that the Amphissæans, fallen at that Time under the Power of the Thebans, and held in Vassalage by them, intended to propose a Decree against our Commonwealth, and to fine the People of Athens fifty Talents, for dedicating some golden Shields in a new Temple, before we had performed the usual Ceremonies of Consecration, and engraving upon them this very proper Inscription. TAKEN BY THE ATHENIANS FROM THE MEDES AND THEBANS, WHEN THEY FOUGHT AGAINST THE GREEKS. Our Hieromnemon sent for me, and desired me to go into the Assembly, and plead before the Amphictyons the Cause of the Republic, which I had already determined. But beginning to speak, and having entered the Assembly with a warmer Spirit, increased even by the Absence

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(17) Each of the Amphictyonic Cities sent two Deputies, called Pylagoræ, to the general Council at Delphos, to whom they committed the Care of their civil and political Interests. A third was elected to superintend the Affairs of Religion. This Minister, who was called Hieromnemon, convoked their Assemblies, presided in them, and put his Name

at the Head of all public Acts. As the present Affair was of a religious Nature, it was properly the Province of the Hieromnemon to speak to it; but he and the other Pylagoras, Thrasycles, being sick, Æschines was desired to defend the Cause of Athens on this Occasion. TOURREIL. PORTAL.

of my Colleagues, an Amphiffæan clamourously interrupted me (a Man moſt ſhameleſſly impudent, and as appeared to me, deſtitute of all Principles of Humanity, or perhaps impelled by ſome Dæmon to commit ſuch Extravagance) “ It ſhould be
“ your principal Concern, O Men of Greece, if you have Wiſ-
“ dom, not to let the very Name of the Athenians be pronounced
“ during the Days of this Solemnity, but to drive them, as
“ Wretches impious and profane, out of the Temple.” He then mentioned our Alliance with the Phocæans, which Crobylus concluded, beſides many other Reflections moſt injurious to the Republic, which I could then ill endure to hear, nor can now recollect without Indignation. Having however heard him, never in my whole Life was I ſo provoked. I ſhall paſs over whatever elſe I ſaid in my Reply, but it came into my Thoughts to mention the Sacrilege of the Amphiffæans committed upon the conſecrated Lands, which from the very Place where I then ſtood, I ſhewed to the Amphictyons (for the Cyrrhæan Plain lies under the Temple, and may be ſeen from thence at one View.) “ You behold, Amphictyons, this Plain cultivated by
“ the Amphiffæans; you ſee the Potters’ Kilns, and Villages
“ built upon it: you behold with your own Eyes this unhal-
“ lowed and accuſed Territory fortified: you yourſelves are
“ conſcious, nor want any other Witneſſes, that they have ex-
“ acted Cuſtoms, and raiſed conſiderable Revenues from this
“ deſecrated Harbour.” At the ſame Time, I deſired them to read the Oracle of Apollo, the Oath of their Anceſtors, and
the

the Imprecation, with which they confirmed it. I then positively protested for the whole People of Athens; for my own Person, and Children and Family, that according to the Tenour of the Oath taken by our Ancestors, I would assist the God, maintain his Rights to the sacred Ground, with Hand and Voice, and every Power I possessed, and deliver my Republic from this religious Obligation to the Deity. “ It is yours
“ to deliberate upon your proper Safety. The Baskets, in
“ which are contained the mysterious Rites of our Religion,
“ are already raised to be carried in Procession; the Victims
“ already stand before the Altar. You are now going to im-
“ plore the Gods for every Blessing, public and private. Con-
“ sider with what Voice, what Spirit, what Look, what
“ Confidence, shall you make your Supplications, if you suffer
“ these Wretches, accursed, and devoted to the divine Ven-
“ geance, to escape with Impunity. For not in Ænigmas, but
“ in the clearest Expression, is it written in the Imprecation
“ with regard to these sacrilegious, what Punishment they shall
“ themselves inevitably suffer, and what are ordained for them,
“ who permit such Impiety. May they never perform a plea-
“ sing and holy Sacrifice to Apollo, Latona, nor Minerva, the
“ Provident, who do not avenge their Divinities. May these
“ Deities never accept their Offerings.”

HAVING repeated these, and many other Arguments to the same Purpose, I retired from the Assembly, when much Cla-

mour and Tumult arose among the Amphictyons, who no longer debated upon the Shields, we had consecrated, but on the Punishment to be inflicted on the Amphissæans. When great Part of the Day was already elapsed, the Herald came forth, and proclaimed, that every Delphian, both Slave and Freeman, who had attained the Age of twenty Years, (18) should assemble at first Appearance of Day with Mattocks and Spades at a Place called by the Inhabitants the Place of Sacrifice. Again the Herald proclaimed, that the sacred Registers and the Deputies should assemble at the same Place to vindicate the God, and assert the consecrated Glebe; and that whatever City did not appear by its Deputies, should be driven from the Temple, and deemed accursed and devoted to divine Vengeance.

EARLY next Morning we went to the Place appointed; descended to the Cyrrhæan Plain, and, having rased the Harbour, and burned the Houses, we retired. But while we were thus employed, the Amphissæan Locrians, who lived about seven Miles from Delphos, all in Arms, rushed out upon us, and had we not by a precipitate Flight, though with utmost Difficulty, escaped into Delphos, we had been in extreme Danger of being destroyed.

(18) In the Original, *two Years beyond their Puberty*. The Youth of Athens, and probably, from this Passage, those of Delphos, were not admitted into the Class of Epheboi or puberes, unill they had compleated their eighteenth Year. Here they continued 'till the Age of twenty, when they were enrolled

among Men, at which Age they are here called forth to vindicate the Honour, and recover the Possessions of Apollo. Whoever would see this Subject treated with great Erudition and Perspicuity, should consult Corsini de fastis Atticis. DISSERTATIO XL

destroyed. The Day following Cottyphus, who had proposed the Resolutions to the Assembly, ordered a general Council to be convened. They call it a general Council, when they summon not only the Deputies and sacred Registers, but whoever sacrificed together to the God, and consulted his Oracle. Here many Accusations were laid against the Amphissæans, and much Applause was given to your Republic. As the Result of the whole Debate, they decreed, that the sacred Registers, some Time before their usual Season of meeting at Thermopylæ, should assemble there upon a stated Day, and carry with them a Decree, by which the Amphissæans should suffer the Vengeance they merited for their Impiety towards the God, their Violation of the consecrated Glebe, and their Offences against the Amphictyons. For the Truth of these Assertions, let the Secretary read the Decree.

The DECREE.

WHEN this Decree was reported by us to the Senate, and afterwards in their Assembly to the People; they approved of our Conduct, and the whole Republic determined to maintain with Zeal the Cause of Religion. Demosthenes, influenced by his Compact with Amphissa, publicly opposed your Resolutions, and I as publicly convicted him of Corruption. When he found it impossible openly to deceive the Commonwealth, he went into the Senate-House, and imposing upon the Simplicity of some particular Senators, he carries a Decree into an Assembly
of

of the People, by taking Advantage of the Inexperience of the Person, who preferred it. He then effectually managed to get it confirmed by the Suffrage and Command of the People, when the Assembly was absolutely rifen; when I had retired (for never would I have suffered such a Fraud) and when great Numbers were departed. (19) This was the capital Article of it, that the sacred Register of the Athenians, and their future Deputies for ever should attend the general Council at Thermopylæ and Delphos on the Times appointed by our Ancestors. A Clause, in Expression exceeding specious, but in Fact of most disingenuous Turpitude; since it forbad that Council to meet at Thermopylæ, which out of meer Necessity was appointed to be held before the stated Time. Again, in the very same Decree does he infert another Clause more open to Discovery, but more maliciously mischievous; that the sacred Register of the Athenians, and their Deputies for ever should hold no Communion with those of the late Council, neither of Words, nor Deeds; neither of Decrees, nor of any Measures whatever. This Expression, “to hold no Communion,” what can it mean? Whether shall I therefore speak Truth, or rather what may be most pleasurable to hear? I will speak Truth; for Speeches perpetually formed to Pleasure have absolutely reduced the Commonwealth to her present Situation, nor do they suffer us to remember

(19) To the Authorities produced by Vair, *Et beaucoup s'en estans retournez à leurs maisons*; and that of Lambinus, this Passage, let us add that of Du *multitudine denique dimissa.*

ber the Oaths, your Ancestors swore, nor the Imprécation, nor the Oracle of the God.

WE therefore, Athenians, continued here in Obedience to your Decree, while the other Amphictyons assembled at Thermopylæ, excepting those of one Republic only, whose Name I would not willingly mention, and may Calamities like to hers, never happen to any other State of Greece. As soon as they assembled, they decreed to raise an Army against the Amphissæans, and chose Cottyphus, the Pharfalian, their General, who was at that time President of the Council, while Philip was neither in Macedonia, nor even Greece, but in Scythia, even in the remotest Part of it. Demosthenes however will immediately with special Confidence assert, that I encouraged him to invade Greece. Succeeding in their first Expedition, the Amphictyons treated the Amphissæans with singular Moderation, since for all their flagrant Acts of Impiety they only fined them in a certain Sum of Money, and even that Sum they did not exact immediately, but mentioned a stated Time, when it should be payable to the God. The Persons indeed, guilty of the Sacrilege, and Authors of the Disorders in Consequence of them, they banished; and those, who from a principle of Religion had abandoned their Country, they restored. Afterwards however when the Amphissæans paid not to the God their appointed Fines; when they recalled from Exile the Wretches devoted for Sacrilege, and drove into Banishment the Persons, who for
 their

their Piety had been restored, the Amphictyons formed another Army against them, a considerable Time before Philip returned from his Expedition against the Scythians, when in Truth the Gods themselves offered us the Command of this religious War, which the Corruption of Demosthenes hindered us from accepting.

DID they not foretell? Did not the very Gods by Signs and Wonders command us to be cautious, only not speaking to us with human Voices? Never did I behold a State more signally preserved by the Gods, or more effectually destroyed by certain of its Orators. Was not the Prodigy, that manifested itself amidst the Celebration of our Mysteries in the sudden Death of the initiated, sufficient to bid us be cautious? Did not Amyniades advise you to act with a religious Caution, (20) and to send Persons to Delphos to consult the God, in what Manner you should proceed? Did not Demosthenes oppose this Advice, declaring the Pythian Priests philippized; this ignorant, untaught Demosthenes, exulting even to wantonness, and inflated with the Power, with which you intrusted him? Lastly, when the Sacrifices were unhappily performed and unpropitious, did he not send forth our Soldiers to most apparent Danger, although he before dared to declare, that for this very Reason Philip did not invade the Territories of Athens, because the Entrails of the Victims did not promise him Success?

What

(20) Ἐυλαβεῖσθαι translated by Budæus, *religione teneri*.

What Vengeance therefore dost thou not deserve, thou Pest and Execration of Greece? If the Conqueror would not make an Irruption into the Dominions of the conquered, because the Victims gave not the happy Omens of Success, shall you, unfore-seeing in Futurity, who, before inspecting whether the Sacrifices were acceptable to the Gods, sent forth our Soldiers to the Slaughter, shall you be crowned for the Calamities of the Republic, or expelled her utmost Borders?

BUT indeed what is there most unexpected, and most incredible, which hath not happened in our Age? We have not lived the common Life of human Creatures, but were born a very Paradox in Reason to latest Posterity. Does not the Persian Monarch, who once opened a Passage through Mount Athos, threw a Bridge over the Hellespont, demanded Earth and Water of the Grecians in Acknowledgement of his soveraign Power over Land and Sea; who insolently dared to style himself in his Letters, despotic Master of all human Race from the rising to the setting Sun; does he not now contend, not to be Lord of others, but for his own proper Safety? Do we not behold the Persons, who vindicated the Freedom of the Delphic Temple, now honoured with the very Glories he once possessed, and the supreme Command of the War against him? Thebes, a City upon the Confines of Attica, unhappy Thebes! was it not in one Day violently torn out of the midst of Greece? Although, perhaps, they merited this Chastisement for not wisely

and honourably consulting the general Interests of Greece, yet they were certainly possessed with a Stupidity sent from God; an Infatuation, not of human Weakness, but divine Inspiration. The miserable Lacedæmonians, who had only been lightly concerned at first in the Violation of the Temple; who formerly thought themselves worthy of being Sovereigns of Greece; are they not now sending Hostages to Alexander to lay before him a Representation of their Miseries, and obediently submit themselves and their Country to whatever he pleases to command? Shall they not be adjudged according to the Mercy of a Conqueror, whom they have provoked and insulted? Even our own Republic, once the common Asylum of the Grecians, that Republic, to whom Embassies formerly were sent from all the States of Greece to solicit her Protection, no longer now contends for the Sovereignty of Greece, but for her native Soil. All these Calamities have befallen us since the Time Demosthenes entered into the Administration; for Hesiod pronounces with Wisdom upon Men of such Principles, when instructing the People, and directing the Councils of all Republics, he somewhere advises them never to receive these impious Demagogues into their Government. I will repeat his Verses, for with this Intention, I imagine, when we are Children we learn by Heart the Sentences of Poets, that when we are Men we may employ them in the general Occurrences of Life.

For one Man's Crimes, on many a destin'd State,
For one Man's Guilt, descends the wrath of Fate;

Jove

Jove bids the waſting Peſtilence ariſe,
 Pale Famine rages, and the People dies;
 He breaks the Ranks of War, o'erwhelms their Towers,
 And the wild Ocean o'er their Navy pours.

If you take away the poetical Meaſures of theſe Lines, and examine attentively their Meaning, I believe they will appear, not the Verſes of Heſiod, but an oracular Prophecy of Demofthenes his Adminiſtration. For Fleets and Armies and Cities have been totally deſtroyed by his Adminiſtration.

I verily think, neither Phrynondas, nor Eurybatus, nor any other among the moſt diſtinguiſhed Villains of former Ages, was ever ſuch an Impoſtor, ſuch an errant Jugler in Politics, as this Demofthenes, (O Earth, and Gods, and Dæmons and Men, whoever are willing to hear Truth) who confidently looks you in the Face, and dares affirm, that the Thebans entered into an Alliancè with you; neither impelled by the Neceſſity of Conjunctures, nor by the Terrours, that ſurrounded them, nor by your Glory, but by the Eloquence of Demofthenes.

YET many Ambaſſadors have been formerly ſent to the Thebans, and whom they have held in much Eſteem and Affection; your General Thraſybulus, in whom, of all others, they placed the higheſt Confidence; Thraſo, whom they received with all

the Rights of public Hospitality; Leodamas, not a less powerful, and in my Judgement, a sweeter Orator, than Demosthenes; Archidemus, an able Speaker, and who had exposed himself to very many Dangers in the Course of his Administration by his Zeal for the Thebans; your favourite Demagogue, Aristophon, so long accused of being almost a Bœotian, and the Orator Pyrande, who is still alive. Yet none of them were ever able to influence that People, and incline them to enter into your Alliance. The Cause of their Refusal, I very well know, but shall not mention it, out of the Respect I bear to their Misfortunes. Yet I imagine, when Philip had taken away Nicæa from them, and ceded it to the Thessalians; when he had again brought back that very War, which he had himself originally removed beyond the Frontiers of Bœotia, even to the Walls of Thebes; lastly, when he had seized, and fortified, and put a Garrison into Elatæa; then the Terrours of their own immediate Danger alarmed them, and they implored the Succour of Athens. You instantly took the Field, and marched in Arms, both Cavalry and Infantry, into Thebes, before Demosthenes had written a single Syllable upon the Alliance. Thus the Conjuncture itself, and its Terrours, and the Necessity of your Assistance, not Demosthenes, or his Eloquence, introduced you into Thebes. For in the Transaction of this Affair he committed, with Regard to your Interests, three very capital Errors. First, when Philip carried on only a nominal War against us, and in Reality was animated with a much more violent Resentment

ment

ment against the Thebans, as the Event hath since manifestly proved (and is it possible to give a stronger Proof?) yet this secret Inclination of Philip, great and important as it was, Demosthenes concealed; and pretending that the Thebans concluded this Alliance, not compelled by the Necessity of their Affairs, but influenced by his Embassy, he persuaded the People not to deliberate upon the Conditions, but to esteem themselves extremely happy, if it could be concluded upon any Conditions. Having gained this Point, he made a voluntary Surrender of all Bœotia to the Thebans by a Decree, wherein he declared, “that if any City revolted from the Thebans, the Athenians would assist those Bœotians alone, who resided in Thebes.” Thus did he steal away by Words the Reality of Things, and change, according to his well-wonted Custom, their Situation: as if the Bœotians, in Fact thus cruelly treated, should rather think themselves happy in a Composition of fine Words formed by Demosthenes, than express their Resentment for the Injuries they suffered.

HE then imposed two Thirds of the Expence of the War upon you, from whom the Danger was certainly more remote, and only one Third upon the Thebans; in both Instances most fordidly corrupted. The Command at Sea, it is confessed, he divided between you, but appropriated to you alone the Expence. The Command at Land (not to amuse you with Trifles) he wholly transferred to the Thebans; so that during the Course of the
War,

War, your General Stratocles never had Authority enough even to provide for the Safety of your Troops. Nor do I alone accuse him of these Crimes, while others pass them over unregarded. I proclaim them indeed, but all Mankind censure them severely: you yourselves are conscious of them, and yet not angry. Such is the Spirit, with which you are affected towards this Demosthenes; so well accustomed are you to hear his Villainies, as to hear them without Astonishment. You should not, however, be thus insensible. You should shew your Indignation. You should punish and revenge, if you propose to enjoy with Honour, what yet remains of the Republic.

A SECOND Crime he committed, and even more atrocious than the first, when he totally robbed the Senate of its Authority, and the People of their democratical Prerogatives; and by a secret Compact with the Governors of Bœotia, transferred the Decision of all Affairs between the Thebans and us to a Tribunal established in the Citadel of Thebes. He then assumed a Power so absolute, so tyrannical, as to declare in this Assembly, that he would go wherever he pleased Ambassador of Athens, even without your Approbation or Consent; and that if any of your Generals presumed to oppose him, he threatened, as he had enslaved your civil Magistrates, and accustomed them not to contradict him, so he would enter a Process in the Courts, upon an Action of Merit, (21) in Favour of the oratorical, against

(21) Διακασία. A Law-Term signifying a Cause, wherein two or more Persons

gainst the military, Art; for he boasted, that he himself had rendered you many more valuable Services on that Tribunal, than you had ever received from your Generals and their Councils of War.

BEING appointed Paymaster of our mercenary Troops he amassed an immense Sum by false Musters, by robbing the military Chest, and letting out ten thousand of those Troops to the Amphissæans. Even while I called Heaven and Earth to witness against him, and exclaimed in Bitterness of Anguish in your Assemblies, he left the Republic defenceless and exposed to every Danger, by suddenly and surreptitiously ordering them away. For what, do you imagine, did Philip put up his Vows to Heaven with greatest Ardour at that Conjunction? Was it not, that he might engage separately with your national Soldiery, and separately with your foreign Troops at Amphissa, and then invade the other States of Greece, dispirited and intimidated by so severe a Blow? Yet Demosthenes, the Author of all these Calamities, is not content with Impunity, but resents his not being rewarded even with a golden Crown. He deems it not sufficient to be proclaimed in your Presence, but is grievously offended, if the Proclamation be not made before all the Grecians. Thus, as it often appears, a depraved Nature, when possessed of too much Power, works out the Destruction of a free People.

I SHALL

Persons contested, *uter utri sit in munere,* Translator; *diceva voler formar una lite*
laccove, aut re capeffenda præferendus. *tra l'arte oratoria, e la militare.*
 DOCTOR TAYLOR. Our excellent Italian

I SHALL NOW proceed to his third Crime, yet more enormous, than any I have mentioned. When Philip by no Means despised the Greeks; when he was conscious, (for he did not want Penetration) that he might be obliged to contend, upon the Hazard of some few Moments, for all his Conquests and Possessions; when for these Reasons, he was desirous of concluding a Peace, and determined to send an Embassy hither; when the Magistrates of Thebes dreaded their approaching Danger, and justly dreaded (for it was not an Orator, who never made a Campaign, and who deserted from his Rank in the Day of Battle, that impressed those Apprehensions upon their Minds, but the Phocæan ten-Year's War taught them an ever-memorable Lesson of Instruction) when Affairs were in this Situation; when Demosthenes perceived and suspected, that the Bœotian Governors would make a separate Peace, and receive Philip's Gold without him; esteeming it a Life not worth living, if he were excluded from any Kind of Corruption, he started forward in the Assembly, while no Mortal mentioned either our making, or not making a Peace with Philip, and imagining he should denounce, as with an Herald's Voice, to the Governors of Bœotia, that they should bring him his Proportion of Corruption, he swore by the Goddess Minerva (that Goddess, whom, it seems, Phidias carved for the Profit and Perjuries of Demosthenes) that if any one mentioned the Necessity of our concluding a Peace with Philip, he would that Moment seize him by the Hair, and drag him to Prison; thus imitating the

Admi-

Administration of Cleophon, who in the Lacedæmonian War ruined the Republic. (22)

WHEN the Theban Magistrates paid but little Attention to his Menaces, and, that you might turn all your Counsels to Peace, even countermanded your Troops, already on their March, he became absolutely frantick, and mounting the Tribunal called the Magistrates of Bœotia, Betrayers of Greece, and declared, he would prefer a Decree (he, who never had Courage to look an Enemy in the Face) for sending an Embassy to Thebes, to demand a Passage through their Territories for your Troops in their March against Philip. Covered with Confusion, and apprehensive of being really deemed the Be-

(22) Wolfius acknowledges he does not remember to have read the Name of Cleophon in any other Author. Tourreil assures us, he has not been able to find the least Trace in History, the slightest Vestige of this pretended Cleophon. He therefore reads Cleon in his Text, with this French Addition, *d'odieuse memoire*. Even Doctor Taylor sends his Reader to the last Oration of Æschines, Page 187 of this Translation, as if this pernicious Demagogue were mentioned in no other Place. Yet Diodorus Siculus gives us the Speech he made against the Terms of Peace proposed by the Lacedæmonian Ambassador. Κλεοφῶν, μεγίστος ὢν τότε δημάγωγος — ἐμετεώρισι τὸν δῆμον, &c. This Speech, enflaming and full of Adulation,

so totally ruined the Republic, that she never was able to recover her former Greatness; ἔτως ἔπταισαν τοῖς ὄλοις, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι πρόποτε αὐτὴς γνησίως ἀναλαβεῖν. DIODORUS. WESSELYNG. Lib. 13. Pag. 583.

The Scholiast on the Orestes of Euripides, Lin. 770 and 900, where the Poet describes a talking, impudent Demagogue, Ἄνῆρ τις ἀθυρόγλωσσος, ἰσχύων θράσει, tells us, the Character was intended for Cleophon, and that the Critics, who have applied it to Cleon, are mistaken. Aristophanes also mentions this furious Demagogue, Κλεοφῶν δὲ μάχισθω, Βατραχοί. Lin. 1580, and the learned Reader may find in his Scholiast the Circumstances of this Story, though somewhat differently told.

trayers of Greece, the Bœotians abandoned all Thoughts of Peace, and precipitately hurried into Preparations for War.

HERE it may be worthy of your Patience to commemorate the Fate of those brave Men, whom this Demosthenes, in Contempt of all the holy Rites of Sacrifice, and when the Victims gave inauspicious Omens of Success, sent into apparent Danger, yet dared, with those same Coward Feet, that ran away from their Post in the Day of Battle, to stand upon the Sepulchre of the Slain, and pronounce a funeral Encomium on their Valour. O Thou, to great and generous Actions, of all Mankind most worthless, yet in Words thou most astonishingly daring, hast thou the Confidence to assert, in Presence of this august Assembly, that thou deservest to be crowned for the Calamities of thy Country? Or if he should confidently make the Demand, will you endure it? And shall your Remembrance of their Services, for so it will appear, die with the Dead?

INDULGE me yet another Moment with your Attention, and imagine yourselves no longer in a Court of Justice, but in the Theatre. Imagine you behold the Herald coming forward to pronounce the Proclamation for the Crown you have decreed. Then compute whether the Relations of the Slain will shed more Tears over the Tragedies and heroic Misfortunes afterwards to be represented on the Scene, than over this Ingratitude
of

of the Republic? For not only what Grecian; but even what human Creature, if ever nurtured to more ingenuous Sentiments, would not with Anguish lament, when he recollected in the Theatre this Circumstance alone (though every other were forgotten) that on a Day like this, and when the Tragedians, as at this Moment, were almost entering on the Stage; when the Commonwealth was governed by better Counsels, and by abler Magistrates; the Herald advanced, and presenting to the Assembly the Orphans, whose Fathers had fallen in War, young Men, richly clothed in complete Armour, pronounced this noblest Proclamation, and higheft Incentive to Valour.

“ These Orphans, whose Fathers died gallantly in Defence of
 “ their Country, the People of Athens have educated to this
 “ Age, and having now armed them with a complete suit of
 “ Armour, they dismiss them, with all good Wishes of Suc-
 “ cess, to pursue their own Fortunes, and invite them to
 “ contend for the first Honours of the Republic.”

THUS did the Herald at that Time address the People, but very different this present Proclamation. For having presented to them the Person, who deprived these Orphans of their Fathers, what can he say? What shall he proclaim? Although he pronounce the stated Terms of your Decree, yet the Turpitude arising from Truth will not be silent, but will seem to proclaim, in direct Opposition to the Herald's Voice, “ The People of Athens crown this worst bad Man” (if indeed he de-

serve the Name of Man) “ for his Virtue ; this Coward, this Deferter of his Post in Battle, for his Courage.” (23) Do not, in the Name of Jupiter, and all our other Gods I conjure you, O Athenians, do not erect a Trophy over yourselves in the Theatre of Bacchus, nor in Presence of all the Grecian States convict the Athenian People of such exceeding Folly. Do not oblige the unhappy Thebans to recollect their incurable, irreparable Misfortunes, whom this Demosthenes hath driven out of their native Country, and whom you have received into your City ; whose Temples, Houses, and Sepulchres, his Avarice and the Persian Gold have totally destroyed.

BUT since you were not personally present, now with the Eye of Imagination behold their Afflictions. Imagine you see their City taken, their Walls in Ruins, their Houses in Flames, their Wives and Children dragged into Slavery, their aged Men and Women, venerably old, thus late unlearning the happy Lessons of Liberty, weeping, imploring your Compassion, not angry with their Oppressors, but with the Authors of their Calamities, conjuring you never to crown this Pest of Greece, but studiously to avoid the Genius and ill Fortune inseparably attending upon his Person. For neither City, nor Citizen,
 who

(23) Lambinus and the Oxford Editors point this Passage differently from Wolfius. According to their Punctuation it may be translated ; The People of Athens crown this Man (*if indeed he deserve the Name of Man*) for his Virtue, *this most notorious Villain*, and for his

Courage, *this Coward and Deferter of his Post in Battle*. Doctor Taylor gives the Correction to Doctor Markland, and recommends it as more expressive, and more agreeable to the Vehemence of an Orator.

who pursued the Counsels of Demosthenes, ever knew an happy Issue of their Disputes. But are you not ashamed, Athenians, to have enacted a Law against the Pilots, who carry Passengers to Salamis, “ if any of them, however unwillingly, “ shall overset his Boat, he never shall be employed in that “ Station again,” to deter them, whether in Rashness or Ignorance from endangering the Lives of Grecians; and will you suffer a Man, who hath violently overset both Greece and the Republic, to sit again at the Helm of your Government, and direct its Counsels?

THAT I may now speak to the fourth Period, and the present Situation of the Republic, I shall desire you to recollect, that Demosthenes not only deserted as a Soldier from his Post in Battle, but as a Citizen from his Duty in the Commonwealth; and embarking precipitately on board one of your Gallies, extorted Money from the Grecians. Yet when an unexpected Peace had restored him to his Country, trembling and at his first Appearance half dead with Fear, he ascended the Tribunal, and desired you to intrust him with the Care of the Treaty. In the first Moments of your Indignation you would not suffer even the Name of Demosthenes to be inscribed on your Decrees, but gave the Affair in Charge to Nauficles. Yet he now demands a golden Crown for his singular deserving. But when Philip died, and Alexander was established on the Throne, displaying again the Monsters of his Imagination, he instituted

Sacrifices

Sacrifices to the Manes of Paufanias, (24) and fixed upon the Senate the Crime of celebrating the joyful News of Philip's Death by a public Festival. He then contemptuously gave Alexander the Surname of Driveler, and confidently asserted, he would never stir out of Macedonia, but hold himself extremely contented in walking round his Capital, and inspecting the Entrails of his Victims. (25) These Assertions, he assured us, were founded, not upon simple Conjectures, but upon his own clear and perfect Science, that Glory is only to be purchased by Blood. (26) Thus reasoned the Man, who hath not himself a Drop of Blood in his Veins; who forms his Judgement of Alexander, not upon the Genius of Alexander, but upon his own Cowardice. For Instance, when the Theffalians resolved to invade the Republic, and the young Monarch in the first Transports of his Anger, nor unreasonable his Anger, had invested Thebes, Demosthenes being appointed your Ambaffador to intercede for the besieged, betook himself to Flight from the very Middle of Mount

(24) Who with a noble Repentment killed Philip for an inhuman Outrage offered him by one of his Favourites, and which the Monarch neglected to punish.

(25) Probably, *before he would venture upon any future Expedition.* These Words, τὰ σπλάγγνα φυλάττοντα, have been most absurdly rendered by all our Translations, except the Italian and an anonymous Latin Translator. *Præcordia sua conservaret. Viscera paterna custodire. Vitam conservaret. De conserver précieusement sa personne;* and pleasantly enough by a late English Translator, *to*

sleep in a whole Skin. By a Passage in Polybius, quoted by Doctor Taylor, it appears, that it was customary among the Macedonian Monarchs not only to inspect, but even to handle the Entrails of their Victims.

(26) Ὅτι αἱματός ἐστιν ἢ ἀρετὴν ὠνία, if literally translated is, perhaps, hardly intelligible. *Virtue or Valour is only to be purchased by Blood;* or as Lambinus renders it, *virtutem non nisi sanguine comparari:* or Du Vair, *Que le sang est le prix de la vertu.* If we understand ἀρετὴν *the Reputation of Virtue or Valour,* the Sentiment is just and of great Dignity.

Mount Citheron, and returned to Athens, proving himself neither in Peace nor War a valuable, useful Citizen.

YET of all things most atrocious, while you would neither surrender him to the Justice of his Country, nor suffer him to be tried in the General Council of Greece, even then did he surrender you to Alexander; at least, if universal Report may be believed. For the Mariners of the Galley, in which he failed, and the Colleagues of his Embassy to Alexander assert (and their Assertion is in itself extremely probable) that there is a certain Youth, called Aristion, the Son of a Dealer in Drugs, whom possibly some of you may know. This Youth was formerly distinguished for his Beauty, and lived a considerable Time in the House of Demosthenes. What were his Conversation and Employment there, is Matter of Doubt, and by no Means decent for me to mention. This Aristion being perfectly unknown, either with Regard to his Birth, or Manner of Life, insinuated himself into the Favour of Alexander, and approached him with much Familiarity. By this Youth Demosthenes wrote to Alexander; obtained a Kind of Pardon; was afterwards received into Favour, and practised much abject Adulation. Judge from hence, how consistent this Affair with the Crimes, of which I have accused him in this Indictment.

FOR if Demosthenes had entertained any of the Sentiments he now professes, or held Alexander in that hostile Hatred, he

pretends, there were three the fairest Opportunities offered him of evincing that Hatred; none of which, it is apparent, he ever used. The first, when Alexander was hardly established on the Throne, and leaving his own Kingdom defenceless and unsettled had marched into Asia, the Persian King, who was then most powerful in Fleets, and Money, and Armies, yet alarmed with the Dangers, that threatened him, would have gladly received you into the Number of his Confederates. What Oration, Demosthenes, did you then pronounce? What Decree did you then propose? Would you have me suppose you were miserably afraid, and yielded to the natural Feebleness of your Constitution? Yet a Conjuncture, upon which depends the Welfare of a whole People, will not wait for the Timidity of an Orator. But afterwards, when Darius came down with all his Forces, and Alexander was inclosed in the Streights of Cilicia, destitute, as you asserted, of all Support for his Army, and instantly to be trampled under Foot, (for so you expressed it) by the Persian Horse, the City was unable to endure thy tedious Petulance, or to contain the Epistles, that hung dangling at your Fingers Ends, as you walked in processional Pomp through the Streets, pointing me out to a certain Faction, as if I carried Astonishment and Despair in my Face, calling me the Bull with gilded Horns, and threatening, if any Misfortune happened to Alexander, that I should be crowned for Sacrifice; yet not even then did you perform any one Action to prove your Hatred to Alexander, but prudently deferred your Anger to some
more

more favourable Opportunity. But passing over all these Instances, I shall speak to the present Situation of our Affairs. The Lacedæmonians and their foreign Soldiery had fortunately gained a signal Victory, and totally defeated a Body of Alexander's Troops encamped near Choragus, a Fortrefs in Macedonia: the Eleans; almost all the Achæans, and all Arcadia, had abandoned the Party of the Macedonians, excepting Megalopolis; that City too was besieged, and in the general Opinion was every Day expected to be reduced: Alexander had marched beyond the North Pole, I might almost say, beyond the Boundaries of the habitable World: Antipater had lost much Time in levying an Army, and what the Event would prove was absolutely uncertain. Here then, Demosthenes, inform us, what Action you performed upon this Occasion, and what Oration you pronounced. If you please, I will resign the Tribunal, till you have finished your Harangue. But since you are silent, I shall excuse your Hesitation, and what you then said, I shall now repeat.

Do you not remember these abominable and absurd Expressions, which you, his iron-hearted Audience, were able to endure. “ There are some certain Persons, who prune the
 “ Commonwealth, like a Vine; some lop off the Tendrils of
 “ our Democracy; the Nerves of Government are cut asunder;
 “ we are pressed and fitched together in Matts; some Folks

“run through us, as if we were Needles.” (27) Are these, thou Creature of Fraud and Wiliness, are they human Expressions, or ill-omened and portentous Bodings? Then turning yourself round on the Tribunal, with the Swiftnes and Agitation of a Whirl-pool, you declared, as if in all your Actions you had been a determined Enemy to Alexander, “I confess, I formed the Lacedæmonian Confederacy; I confess, I influenced the Theffalians and Parrhæbians to abandon him.” Thou influence the Theffalians? Couldst thou ever influence even a Village to abandon him? Didst thou ever dare to enter, I will not say, into a City, but even a House, where there was an Appearance of Danger? No. Indeed where Money is expended, there you are most assiduous, but incapable of any one manly, generous Action. Whatever in the natural Course of Things happens more fortunately, you arrogate to yourself, and inscribe your Name upon it. If any Terror approaches, you betake yourself to Flight; if we grow confident of our Success, you demand Rewards, and Crowns of Gold.

“ALL this is acknowledged. The Man however is a zealous Defender of our Democracy.” If you regard the specious Appearances of his Declamations, you will be again deceived, as formerly.

(27) Much good Learning hath been employed to illustrate and explain these very extraordinary Metaphors. But since we are told, that the Affair, however important, is to be determined by Authorities, let us add that of an old Translator, Du Vair, to those given us by

Wolfius and Doctor Taylor. *Il y en a, qui ébourgeonnent nostre ville, qui coupent les branches du peuple, & les nerfs des affaires. Il nous mettent à l'estroit, comme de la bourre piquee entre deux toilles: vous dirriez qu'ils nous fourrent des lardoires dans les fesses.*

formerly. But if you look into his natural Genius, and the Truth of Facts, you cannot be deceived. Let him give you his own Estimate of Things, (28) while I confider with you, what good Qualities a wife and able democratical Citizen ought necessarily to possess, and place it in Opposition to the Character of a bad Man, violently zealous for an Oligarchy. When they were placed in this Opposition, do you determine which of them he most resembles, not in his Words, but Actions.

I THEREFORE imagine you will unanimously acknowledge these Requisites are necessary to constitute a valuable Republican: First, that he be freeborn both by Father and Mother; lest by the Misfortune of his Birth he may be malevolently affected towards those Laws, which preserve the Constitution of his Country: secondly, that some Act of Beneficence to the Commonwealth should have been performed by his Ancestors, or, which is of absolute Necessity, that they had no Resentments against her, lest he may be influenced by the Desire of revenging their Misfortunes, to attempt her Destruction: thirdly, that in his constant Expences he be frugal and temperate, that he may not be compelled by the Wantonness of his Profusion to take Bribes against her Interests: fourthly, that he be a Man of Probity and Eloquence; for glorious indeed is that In-

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tegrity,

(28) Ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτῶ τὸν λόγον, ad verbum, *Recipite ab eo rationem*; sed rectius, *Ille reddat vobis rationem*. STEPHANS. In questa maniera pigliate quel

che egli dice. ITALIAN TRANSLATOR. In this Sense, our Commentators in general understand the Passage.

tegrity, which always directs us to the best Measures, when joined with Eloquence capable of persuading our Audience to pursue them. If however we cannot find these Qualities united, certainly Probity is ever to be preferred to all the Powers of speaking. Lastly, let him possess a generous Spirit of Resolution, that he may never in Times of public Difficulty, and amidst the Dangers of War, desert the Constitution. The Man, who is zealous for an Oligarchy, is in every Particular the Opposite to this Character. To what Purpose therefore should I repeat them.

Now consider, whether any Part of the Character I have given of a democratical Republican can be applied to Demosthenes, and let the Computation be made with exactest Justice. His Father (for nothing should oblige us to utter a Falsehood) was a Citizen of Athens, but with regard to his Mother and her Father, I shall instruct you in his Descent. Gylon, a Native of an obscure Attic Village, betrayed a Town in Pontus, at the Time when the Republic extended her Dominion over that Country, and having been capitally condemned, fled from Athens to avoid the Punishment he merited. He then passed over into Thrace, and received from the Tyrants of that Country, as a Reward of his Perfidy, a Tract of Land, called the Gardens. There he marries a Woman, rich, by Jupiter, and who brought a very considerable Fortune, but by Birth a Scythian. By this Woman he hath two Daughters, whom he
sends

sends hither with an immense Sum of Money, and gives one of them in Marriage, I must not say to whom, that I may not provoke more Enemies. The other, the Father of this Demosthenes married in Contempt of the Laws of his Country, and from Her descends our egregious Calumniator. ✓ By his Descent therefore from his Grand-father he is an Enemy to the People of Athens, for they condemned that Grand-father to Death, and with regard to his Mother he is a Scythian, a Barbarian, a Grecian only in his Language, and from thence even in his Villanies an Alien and a Foreigner.

Now behold him in his Oeconomy. Having ridiculously squandered away his paternal Fortune in building Gallies, he suddenly made his Appearance as an Attorney, but being convicted of having betrayed his Trust in his new Profession, and shewn the Pleadings of his Clients to their Adversaries, he bounded from thence up to the Tribunal. Here he extorted from the Republic a mighty Sum of Money, which he hath reduced to almost nothing. ✓ At present the royal Gold of Persia hath overflowed him, like an Inundation. (29) Yet even the
Gold

(29) Τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτῆ. Thus rendered by the last, and, beyond all Comparison, the best Edition of our Author, | *His Affairs were at a low Ebb, till the Tide of the Persian Exchequer flow'd in.* | Yet ἐπικλύζω gives us, in general, an Idea of overflowing and Inundation, rather than the Flux and Reflux of the Sea. It

seems to preserve this Idea in the Passage before us, which might be literally translated, *The royal Gold overflowed his Expendences*; though perhaps our Language will not bear the Hardiness of such an Expression. Κλεοπάτρα τῆς Ἠλείας ἐπικλύσασα πολλῶ χρυσῶ, *cum magnam vim auri in Eleos effudisset*, or as it might be better rendered, *Eleos auro inundavisset.*

Gold of Persia is not sufficient to support his Extravagance. No Treasures can satiate a depraved Spirit. In short, he now actually subsists, not upon his own Revenues, but on your Dangers. But with regard to his Probity and his Eloquence, how hath Nature formed him? Eminent for his Eloquence; infamous in his Life. In his Intemperance of Prostitution, he commits such Excesses, as I am unwilling to mention; because I have sometimes observed, that they, who have too curiously explained the Turpitude of others, have made themselves the Objects of public Detestation. Yet what Advantages to the Republic from his Eloquence? His Words indeed are excellent; his Actions vile and scandalous.

OF his Courage, I have very little to remark. If he himself denied, or you were not conscious of his being a Coward, it might be necessary to dwell somewhat longer on the Proofs. But since he confesses even in your Assemblies, and you yourselves are universally sensible of his Cowardice, it only remains, that I recall to your Remembrance the Laws enacted against Cowards in general. Solon, your ancient Legislator, thought the same Punishment should be inflicted upon him, who refused to enlist; upon him, who deserted his Ranks, and upon the natural Coward. There are Indictments for Cowardice. Although

The Word ἐπιλύσσα is explained by ἐπιδαλιεύσσα, καταβαλῆσα, *Quæ inundavit. Quæ largiter effudit.* SUIDAS. mentioned, might be supported by the Authority of the Italian. *Nondimeno hora i danari del Re hanno coperto la sua spesa.* The literal English Translation, above-

though some of you may wonder, there should be Prosecutions against the Infirmities of Nature, yet there certainly are. Upon what Reasons are they founded? Upon a View of rendering your Soldiers more afraid of the Penalties inflicted by the Laws, than of their Enemies, and thus compelling them to fight with greater Ardour for their Country. The Legislator equally excludes from the sacred Aspersions in the Temple, (30) and from all civil Business in the Forum, the Man, who refuses to enlist, the natural Coward, and him, who deserts his Rank in Battle. He does not suffer them to be crowned; he forbids them to approach the Sacrifices, instituted in the Name of the People. And dost thou, Ctesiphon, command us to crown, whom the Laws forbid to be crowned? Dost thou by Decree invite into the Theatre, amidst the solemn Representation of our Tragedies, the Man, most unworthy of such Honours? Invite into the Temple of Bacchus, the Man, who by his Cowardice hath betrayed all our Temples? But that I may not make you wander from the Subject, only remember, when he professes his Zeal for the Liberties of the People, to consider not his Eloquence, but his Life; to mark with Attention not what he asserts himself to be, but what he really is. //

SINCE

(30) Περιβάαντηρίων καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Quasi arcendus esset ab omnibus congressibus, tam *sa ris*, quam *civilibus*. TAYLOR. A Vessel, filled with purified or holy Water, was placed at the Entrance of the Heathen Temples, with which the Persons, who went to worship, either sprinkled themselves, or were

sprinkled by the Priests. This Custom is still preserved by Roman Catholics, who tell us, it was originally a Jewish Ceremony: as if the Heathens would have taken their religious Ceremonies from a People, whom they despised and abhorred.

SINCE I have mentioned Crowns and Rewards, while I recollect, I will here prophecy to you, Men of Athens, if you do not restrain this Profusion of Rewards, and these Crowns thus inconsiderately bestowed, neither will the Persons, who are honoured by them, return you Thanks for the Favour, nor will the Affairs of the Republic be better directed. Because you can never make the vicious Citizen virtuous, but you may throw the Virtuous into the last Despair. That these Reflections are just, I imagine, I can prove by strong Arguments. For if you were asked, whether the Commonwealth seems at present in a more flourishing Condition, than in the Days of our Ancestors, you would unanimously confess, in the Days of our Ancestors. Were the People at that Time more virtuous, than at present? They were then more eminent in Virtue, and now far more degenerate. Yet Rewards, and Crowns, and Proclamations, and the Honour of being maintained at the public Expence, were they at that Time more numerous, than at present? These honorary Rewards were then most rare, and even the Name of Virtue was held in Esteem; but now, like Vestments often cleaned, those Rewards have lost their Lustre, and Crowns are given by a meer Habitude of giving, not by Judgement or Discernment.

It seems therefore most unaccountable, if we consider things with Attention, that Rewards of Merit are now more frequent, and the Republic then more powerful; that the People of Athens are

are

are now more degenerate, and were then more eminent for their Virtue. I shall endeavour to explain a Fact thus extraordinary. Can you imagine, Athenians, that any Man either at the Festival of Minerva, or the Olympic, or your other public Games, in which Crowns are given to the Victors, would engage in the severer, athletic, Exercifes, if the Crown is bestowed, not upon the moſt deſerving, but on him, who hath practiſed upon your Votes? No, certainly. At preſent, to ſpeak my own Sentiments, by the Rarity of the Contention and the Dignity of the Prize; by the Glory and Immortality, ariſing from the Victory; there are many, who will with Ardour expoſe themſelves to every Fatigue, ſupport the greateſt Miſeries, and even endanger their Lives. Imagine yourſelves therefore appointed Arbiters in this Contention of civil Virtue, and then reflect, that if you beſtow theſe Crowns upon the Few, and moſt deſerving, as the Law directs, you ſhall have many Competitors for the Prizes of Virtue. But if you gratify whoever deſires them, or thoſe who make uſe of Artifice and Intrigue to gain them, you will corrupt even the Genius, that was likely to merit them.

I WOULD willingly explain to you more clearly the Truth of theſe Obſervations. Tell me then, does Themiftocles, under whoſe Command you conquered the Perſian in the Sea-Fight at Salamis, or this Deſerter of his Rank at Chæronea, appear to you the more valuable Citizen? But Miltiades, who gained

the Victory over the Barbarians at Marathon, or this Demosthenes? But the Leaders, who brought home the People, who had fled to Phyle for Protection from the thirty Tyrants? But Aristides, surnamed the Just; a Surname very different from that of Demosthenes?— (31) Yet, by all the Deities of Olympus, I do not hold it fitting to mention this Monster upon the same Day with these illustrious Persons. However let him prove in his intended Oration, where it was ever decreed, that any one of these great Men should be rewarded with a golden Crown. (32) Was the People ungrateful? No; they were of too generous a Spirit to be ungrateful. But the Persons, who were thus unhonoured, were they unworthy of the Republic? No; they did not imagine, their Virtues could be honoured by Decrees or monumental Inscriptions, but by the grateful Remembrance of their Fellow-Citizens, which even to this Day continues immortal.

BUT some Rewards they received, which deserve to be mentioned. At that distinguished Period, in which our Generals, having with Fortitude sustained innumerable Fatigues and Dangers,

(31) A more temperate Orator would himself have answered these violent Interrogations, or have continued to the two last his ἡ ἔτος, or *this Demosthenes?* However, our temperate Translators, excepting Wolfius, have taken Care to supply this apparent Want of grammatical Exactness.

(32) The Reader, who consults the

Original, will imagine the Words, *with a golden Crown*, an unfaithful Addition to the Text. But either that Part of the present Sentence, which mentions the Leaders, who brought home the People from Phyle, should be totally omitted, or we must read χρυσῶν σφάνων, because we shall hereafter find them crowned with Olive. DOCTOR MARKLAND.

gers, gained an important Victory over the Medes, in a Battle fought upon the Banks of the River Strymon, when they returned to Athens they solicited the People for some Reward. The People granted them very signal Honours, as Honours were then estimated, and permitted them to erect three marble Statues of Mercury in the Portico of his Temples, but forbade them to inscribe upon them their own Names, that the Inscription might be that of the People, not that of the Generals. You shall be convinced by the Verses themselves; for upon the first of these Mercuries is the following Inscription.

Upon the Banks of Strymon's rapid Tide
 These Leaders first the haughty Mede subdued;
 With direful Famine quell'd their Tyrant's Pride,
 And with the avenging Sword their flying War pursued.

UPON the SECOND.

This Monument a grateful People raise,
 To Virtue and illustrious Worth decreed;
 Here let our Sons behold their Fathers' Praise,
 And for the public Weal with Ardour bleed.

UPON the THIRD.

On that fam'd Coast, where great Atrides bled,
 Menestheus our Athenian Forces led;
 A Chief renown'd, in Homer's sacred Page,
 To form the Battle, and direct its Rage.
 Thus fam'd in War has Athens ever shone,
 Yet made the various Arts of Peace her own.

Is the Name of the Generals inscribed upon any of these Mercuries? No; that of the People. Approach therefore, in Imagination, the Portico, for its Paintings called the various, where you frequently assemble, and where all the Monuments of your memorable Actions are deposited. You ask, Athenians, what I mean by such a Proposal? There the Battle of Marathon is painted. Who was the Commander in Chief upon that important Day? You can all answer, Miltiades. Yet his Name is not written upon the Picture. Wherefore? Did he not solicit this Reward? He did solicit, and the People refused it. Yet instead of his Name they permitted him to be drawn the principal Figure in the Piece, and in an Attitude, that distinguished him animating the Soldiers to their Duty. In the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, near the Senate-House, we may still behold what Rewards you gave the Leaders, who brought home the People from their Exile in Phyle. Archinus, one of these Leaders, proposed a Decree, and carried it without Opposition, in which he directed, that a thousand Drachmas should be given to the Persons, whom he brought home from Phyle, for Sacrifices and monumental Offerings to the Gods; the whole amounting to somewhat less than ten Drachmas, each Person. He then ordered, that they should be crowned with an Olive, not a golden Crown. For in those Days a Crown of Olive was held in Honour, though now a golden one is despised. Nor did he suffer these Crowns to be given without due Caution, but directed the Senate to enquire with their strictest

Care

Care how many Citizens had been besieged in Phyle, who had bravely repulsed the Lacedæmonians and the thirty Tyrants, when they attacked that Fortrefs; not how many had fled from the Battle of Chæronea, upon the Approach of the Enemy. To prove these Assertions, the Decree shall be read to you.

The DECREE.

Now compare with this Decree, that which Ctesiphon preferred for crowning Demosthenes, this Author of all our greatest Misfortunes.

The DECREE.

By this Decree the Honours given to those, who restored you to your Country are wholly defaced. If this be Matter of Glory, that was full of Turpitude; if they were justly rewarded, this Man is unworthy to be crowned.

BUT I am informed, Demosthenes will reply, that I deal unjustly with him, when I compare his Actions with those of our Ancestors. He will object, that Philammon was not crowned in the Olympic Games for vanquishing Glaucus, the celebrated Champion of Antiquity, but his own personal Antagonists; as if we were ignorant, that the Contest in these Games is indeed personal, but that when we aspire to the Crown of Virtue, we contend with Virtue herself, for whose sake we are crowned: because the Herald should by no means utter a Falsehood, when he makes a Proclamation in the Theatre before the general

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ral Assembly of Greece. Do not therefore, Demosthenes, repeatedly inform us how far your Administration exceeded that of Patæcion, but give us some Instance of your own manly Virtue, and then demand these Favours from the People. But that we may not wander too far from the Subject, the Secretary shall read you the Verses inscribed to those, who restored the People to their Country.

These honour'd Wreaths this ancient State bestows,
 For when oppress'd, enslav'd, She bow'd the Head ;
 These Heroes in her sacred Cause arose,
 Her Chains were broken, and her Tyrants fled.

The Poet says they were honoured for having destroyed a Tyranny, that violated the Laws of their Country. For the Alarm universally resounded through the Republic, (33) that the Constitution had been ruined by them, who had abolished the Prosecutions for proposing new Laws in Contradiction to those already enacted. (34)

MY

(33) "Εναυλον, an elegant, and uncommon Metaphor. Est autem metaphora sumpta ab iis, quibus post tibiarrum sonum aures adhuc resonant. Id est, notum est et inculcatum auribus, ut tibiarrum sonus. PALMER. It rang in our Ears, like the Sound of a Trumpet, (if indeed αυλος signifies a Trumpet) would perhaps be too bold for a Translation. Of all our Translators Lambinus alone seems to have paid any Attention to a Manner

of Expression so remarkable, *Herebat enim etiam tum in auribus atque animis omnium.*

(34) Τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, *An Action laid against the Person, who proposed a new Law in Opposition to an old.* This Expression recurs so frequently, that the Translator, apprehensive it might become disgustful to his Readers, hath sometimes changed it for *any Violation of the Laws* in general.

My Father, who died at ninety-five Years of Age, and who had born a considerable Share in all the Distreffes of the Commonwealth; has often at his Hours of Leisure informed me, that as soon as the People had resumed the Government, whenever an Action was brought before the Judges for proposing new Laws, the Crime appeared equally atrocious, as if they violated the Laws, already enacted. For what is there more execrable, than the Man, who either speaks or acts in Violation of the Laws of his Country? Very different was the Manner then, as he informed me, of hearing these Causes, from what is in Practice at present. The Judges were far more severe against the Criminals, than even the Accuser himself. They frequently called back the Clerk, and commanded him to read again and again the Laws, and the Decree, that proposed any Alteration in them. Nor were they alone condemned, who thus contradicted any one whole Law, but they, who altered even a single Syllable. But the Procefs in such Causes now is absolutely ridiculous. The Clerk reads the Decree, preferred against the Laws, while the Judges, as if they heard some idle Ballad, or perhaps a Cause, in which they were wholly unconcerned, engage their Attention to whatever is most foreign to the Pleadings. Thus by the Artifices of Demosthenes you have admitted this shameful Custom into your Courts of Justice, and all your judicial Proceedings are totally perverted. The Prosecutor in Fact becomes Defendant; the Criminal turns Prosecutor, and the Judges not seldom forget the Cause, upon

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which

which they are to pronounce Judgement. They are therefore of Necessity compelled to give Sentence upon Points, which have not appeared to them in the Trial, and of which they consequently cannot strictly be Judges. If the Criminal condescends to touch upon the Merits of the Cause, he does not defend himself by proving, that he has not proposed an illegal Decree, but that others, who have preferred Decrees equally contrary to the Laws, have escaped unpunished. Upon this Plea, I am told, that Ctesiphon is highly confident and assured.

ARISTOPHON had once in your Assembly the Effrontery to glory in his having been tried upon seventy-five Indictments for illegal Decrees. Not so the ancient Cephalus, esteemed the most zealous Defender of republican Principles. He gloried in the very opposite Conduct, when he declared he had written more Decrees, than ever any other Citizen, and yet had never been accused of contradicting any Law. A just, in my Opinion, and a laudable Boast. For not only they, who had taken different Parties in the Administration, impeached each other, but Friends then accused Friends, if they were guilty of any thing injurious to the Republic. You will be convinced by the following Instance. Archinus impeached Thrasylbulus for having, in Contradiction to an express Law, decreed a Crown to one of those, who returned with him from Phyle. Thrasylbulus was condemned, however recent his good Services, which his Judges very lightly regarded; because they imagined, that

as he had brought home the People from Phyle, so he now intended, by this violent Infringement of the Laws, to drive them again out of their Country.

Not such is our present Conduct. Indeed the very contrary Practice prevails. Your ablest Generals, and even the Persons, who are maintained for their superior Virtue at the public Expence, solicit you to pardon these Criminals, when they are prosecuted. You may with Justice charge them with Ingratitude. For if he, who hath been honoured in a democratical Government; in this Republic, which owes its Being to the Protection of the Gods, and a due Observance of the Laws, dares to patronize the Violators of those Laws, he subverts that Polity, from which he received his Honours. What Kind of Defence therefore may a wise and equitable Citizen be allowed to make in Favour of the Criminal? I will inform you. The Day of Trial for these Causes is divided into three Parts. The first is given to the Prosecutor, to the Laws and the Constitution: the second to the Defendant and his Advocates. If the Criminal be not acquitted by your first Sentence, the third Part is appointed for his Punishment, and the just Severity of your Indignation. Whoever therefore in the Part allotted for his Punishment intreats your Favour, only deprecates the Justice of your Indignation; but He, who solicits your Suffrages to acquit the Criminal, solicits you to violate your Oath, to violate the Laws, to violate the Constitution. He solicits a Favour, which

it is impious to ask, and impious to grant. Order them therefore to suffer you to pronounce Judgement according to your Laws, and let them then apply for a Mitigation of the Punishment.]

As for my own Opinion, Athenians, I could almost declare, that in Causes, at least of this Kind, you should expressly forbid the Use of Advocates and Pleaders both to the Prosecutor and Defendant. Because, Justice is not vague and undetermined. It is bounded by the Limits of your Laws. As in Mechanics, when we desire to know whether a Line be straight or crooked, we bring the Rule, by which they are distinguished; so in Trials of this Kind the Rule of Justice is always ready for the Proof; I mean the Table of our Laws, by which we may discern the Disagreement between the Decree, and the Laws it contradicts. If you can demonstrate, Ctesiphon, any Agreement between them in the present Instance, you may descend from the Tribunal. Wherefore is it necessary to invoke the Assistance of Demosthenes? Yet when you transgress the Bounds of a legal Defence, and call this Worker of Iniquity, this Artificer of Words, to your Assistance, you steal away our Attention, you wound the Republic, you subvert its Democracy.

“ WHAT Method shall we find to escape this Influence of “ Words?” I will inform you. When Ctesiphon comes forward on the Tribunal, and pompously pronounces the Speech De-

mosthenes hath made ; when he tediously consumes your Time, nor offers one reasonable Argument in his Defence, desire him, without Noise or Tumult to take this Table of our Laws, and compare it with his own Decree. If he pretends not to hear you, determine not to hear Him ; for you do not come hither to listen to them, who would avoid an equitable Trial, but to them, who are willing to rely upon the Justice of their Defence. But if he irregularly refuses to plead his own Cause, and calls Demosthenes to his Aid, be greatly cautious of admitting this Author of Mischief, who presumes, he shall be able by the meer Power of Words to subvert your Laws. When Ctesiphon therefore desires your Leave to call Demosthenes, let not any Man account it Matter of Merit, to be the first, who shall clamorously repeat “ Call him ; call him.” For you call him against yourselves ; you call him against the Laws ; you call him against your Democracy.

IF however you think proper to hear him, at least require of him to make his Defence in the same Order I have observed in his Accusation. But indeed (that I may engage you to recollect) what Order have I observed in accusing him ? I neither entered, at first, into his private Life, nor mentioned his public Offences, although I might surely find abundant Proofs against him, if I be not of all Mankind the simplest. But I first laid before you the Laws, which expressly forbid Ctesiphon to crown the Citizen, who hath not been legally discharg-

ed from his Office by passing his Accounts. I then convicted him of having decreed a Crown to Demosthenes, who was yet accountable for his Employment, and even without giving any specious Prætext for his Decree, or inserting the usual Form, “ if he have passed his Accounts,” but acting through the whole Affair with an absolute Contempt both of you, and the Laws. I mentioned the Objections he would probably make, and which I think well deserve to be remembered. I then ran over your Proclamation-Laws, in which it is positively declared, that the Person, whom the People have honoured with a Crown, shall not be proclaimed except in their own Assemblies. Yet Ctesiphon hath not only violated the Laws themselves, but every Circumstance of Time and Place with Regard to the Proclamation, when he commands it to be made in the Theatre, not in your Assembly; not when the People are assembling, but when the Tragedians are entering upon the Stage. I afterwards made some few Remarks upon his private Character, and insisted more largely upon his public Crimes.

You should therefore in Justice oblige Demosthenes to make his Defence in the same Order; first, with Regard to the Law, that obliges Magistrates to pass their Accounts of Office; next, the Law, that regulates our Proclamations; and lastly, which is the capital Article, let him disprove his being unworthy of any Reward. If he should intreat you to comply with his own Arrangement of his Oration, and promise at the End of his

Apology

Apology to clear himself from the Charge of violating the Laws, do not comply. Be most assured it is an Artifice to impose upon the Court. He never will attempt to vindicate himself from this Charge, and having nothing valid or honest to urge in his Defence, he will engage you, by introducing whatever is most foreign to the Purpose, to forget the real State of this Prosecution. As therefore in our gymnastic Exercises you behold the Wrestlers mutually struggling for Advantage of the Ground, so should you, as Wrestlers for your Country, contend with him, even the whole Day, for this Advantage of Order. Suffer him not to wander beyond the Bounds of the Article, that charges him with the Violation of our Laws; but fixed and unmoveable in your Attention compel him, drive him into the Proofs of his Defence, and heedfully guard all the Windings of his Discourse, by which he intends to escape. (35)

WHAT Consequences will attend any other Manner of Proceeding, I think myself in Justice bound to foretell. Ctesiphon will violently introduce this Impostor; this public Spoiler; this Destroyer of our Polity; who weeps more easily, than others laugh, and of all Mankind perjures himself with greatest Dexterity. Nor should I greatly wonder, if he should change his usual

(35) All the Terms of this Sentence, *ἐγκαθήμενοι, ἐνεδρεύοντες, ἐισελεύετε, ἐκτροπᾶς*, strongly express the Ideas of driving a wild Beast into the Toils, although not yet understood in that Sense by our Translators. They likewise add much Probability to a very ingenious

conjectural Reading proposed by Doctor Markland, *ἐισελεύετε εἰς τὰς τῆ πράγματος ὅρους*, which, besides the Authority of the Italian Translator quoted by Doctor Taylor, is supported by Du Vair, *Ne permettez point qu'il sorte hors de termes de la transgression des loix.*

usual Arts of Tears and Perjuries into Calumnies against our Audience, and assert, that the Patrons of Oligarchy; its avowed, acknowledged Patrons, appear in Favour of the Prosecutor, while they, who are zealous for a popular Government, support the accused. To these Assertions, intended only to divide the People into Parties and Factions, return this Answer, “ If the
 “ Persons, who brought home our Citizens from Phyle, had
 “ resembled you, Demosthenes, this democratical Form of
 “ Government had never been established. But they, amidst
 “ the most dangerous Conjunctions, preserved the Republic by
 “ proclaiming that noblest Sentiment of Wisdom and Human-
 “ nity, A GENERAL INDEMNITY FOR ALL PAST OFFENCES.
 “ But you tear open the Wounds of your Country, and are more
 “ anxious for the Success of these your daily Declamations,
 “ than for the Safety of the Commonwealth.”

BUT when this common Perjurer shall fly for Refuge to that Credit generally given to Oaths, desire him to recollect, that He, who often perjures himself, yet still demands to be believed upon his Oath, should undoubtedly have (what undoubtedly Demosthenes hath not) either new Gods, or not the same Audience. With Regard to his Tears, and that pathetic Tone of Voice, when he shall ask you with repeated Vehemence, “ Whither
 “ shall I fly, Athenians, if you banish me from this Republic?
 “ There is not whither I may direct my Flight;” object in your Turn, “ But the People of Athens; whither shall They
 “ fly,

“ fly, Demosthenes? To what military Strength of their Al-
 “ lies? To what Treasures? What Defence have you pro-
 “ vided for them during your Administration? How very
 “ wisely you have consulted your own Safety, we all behold.
 “ For although you have left Athens, (36) you do not really
 “ live, as you pretend, in the Pyræum, but have taken your
 “ Residence in that Harbour, for your more easy Escape from
 “ the Vengeance of the Republic. Neither are we ignorant,
 “ what ample Provision you have made for your Cowardice
 “ during your Voyage, in Persian Gold, and the Treasures,
 “ of which you have plundered your Country.”

BUT indeed why these Tears? Wherefore this Clamour?
 Why this vehement Tone of Voice? Is not Ctesiphon the
 Person indicted? Is not his Fine yet undetermined? (37) Nei-
 ther your Fortune, your Life, or Reputation are interested in
 the Trial. But really for what is he thus extremely solicitous?
 For Crowns of Gold, and Proclamations in the Theatre, in di-
 rect Violation of our Laws. If the People either absolutely
 frantick, or totally forgetting the present unhappy Situation of
 their

(36) It seems Demosthenes had left his usual Dwelling in the City, and gone to live in the Pyræum—*From whence therefore these Tears, these pathetic Exclamations upon the Apprehension of being banished? You have already left your Country. You are preparing to fly from her for ever.*

(37) Instead of engaging in the Disputes of the Learned upon this Passage,

let us endeavour to give the general Sense of it, as understood by Heraldus, quoted by Doctor Taylor. *Is not this Indictment one of those, in which the Penalty or Fine is not determined by our Laws, and consequently not to be exacted with Rigour? Is it not finally to be decided by our Judges, with whom Interest and Compassion may prevail to moderate the Severity of their Sentence?*

their Country, could at such an unseasonable Time consent to honour him with this Crown, it were his Duty to come into the Assembly and declare, “ Men of Athens, I receive this Crown
“ with Gratitude, but I cannot approve of the Time, in which
“ it is proclaimed. For it were most unfit, that the Calami-
“ ties, which the Commonwealth has lamented with every
“ publick Mark of Sorrow and Despair; for these very Cala-
“ mities I should be crowned.” Such, in my Judgement, would be the Language of a Man, who was nurtured in Virtue; but your Answer, Demosthenes, will be such as a Wretch devoted, the very Outcast of Mankind, would pronounce from his Detestation of even an Appearance of Virtue.

NOR, by Hercules, ought we to be alarmed, that this Man of Magnanimity; this Hero, distinguished in the Science of War, when disappointed of an Honour, the peculiar Reward of Valour, should return home, and put himself to a violent Death. So ridiculous to Him appears your Ardour for Glory, that a thousand Times hath he himself covered over with Wounds his own accursed Head, (that Head, which is still exposed to public Justice for not having passed his Accounts; that Head, which Ctesiphon, in Contempt of our Laws, hath decreed shall be crowned) and afterwards recovered large Damages, by Actions of Battery, for those very Wounds, which he had most providently given to Himself. Then he hath been so buffeted, that I verily believe the Traces of Midias his
Knuckles

Knuckles are still conspicuous in his Countenance. For this Demosthenes hath not an Head upon his Shoulders, but an Estate of very ample Revenue. (38)

WITH REGARD to Ctesiphon, the Author of this Decree, I would willingly mention some few Particulars. Many others I shall pass over in Silence, that I may try an Experiment, whether you are able, without any previous Instruction, to distinguish between these two egregious Villains. I shall only tell you, what with equal Justice may be asserted of them both. They walk about the Forum, conceiving such Sentiments of each other, as are indisputably true, and uttering those Sentiments in such Language, as cannot possibly be false. Ctesiphon says, he is not alarmed for himself (for he hopes he shall be thought an insignificant, simple Fellow) but he acknowledges, that he trembles for the Peculation of Demosthenes during his Administration, for his total Stupefaction of Spirit, and his Cowardice in the Day of Battle. As for Demosthenes, he declares, that when he considers only his own Concernments in this Trial, he is extremely confident of Success; but confesses himself strongly terrified for Ctesiphon's Villainies and Infa-

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my.

(38) One of our Commentators, in a Letter to Doctor Taylor, calls this a cold, insipid Jest, and proposes to add *Force and Spirit* to it, by reading κεφαλαίον instead of πρόσσodon, which he calls a Glossary-Reading, Οὐ κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ κεφαλαίον. When Lucian's Vulcan

cleaves open Jupiter's Head with his Axe, and sees Minerva issuing forth, armed cap-a-pie, he cries out, *You have a Camp upon your Shoulders, not an Head.* But Lucian, it seems, was content with the Glossary of πρόσσodon, or was not a Critic in the *vis & acumen* of punning.

my. You therefore, who are their common Judges, can certainly never acquit them of those Crimes, of which they have mutually condemned each other.

I SHALL now briefly mention the personal Invectives, with which they purpose to abuse me. Demosthenes will affirm, that the Commonwealth has been signally indebted to his Services, and that I have injured her in a thousand Instances; that Philip and Alexander, and all the Calamities, they brought upon the Republic, are to be imputed to me. But so violent, it seems, is this Operator of Words, as not to hold it sufficient to accuse me of Errours, that I might have possibly committed in my public Ministry, or in my Speeches, as an Orator, but calumniates the privacy of my Life, since I retired from Business, and impeaches even my Silence. But that no Topic of Calumny may be neglected, he severely censures the Time I spend in conversing with our Youth in their Academies. (39) Even in the Beginning of his Harangue he represents this very Prosecution as criminal, which he pronounces was not undertaken, out of Zeal for the Public, but to gratiate myself with Alexander by displaying my Hatred to Demosthenes. Nay, by the Gods, as I am informed, he designs to question me, wherefore I now impeach the whole of his Administration, yet never opposed,

(39) Turreil imagines, that Demosthenes ridiculed Æschines for the Vanity of shewing himself among the young People in their Exercises, and soliciting

their Applause for his Eloquence, *Quam pulchrum digito monstrari & dicier, hic est.* Perhaps, something less innocent is intended.

opposed, never accused him for any single Part; wherefore, after so long an Interval, in which I very seldom appeared in public Business, I now prefer this Accufation against him.

BUT I am neither ambitious of imitating the Conversation of Demosthenes, nor ashamed of my own. The Speeches I have made in this Assembly, I neither wish unspoken, nor would accept of Life upon the Terms of having pronounced his Declamations. The Temperance of my Life, Demosthenes, hath given and preserved to me, that Silence you calumniate. Contented with my little Fortune, I do not fordidly wish for more. From thence I am either silent, or I speak, as I am influenced by Judgement or Inclination; not compelled by the profligate Expence of luxurious Appetites. But you, I conceive, when you have received your Price, are most profoundly silent: when you have lavished it away, grow clamorous again. On the contrary, you never speak, either when, or what you please, but when and what your Paymasters command. Nor are you ashamed of boasting in your Vanity, what the next, immediate Hour convicts of Falseness. Even this Prosecution, which you assure us was undertaken, not for the Sake of the Commonwealth, but to ingratiate myself with Alexander, was begun while Philip was yet alive; when Alexander was not yet seated on the Throne; before you had seen your Visions of Pausanias, or held your nocturnal Dialogues with Juno and Minerva.

How then could I have intended this Adulation to Alexander, unless I had seen Visions, like Demosthenes?

BUT you reproach me, for not attending constantly upon our public Councils; for coming only occasionally into our Assemblies, and imagine we are ignorant, that you have borrowed this political Sentiment, not from a democratical, but another Form of Government. For in Oligarchies the Privilege of impeaching a State-Criminal is granted only to the Persons, to whom the Administration is intrusted; but in a democratical Constitution, every Citizen, who pleases, and at what Time he pleases, hath a Right of preferring these Indictments. In Answer to his other Objection; to speak only upon particular Occasions is indisputably the Character of a Minister, who considers the just Importance and Utility of every Conjunction; but never to let a single Day pass over in Silence, is the certain Mark of a Mercenary, who sets his Eloquence to Sale, and talks for his Wages.

IF you fly for Refuge to such Assertions as these, that you were never impeached by me before, nor have yet suffered the Punishment due to your Crimes; you must either imagine your Audience extremely forgetful, or deceive yourself by your own Sophistry. For as it is indeed a considerable Time since you were publicly convicted by Me for your impious Negotiations with the Amphissæans, and your Peculations in Eubœa, you
may

may flatter yourself perhaps, that the People no longer remember them. But what Length of Time can ever hide in Oblivion your Rapines in our Navy? When you proposed a Law for fitting out three hundred Gallies, and persuaded the Athenians to make you chief Director of their Marine, I then convicted you of having robbed our Trierarchs of a Sum sufficient to have equipped sixty-five light armed Gallies, and thus defrauded the Republic of a greater Fleet, than that with which the Athenians won the signal Victory over the Lacedæmonians, and their Admiral Pollis.

YET so strongly have you intrenched yourself in Calumnies and Accusations against the Punishment you deserve, that there is less Danger for the Criminal, who defends, than for them, who make the Attack; while by perpetually bringing Alexander and Philip into your Declamations, with abundant Invectives against them, and by accusing some of our Citizens of retarding the Operations of the Commonwealth in her most favourable Conjunctions, you really lost every then present Occasion of acting, yet with many a vain-glorious Promise for the future. Lastly, when I had resolved to bring you to a Trial, did you not contrive to have Anaxinus, a Merchant then purchasing Goods at Olympias, arrested? You ordered him to be put to the Torture, having first with your own Hand written the Decree, that condemned him to suffer Death. Yet with this very Man you lived at Oreum; you eat, you drank,
you

you poured forth your Libations to the Gods at the same Table; you gave him your Hand, that sacred Pledge of Friendship and Hospitality; yet this very Man you murdered. When I had convicted you of these Crimes in Presence of the whole Athenian People; when I called you the Murderer of your Host, you denied not the impious Deed, but returned an Answer, at which the People, and the Strangers, who stood round the Assembly, cried out with Horror and Indignation. You declared, you far preferred the sacred Rights of Hospitality in Athens, to the Friendship of any foreign Table.

HIS forged Letters I pass over in Silence; his arresting pretended Spies; his Inquisitions by Torture for Crimes, that never were committed; as if I had formed a Conspiracy to introduce some Innovations into our Constitution. Yet he now intends, as I am informed, to ask me, what Character would that Physician deserve, who during his Patient's Illness refused to prescribe for him, yet after his Death should go to his Funeral, and pompously display to his Relations the Prescriptions, which if he had carefully followed, he had recovered his Health? But you never ask yourself, Demosthenes, what Kind of Demagogue is He, whose Power consists in soothing the People with his Adulation; who could vilely barter away those critical Conjunctions, which might have preserved his Country; who by his Calumnies hath deterred every prudent Citizen from giving his Advice; who after having ignominiously fled from the
Danger

Danger of Battle, and exposed the Republic to Calamities most irremediable, now thinks himself worthy of being crowned for his Virtues; He, who never performed one meritorious Action; He, the sole Cause of all our Misfortunes? Then let him vehemently demand of those, whom by slanderous Accufations he hath driven from the Administration, at a Time when they might have preserved the Commonwealth, let him demand, why they did not oppose him in these pernicious Schemes. They may return this Answer; “ immediately after the Battle we had not
“ Leisure for your Punishment, but were employed in dispatch-
“ ing Embassies for the Safety of the Republic.” But when unsatisfied with escaping with impunity, you claim Rewards and Honours, making Athens ridiculous in the Eyes of Greece, I then stood forth to oppose; I then preferred this Indictment.

BUT, by all the Deities of Olympus, I most impatiently resent his intending, as I am informed, to compare me, in my Genius for Eloquence, to the Syrens, by whom their Hearers are not enchanted only, but destroyed. Thus, whatever Talents I possess from Nature, or have improved by Practice and Experience are ever fatal to my Audience. Such Language with regard to me, I am well assured, is most unfit for any Man to utter (and surely it is infamous, that an Accuser should be unable to prove what he asserts as a Fact) or if ever it were necessary, yet it certainly ought not to be the Language of Demosthenes. It can be proper only for some gallant General, who
having

having performed many signal Services for his Country, and being little powerful in his Elocution, envies the Talents of his Adversaries. He is conscious of his own Inability to describe with Advantage those Actions, he had worthily performed, while he beholds his Accuser enabled by his Eloquence to convince his Audience of the Reality of those Actions, which in Truth he never performed. But when a Man absolutely compacted of Words; the Words of Bitterness, and chosen with exquisite Curiosity; that such a Man should pretend to rely upon an artless Simplicity of speaking, or a meer Representation of Facts, is it not most intolerable? A Man, whose Tongue is his only Merit. Take that away, the Remainder of him is as worthless, as a tongueless Pipe. (40)

I REALLY wonder, Athenians, and would gladly know, upon what Motives you will acquit Ctesiphon of this Indictment? Because his Decree is agreeable to your Laws? Nothing was ever more illegal. Because he merits not the Trouble of punishing? you never can have any Rules to direct the Lives and Manners of our People, if this Man is acquitted. But is it not truly deplorable, that formerly this Orchestra was filled with Crowns of Gold, presented by the States of Greece to the People of Athens upon this Day, appointed to receive them with greater Solemnity, and now, when by the unhappy Politics of

Demost-

(40) A thin Plate, cut in the Shape of the Pipe; perhaps not unlike the of a Tongue, was fixed in the Mouth Reeds of our Hautboys.

Demosthenes, you are neither honoured with Crowns or Proclamations, shall Demosthenes himself be proclaimed? Yet if any of our Tragic Poets, whose Plays shall be brought upon the Stage immediately after the Ceremony of his being crowned, should introduce Therfites crowned by the Greeks, you never would endure it; because Homer calls him a Coward and a Calumniator. But if you crown our present Therfites, do you not imagine, the Grecians will treat you with the utmost Derision and Contempt?

YOUR Ancestors ascribed whatever was glorious and splendid in their Actions to the People; whatever was less important, or less successful was imputed to the Counsels of their corrupted Orators. But Ctesiphon is of Opinion, we should take away our present Ignominy from Demosthenes, and transfer it to the People. You profess yourselves most happy in the good Favour of Fortune, and with Reason make the Profession. Will you therefore by your own Decree declare, you are deserted by Fortune, and preserved by Demosthenes? Yet of all things most absurd, in these very Courts of Justice you brand with Infamy the Man, who has been convicted upon an Action of Bribery, and will you crown this Demosthenes, whose whole Administration you are conscious hath been corrupt? You rigorously fine the Judges, who do not impartially distribute the Prizes to the Dancers in our Bacchanalian Games, and will you, who are appointed Judges, not of Dances, but of Laws and civil

Virtue, will you distribute the Prizes, not as the Law directs, not to the few and the deserving, but to Him, who hath practised for them by briguing and Faction? When a Judge of this Character leaves the Court, he hath weakened his own Authority, and strengthened the Power of the Orator. ¶ For every private Citizen in a democratical Government hath in himself the Majesty of Kings, by the Protection of the Laws, and the Freedom of his Vote, by which those Laws are enacted. But the Moment he resigns these Prerogatives to another, he hath absolutely annulled his own Sovereignty. Besides, the Oath, by which he was engaged to judge with Impartiality, perpetually attends upon him and torments him (for in the Violation of that Oath, I suppose, consists his Crime) while the Favour itself, which he designed to confer, is totally lost, and even unknown to the Person, whom he purposed to oblige, because his Suffrage, which is given by Balot, cannot be publicly known.

WE seem, Athenians, in my Judgement, to be at once both fortunate and imprudent in our Administration of the Commonwealth. That in the present Conjunction of Affairs the Many have resigned to the Few the very Strength of our Constitution, I cannot approve; but that a greater Harvest of Orators, both wicked to conceive and bold to execute, hath not risen from this Resignation, I deem a peculiar Instance of our good Fortune. Our Democracy formerly produced Men of this Character in Abundance, who, like the present Race,
easily

easily soothed the People to Ruin with their Flattery. For the People were delighted with being flattered, and thus were oppressed, not by those, whom they dreaded as dangerous, but by them, in whom they confided. Some of them were afterwards among the Number of your thirty Tyrants, who slaughtered more than fifteen hundred Citizens without the common Forms of a Trial, or informing them for what Crimes they were to suffer Death; who would not permit their Relations to attend their Funerals, or pay them the last, decent Rites of Sepulture. Will you not then keep such Ministers in due Subjection to your Authority? Will you not humble such insolent Spirits, and banish them to other Climes? Will you not recollect, that none ever attempted the Ruin of a popular State, until they had assumed a Power superiour to the Justice of our Courts?

I COULD with Pleasure, Athenians, argue with the Author of this Decree in your Presence, and ask, for what good Services Demosthenes deserves to be crowned. ✓ If, Ctesiphon, you assert, as in the Opening of your Decree, because he hath surrounded our Walls with very magnificent Intrenchments, thou art to me an Object of Admiration. For greater is the Guilt of having rendered these Fortifications necessary, than is the Merit of having executed them with what Dignity soever. He, who assumes to himself the Reputation of having wisely governed the Commonwealth, should not demand an honorary Re-

ward for fortifying our Walls with Ramparts and Intrenchments, or—impiously violating the Sepulchres of the dead, (41) but producing for her some real Advantage. If you proceed to the second Article of your Decree, in which you have the Confidence to affirm, that he is an eminently good Man, and constantly directs all his Words and Actions to the Service of the Athenian People, throw away this Vanity and Pomp of Expression; come to Facts and prove what you affirm. His Peculation with Regard to the Amphissæans and Eubœans, I willingly pass over; but when you ascribe to him the Causes, which produced our Alliance with the Thebans, you impose upon the ignorant, and affront the knowing, who are conscious of the Falsehood. For while you suppress the Circumstances of that important Conjunction, nor mention the Glory of this People now assembled round us, by which that Alliance was really concluded, you imagine we do not perceive, you attribute to Demosthenes an Honour, that of Right belongs to the Republic.

How

(41) We have here an Instance of perhaps the boldest Figure in Rhetoric. The Orator is proceeding with Impetuosity and Vehemence in his Description of the Magistrate, who may justly demand the Honour of being crowned by his Country. *Not he, who fortifies the City with Ramparts; surrounds it with Intrenchments, and*—here he stops at once, and contrary to Expectation, *who destroys the Sepulchres of our Ancestors*; an Act, of all others most impious. The Fact is explained by History. When Themistocles had persuaded the Athenians to

build the Walls of Athens, he ordered, that the Materials should be collected from every other Building, private or public; sacred or profane. From thence, *ex sacellis, sepulchrisque muri constarent, The Walls were built of the Stones of Sepulchres and Temples.* CORN. NEPOS. Demosthenes therefore, by whom they are now repaired, must have necessarily removed some of these sepulchral Stones, and consequently have in Fact been guilty of that Impiety, with which he is charged.

TAYLOR.

How extravagant the Insolence of this Proceeding I shall endeavour to demonstrate by this one signal Instance. The King of Persia, some little Time before Alexander's Expedition into Asia, sent the People of Athens an affronting and barbarian Letter, in which among other ill-mannered Expressions he wrote at the Conclusion, " I shall give you no Gold ; impertune me no more ; you never shall receive any." Yet this very Monarch, when surrounded with Dangers, which still press hard upon him, without any Request from the People of Athens voluntarily sent them three hundred Talents, which with a noble Moderation they refused to accept. Thus a critical Conjunction, his own Terrours, and his Want of Allies, offered to us the Persian Gold, and the very same Causes operated in our Alliance with the Thebans. Yet you, Demosthenes, are ever clamorously repeating the Name of Thebes, and that unfortunate Alliance, but are profoundly silent with Regard to the seventy Talents of Persian Gold, which you secreted for your own Purposes. Yet was it not evidently for Want of Money, even of five Talents, that their Mercenaries refused to deliver up their Citadel to the Thebans ? When the Arcadians had taken the Field with all their Forces, and their Generals were ready to enter upon Action, was not the whole Expedition lost, merely for Want of nine Talents ? However you are rich, and able to support the Expence of your luxurious Pleasures. In very Fact, the royal Gold he reserves to himself, and leaves to you the Dangers of his Administration.

BUT

BUT their Want of common Sense is worthy of your Consideration. For if Ctesiphon shall dare to call Demosthenes to his Assistance; if he should come forward and pronounce his own Encomium, the very listening to him will be more intolerable, than all the Calamities you have suffered by his Ministry. Because, if we can ill endure even persons of real Merit, of whose great and glorious Actions we are perfectly conscious, when they proclaim their own Praises, who can have Fortitude enough to hear a Man, the Dishonour and Reproach of the Commonwealth, if he should pronounce his own Panegyric? You will therefore, Ctesiphon, if you are wise, desist from such an impudent Experiment, and make your own Defence. You cannot excuse yourself by any pretended Want of Eloquence; for it were absurd indeed, that you, who formerly suffered yourself to be elected Ambassador to Cleopatra, the Daughter of Philip, to condole with her upon the Death of her Husband Alexander, should now declare you are not a very able Orator. (42) Were you capable of consoling a foreign Queen in her Sorrows, and are you unable to justify a Decree, which you have been bribed to prefer?

BUT the Person, to whom you have decreed this Crown, is he really so unknown to the People of Athens, who have been
thus

(42) Alexander, King of Epirus, had carried the War into Italy; his Army was routed; he himself killed, and his Body treated with a thousand Indignities.

Upon this unhappy Occasion, the Republic sent Ctesiphon with Compliments of Condolence to his Queen.

thus indebted to his Merit, that he must plead this Cause himself. Let us ask the Judges, whether they know Chabrias, Iphicrates and Timotheus; or wherefore they gave them such honorary Rewards, and erected Statues to them. They will unanimously answer, to Chabrias, for his naval Victory at Naxos; to Iphicrates, for having cut to pieces the Lacedæmonian Phalanx; to Timotheus, for his Expedition to Corcyra; to others, for their many great and glorious Services performed in War. If it should be asked, why then refuse this Honour to Demosthenes? Because he is corrupt, a Coward, a Defserter of his Post in Battle. Whether will you therefore honour Him, or dishonour yourselves and them, who gallantly lost their Lives in your Defence? Imagine you behold them, with every Expression of Misery and Indignation, lamenting his being crowned; for if we carry, beyond the Limits of Attica, either Timber or Stones, or Pieces of Iron, things senseless and inanimate, that have accidentally fallen and killed an human Creature; or if, when a Citizen hath been guilty of Self-Murder, we bury the Hand, that committed the Deed, separately from the Body; it will be terrible indeed, that Demosthenes, O Athenians, the Man, who decreed this last unfortunate Expedition; who betrayed the Army by his Cowardice, shall be honoured and rewarded. The Dead will be insulted, and the Living discouraged, when they behold, that Death is placed before them as the only Reward of their Virtue, and that even their Virtue shall itself be lost to Remembrance.

BUT

BUT of more Importance the Consideration, if our Youth should ask upon what Model they shall form their future Lives, what will you answer? You are conscious, that neither the Places appointed for their Exercises, nor the Schools, nor their Music, are sufficient to form them to Virtue, but far more efficacious our public Proclamations. Is a Man proclaimed in the Theatre to be crowned for his Integrity, his Courage, and Love of his Country, who is infamous for the Turpitude and Impurity of his Life? Our Youth are instantly corrupted in their Principles. Is an impious and a prostituted Wretch, like Ctesiphon, punished, as he deserves? Others are instructed. Is a Father, who hath passed a Decree in Opposition to every Sentiment of Honour and Justice, capable, when he returns home, of forming his Son to Virtue? His Son will undoubtedly pay him little Attention, and his Advice at such a Time will justly be called tedious and impertinent. Not therefore as Judges only, but as Magistrates acting in View of their Country, you should give Judgement in such a Manner as will justify you to your absent Fellow-Citizens, when they shall demand what Sentence you have pronounced. For be well assured, Athenians, that the Republic will always be thought to bear some Resemblance to the Person we crown. Will it not be therefore infamous in you to resemble the Cowardice of this Demosthenes; not the Magnanimity of your Ancestors?

BUT how shall you escape such Infamy? Keep a strong
Guard

Guard upon those, who assume to themselves the Style of public Virtue and Philanthropy, yet in their private Characters are dishonest and perfidious. For Love of our Country and of Liberty, are Expressions, that lie open in common to every Body, and in general, they, who take Possession of the Words, are farthest distant from them in their Actions. When you therefore find an Orator ardently desirous of Crowns and Proclamations in the general Assemblies of Greece, command him to bring back his vague Oration, and his Assertions (as the Law directs) to the Proofs of a Life worthy of Praise, and of unblemished Morals. If he cannot give you such Testimony, do not ratify the Praises, with which he is proclaimed; and thus be careful to preserve what yet remains of your Authority. But does it not appear to you most terrible, that the Senate and People are treated with Contempt; that Dispatches and Embassies come to private Houses, not from Persons of inferior Rank, but from the greatest Potentates of Europe and Asia? The very Crimes our Laws make punishable with Death, a certain Party do not deny their having committed, but profess them in Presence of the People, and read their Dispatches to each other. Some of them desire you to look up to them, as to the Guardians of your Democracy; others demand Rewards, as Preservers of the Republic; while the People, from very Dejection of Spirit by their Misfortunes, as if they were grown aged and doting in their Understanding, assume to themselves the Name alone of a popular Government, but have yielded the

Power to others. Thus you depart from this Assembly, not like Persons, who had consulted upon the Welfare of their Country, but like Guests, who had divided the Fragments of a public Entertainment.

THAT I do not trifle with your Attention, let the following Remarks convince you. There was a certain---with Grief I mention the Calamities of the Republic so frequently---there was a certain private Citizen, who attempting to sail to Samos alone, was the very same Day condemned and executed by Sentence of the Areopagus. Another, who had taken Refuge in Rhodes, unable to support with Fortitude the Dangers of the Commonwealth, was lately impeached, and acquitted only because the Votes were equal. Had a single Suffrage more been given against him, he had been either banished, or put to Death. (43) Let us now place the present Instance in Opposition to these. An Orator, the Author of all our Misfortunes, deserted his Post in Battle, and afterwards fled from the Defence of Athens; yet now presumes to think he deserves a Crown, and the Honours of a Proclamation. Will you not drive him hence into Banishment, this common Pest of Greece? Will you not rather seize and punish this public Robber; this Pyrate, who sails through your Constitution upon the Power of Words? Remember too the particular Circumstances of the

(43) A Decree was passed immediately after the Defeat at Chæronea, to make it punishable with Death for any of the Citizens to leave Athens. The Name of the last Person, who thus deserted his Country, was Leocrates. He was prosecuted by Lycurgus, whose Speech is still extant. TOURREIL.

the Time, in which you pronounce this Judgement. The Pythian Games are in a few Days approaching, and the general States of Greece will be assembled. The Republic is already calumniated for the Administration of Demosthenes, and if you determine this Crown in his Favour, you will appear to have acted in Confederacy with them, who violated the general Peace; on the contrary, you will acquit the People of such Calumnies.

Do not therefore determine with an Indifference, as if the Interests of some foreign State, not those of your native Country, were concerned. Do not distribute your Honours to meer Ambition, but give them with Discernment. Place your Bounty upon Persons most estimable; upon Men more worthy of your Praise. Do not depend upon your Ears only, but with your Eyes examine, what Kind of Citizens they are, who support the Cause of Demosthenes. Were they his Companions in hunting, or the gymnastic Exercises in his Youth? No; by Olympic Jupiter. He never uncoupled the Hounds to rouse the savage Boar; never was anxious to obtain a vigorous Habit of Body, but exercised those Arts alone, which he well knew how to practise against the wealthy.

(44) Now mark the Insolence of the Man, and when he boasts, that by his Negotiations in his Embassy, he wrested Byzantium
out

(44) Here the Peroration begins. It is great, beautiful, sublime, pathetic, and
Z z 2 affecting.

out of the Hands of Philip ; engaged the Acarnanians to forsake his Party : astonished the Thebans with his Eloquence (for he presumes you are now arrived at such Excess of Simplicity, as to believe, you have educated in Athens the very Goddesses of Persuasion, not a pernicious Calumniator) when at the Conclusion of his Defence he calls upon the Partners and Associates of his Corruptions to be his Advocates, imagine you behold upon this very Tribunal where I stand, the Persons, who have eminently well deserved of the Republic, ranged in Opposition to their Arrogance : Solon, who adorned your Democracy with its wisest Laws ; Solon, equally eminent as a Philosopher and a Legislator ; imagine you behold him imploring you with that modest Dignity, so befitting his Character, never to suffer the Eloquence of Demosthenes to have a greater Influence over you, than the Religion of your Oaths, and the Obligations of your Laws. Imagine Aristides, who regulated with so much Equity the general Contributions of Greece for her common Defence ; whose Daughters the People portioned after his Death ; imagine him in Anguish and Sorrow deploring the Contumely, with which Justice is treated, and asking “ if
 “ your Ancestors almost put to Death the Zelite Arthmius, an
 “ Inhabitant of Athens, and received by her People with the public Rites of Hospitality, because he brought Gold from Persia
 “ into

affecting. Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, all the Heroes, who had sacrificed their Lives at Marathon and Plataea in Defence of their Country, are called forth from their Tombs to witness to the Jus-

tice of the Sentence now to be pronounced. Our Orator engages all Nature in his Quarrel, and raises all the Powers of Earth and Heaven, of Gods and Men, against his Adversary. TOURREIL.

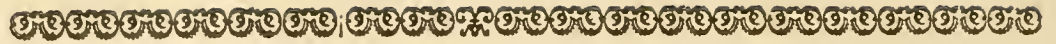
“ into Greece : if they banished him by Proclamation, not from
 “ Athens only, but from all her Dominions, will you not
 “ blush to crown this Demosthenes with a golden Crown, who
 “ did not indeed bring Gold from Persia, but hath amassed it
 “ by every Kind of Corruption, and even now possesses it.”
 Will not Themistocles, and they, who died at Marathon and
 Plataea ; will not the very Sepulchres of your Ancestors burst
 forth into Groans, if he, who confesses he conspired against
 Greece with the Barbarians, shall be crowned by your Decree ?

HERE therefore, O Earth, and Sun, and Virtue, and Intel-
 ligence, and Erudition, by which we distinguish between things
 beautiful and deformed, be witness I have endeavoured to sup-
 port your Influence, and have pleaded the Cause of the Re-
 public. If I have spoken with that Force and Dignity befitting
 this Impeachment, I have spoken to the utmost of my Wishes ; if
 not, to the utmost of my Abilities. May you, both from the
 Arguments I have mentioned, and those I have passed over in
 Silence, pronounce such a Sentence, as in itself may be most
 agreeable to Justice, and conducive to the Prosperity of the Re-
 public.

(45) Βελοθήθηκα. Some Word must
 be understood. The Commentators and
 Translators suppose τῇ πόλει, *the Com-
 monwealth*. Lambinus alone seems to
 have read ὑμῖν, which he applies to all

the Powers here invoked by our Orator,
Vobis opem auxiliumque tuli, and upon his
 Authority the present Translation. Æf-
 chines in another Place in this Oration,
 Βοηθῶ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τῇ γῆ τῇ ἰερῇ.

END of the ORATION against CTESIPHON.

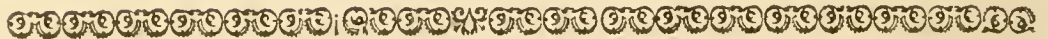


O R A T I O N XVIII.

D E M O S T H E N E S

IN DEFENCE OF

C T E S I P H O N.



D E M O S T H E N E S

IN DEFENCE OF

C T E S I P H O N.

IFIRST implore, O Men of Athens, all our Gods, and all our Goddesſes, that the ſame Meaſure of Affection for this Republic in general, and for every ſingle Citizen among you, which hath ever been the Guide of all my Actions, may be now preſent to me in this Conteſt. Next, as of exceeding Importance to you, to the ſacred Obligation of your Oaths, and to your Glory, I do implore the ſame Deities to impreſs upon your Minds a Reſolution not to make my Proſecutor, your
Advifer,

The Solemnity, with which our Orator opens his Defence, muſt have commanded the Attention of his Audience, and the religious Confidence of his Prayer to the Gods impreſſed upon them a favourable Opinion of his Piety, that beſt Assurance he could give of his Integrity. The pathetic Profeſſions of his Zeal for the Republic in general, and for every individual Citizen in particular, had a Right of Claim to an equal Return of their Affection. Theſe Sentiments a Tranſlation may poſſibly be able to expreſs; but when the Ancients talk to us with Rapture of a peculiar Harmony in the Words and Meaſures of the Original, and the Influence it muſt neceſſarily

have had upon an Athenian Audience, a Tranſlator can only lament the Loſs of ſo exquisite a Pleaſure: a Loſs, perhaps, for ever irrecoverable. But when Quintilian tells us, our Orator opened his Oration in a timid, low, ſubmiſſive Tone of Voice, and imagines his Action was ſuited to that Tone, does he not aſcribe rather too much to his Timidity and Submiſſion? Should he not recollect, that the Solemnity of Prayer requires a ſolemn Firmneſs in the Voice, and an Action of ſuperior Dignity? Would not any Action of this temperate Kind be much unequal to the Vehemence and Ardour and Sublimity of this Exordium?

Adviser, or admit him to direct in what Manner, I ought to make my Defence (that would be most unjust) but to consult the Laws themselves, and your own Oath, in which, among other Sentiments of perfect Equity, this Maxim is written, LET BOTH PARTIES BE HEARD WITH IMPARTIALITY. This Expression not only obliges you not to bring with you to this Assembly any premeditated Sentence; not only obliges you to treat both Parties with equal Favour, but to suffer each of them to arrange his Arguments, and the Proofs of his Defence in whatever Order he pleases.

AMONG many Disadvantages, under which I labour in this Cause, more than Æschines, there are two, O Men of Athens, of greater Moment. One, that the Object, for which we contend is by no Means equal; since very unequal indeed is my losing your Esteem, and his being unable to succeed in this Indictment. For should I lose---But I will not begin my Defence with any ill-omened or inauspicious Expression.---Yet certainly the Contention between us is very unequal. There is another Disadvantage, under which I labour, that Nature hath implanted in the Breasts of human Kind, to listen with Pleasure to Calumny and Invectives, but to hear the Man, who praises himself, with Pain and Indignation. Thus the pleasurable Part is allotted to Him; and what is offensive, I may venture to say, to all Mankind, remains to me. Yet if under this Apprehension, I should pass over in Silence the Services

vices I have rendered to the Commonwealth, I shall appear unable to refute the Crimes whereof I am accused, or to shew myself worthy of those Honours, I profess to deserve. Or if I enter into the Particulars of those Services, and of my general Administration, I shall often be compelled to speak of myself. This I will endeavour with all possible Moderation, which if an absolute Necessity should sometimes oblige me to transgress, the Man, who hath imposed such a Contest upon me, should alone in Justice be condemned.

I BELIEVE, you will unanimously acknowledge, that this Cause is of common Concernment to me and Ctesiphon, nor ought to be regarded by me with less Anxiety and Attention. For to be despoiled of all we possess, especially by the Malice of an Enemy, is with Pain and Difficulty to be supported; but insupportable indeed, to be despoiled of your Esteem and Affection, the most valuable of all human Blessings. Since therefore I am thus interested in this Trial, I with equal Earnestness demand from your Integrity, and implore from your Compassion, that you will hear my Defence against these Accusations with that impartial Spirit, which the Laws command: those Laws, which Solon, ever well affectioned towards this Republic, and zealous for the Liberty of its Constitution, founded in the earliest State of the Commonwealth; which he deemed necessary, for the Preservation of their Authority, not only to engrave upon public Tables, but to impress upon the Consciences

of our Judges, by the Solemnity of an Oath, whenever they ascended this Tribunal. Not from his Diffidence, in my Opinion, of your Integrity, but conscious how impossible, so powerful is the Prosecutor by the Advantage of speaking first, that the Defendant in these Indictments ever should escape being condemned, unless his Judges will universally preserve their Piety towards the Gods; receive the Justice of his Plea with Benignity of Mind; render themselves equal and impartial Hearers to either Party, and thus take perfect Cognizance of the whole Trial.

BUT since I am this Day to render an Account, as it appears, both of my whole private Life, and of my public Administration, I will again, as in the Beginning, invoke the Gods, and in your Presence implore them to grant, that such a Measure of Affection, as I have ever preserved for Athens, and for all her Citizens, may now be present to me in this Contention: and next, that they will inspire you to determine in such a Manner, as may best promote the general Glory of the State, and preserve to every single Person the Religion of his Oath inviolable.

If Æschines had prosecuted me only upon the express Articles of this Indictment, I should have entered immediately into the Legality of the Decree, with which I am thus honoured by the Senate. But since he hath consumed a no less abundant

dant Quantity of Words in Reflexions most impertinent to his Cause, and hath multiplied his Falsehoods against me, I hold it necessary and fitting, O Men of Athens, briefly to answer, first, to his Calumnies, that none of you may be influenced by Arguments thus totally foreign to the Subject, and hear me from thence with Prejudice or Abhorrence, when I make my just Defence against this Prosecution. To those Invectives therefore, with which he hath maligned my private Reputation, behold, how simple and ingenuous is my Answer. If you are conscious, that I am indeed such a Man, as he hath calumniously represented me (nor have I ever lived any where, but among you alone) do not suffer me to speak; and however unblameable, or even meritorious, my whole Administration may possibly have been, this Moment rise from the Tribunal, and pronounce my Sentence. But if you believe and are convinced, that I am a Man of better Morals, than my Accuser; that I am descended from a more reputable Family; from Ancestors (that I may avoid saying any thing offensive) not inferior to any of those, who maintain the second Rank of Birth among our Citizens, let him not find Credit with you in any other Instance; for it is manifest, that all other Instances are equally the Produce of his Invention. Then continue to me in the present Contest that Favour and Benevolence, which in many former Trials I have constantly experienced.

FAMED as you are, Æschines, for Malignity and Subtlety,

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you have surely been excessively weak in imagining that I would pass over in Silence the Conduct and Services of my public Administration, to vindicate my private Character against your Invectives. I shall not act in this Manner. I am not yet so absurdly blind, but shall enter immediately into the Merits of my political Conduct, which you malignantly traduce, and shall afterwards, if it can be any Pleasure to my Audience, recollect the excessive Licentiousness of those Invectives.

NUMEROUS indeed, and atrocious are the Crimes whereof I am accused. For some of them the Laws ordain very severe, and even the last Punishments. (1) But the sole Design of this Prosecution evinces at once the Malice, Outrage, Defamation and Insults of an Enemy, with every other Expression of his Malevolence. Such Prosecutions, by the Gods, O Men of Athens, are neither equitable, or just in themselves, nor agreeable to your Constitution. For we neither ought to take away the Privilege, that every Citizen should enjoy, of addressing and speaking to the People, neither should it be abused to the bad Purposes of Malice and Envy. (2) But when Æschines
saw

(1) There is not perhaps an Instance in Doctor Taylor's Edition of a more venturous and fortunate Criticism, than on the Passage before us. It was universally acknowledged obscure; it was in general thought to be corrupt. But by a judicious Arrangement of the different Members of the Period, which were before confused and in Disorder, the Suspicion of Corruption in the Text is re-

moved, and our Author vindicated from the Charge of Obscurity, and Confusion in his reasoning, so injurious, and so contrary to his Character. It were little useful to an English Reader to enter into the Particulars of this Criticism, and the learned will be far better satisfied by consulting Doctor Taylor.

(2) The Words in the Original are differently understood by Lambinus, whose

law me committing these Crimes, especially if they were of such enormous Magnitude, as he now most tragically represents them, it was his Duty to have urged against me the proper Punishments, that the Laws have appointed, and proportioned to such Crimes. If he saw my Actions merited an Impeachment of Treason, he ought to have impeached me. If I had proposed a Decree in Opposition to any established Laws, he should have preferred an Indictment for that particular Decree. For every other Crime I was capable of committing, or for which he now pursues me with repeated Slanders and Calumnies, there are peculiar Laws, and Punishments, and Trials, to which very severe and numerous Penalties are annexed, and all these he was at Liberty to have employed. Had he acted in this Manner; had this been his Method of proceeding, the present Prosecution would have been consistent with his general Conduct. But since he thus departs from our stated, equitable Forms; since he neglected to inform against me upon the immediate Commission of these Crimes, and now, after such a Length of Time hath intervened, collects his Proofs, his Ribaldry and his Invectives, it is the meer Mockery of a theatrical Representation. The Prosecution is directed against me, though the Indictment be laid against Ctesiphon. His Enmity to me appears upon the Face of the whole Cause, but never
having

whose Translation is adopted in general by Doctor Taylor. *Non enim jus adeundi ad populum, causæque dicendi potestatem cuiquam eripere . . . oportet.* Orator objected against the Injustice of Æschines, who would have hindered him from pleading and appearing in this Cause before the People.

having dared to attack me directly, he now manifestly endeavours to take away the good Name and Reputation of another. Yet in Addition to every other Argument, O Men of Athens, that might with utmost Justice be urged in Defence of Ctesiphon, I think, it may very reasonably be pleaded in his Favour, that Æschines and I should ourselves prosecute our own Disputes, and not leave our mutual Quarrels to search for others, upon whom to fix our proper Ignominy or Misfortunes. To act in any Manner were most iniquitous. Besides it is impossible, that the Crimes objected to me can ever affect Ctesiphon; and if Æschines imagined, he could have succeeded in prosecuting me directly, he never would have laid his Indictment against Him.

By these Instances, it is easy to perceive, that all the rest are in the same Manner neither founded in Equity, nor Truth. I shall however separately examine each particular Article of the Charge, especially those, that relate to the Peace, and our Embassy to Philip, in which he hath falsely imputed to me the very Crimes, committed by him and Philocrates. But it is necessary, O Men of Athens, and perhaps not foreign to the Cause, that I should recall to your Remembrance the Situation of Affairs during that Period, from whence you may behold each particular Transaction in its own proper Circumstances. [When the Confederates had declared War against the Phocæans, in which I had no Concernment, for I was not then engaged in the

the

the Administration, you were at first well inclined to assist that People, though conscious how unjustifiable their Conduct. You would have taken Pleasure in any Misfortune, that might have happened to the Thebans; neither was your Resentment against them unreasonable or unjust, for they had not used with Moderation the Advantages they gained at Leuctra. Peloponnesus was divided into Parties. The Enemies of the Lacedæmonians could neither totally subdue that People, nor could the Governors, whom they had established, any longer maintain their Authority in their several Cities, while not among the Peloponnesians only, but all the other States of Greece, there was a secret Spirit of Discord and Confusion, that apparently must soon break out into open War. Philip observing these Disorders (for they were easily to be observed) profusely lavishes his Treasures to corrupt particular Traitors in every single State; then throws them all into Confusion, and amidst the universal Commotion urges them to their mutual Destruction. Thus, while some were greatly criminal, and others equally imprudent, Philip carried his Designs into Execution, and became the general Terrour of Greece. As it was evident, that the Thebans, exhausted by the Length of the Phocæan War (the Thebans, at that Time, impracticable and insolent, though now most unfortunate, and depressed) must have been compelled to fly to you for Succours, Philip, that such a Measure might not take Effect, and that the two Republics should not unite in Interests and Alliance, promised Peace to You, and Assistance.

Assistance to them. | What was it therefore, that conspired with Philip to render you, I had almost said, thus voluntarily deceived? The Cowardice or Imprudence, perhaps we should rather say, they both concurred, of all the other Grecian States; who when you were engaged in a long and uninterrupted War for the common Liberties and Welfare of Greece, as the Fact itself indisputably evinced, yet never assisted you either with Subsidies or Troops, or any other Requisite for your Support. | This Treatment you justly, and with proper Dignity resented, and readily assented to Philip's Proposals.

UPON these Considerations was the Peace, which you had granted to Philip, concluded; not by any Influence of mine, as Æschines hath calumniously asserted. His Crimes, with those of Philocrates, and their mutual Venality in the Negotiations of this Peace will be found, upon strict and just Inquiry, to have occasioned the present Situation of your Affairs; every Particular of which, in pure Regard to Truth, I shall punctually and regularly explain. If aught injurious to the Republic should appear to have been committed in the Course of this Transaction, I am perfectly innocent.

THE first, who mentioned, and spoke in Favour of the Peace was Aristodemus, the Comedian. He, who seconded the Motion, and preferred a Decree for concluding it; he, who had sold himself along with Aristodemus for that Purpose, was Philocrates;

your Accomplice, Æschines, not mine, though you should burst with asserting the Falsehood. They, who supported it with their Suffrages, whatever might have been their Motives (for I shall not inquire at present) were Eubulus and Cephisophon. I never had the least Concernment in it. However, though such was the real State of that Affair; though it be demonstrated by Truth itself, yet Æschines is impudent enough to assert, that I was not only the Author of this Peace, but that I hindered its being concluded with the common Consent of all the other States of Greece in their general Assembly. Yet Thou---by what Name can I justly call thee?---though present, though beholding me despoiling the Commonwealth of such Advantages, and such a Confederacy, as you now represent in that Strain of Tragedy and Declamation, didst thou ever shew any Repentment or Indignation; ever come forward on this Tribunal to inform the People, or explain that Conduct, which you now accuse? Or if indeed I had sold myself to Philip, and hindered the Grecian States from being included in the general Peace, it remained to you, not to be silent, but to exclaim; to testify against me, and lay open the Affair to these, our present Audience. You never acted in this Manner. That Voice of thine was never heard. But indeed no Embassy was ever sent to any of the Grecians; their Sentiments were long before sufficiently apparent, and Æschines hath not uttered a Syllable of Truth upon the Subject. Besides, he brands the Republic itself with Infamy by his Falsehoods. For if you

could encourage the Grecians to enter into a War against Philip, and at the same Time send Ambassadors to him with Proposals of a separate Peace, it were the Villainy of an Eurybatus, not the Conduct befitting the Republic, or the Honour of its Citizens. But never, there never were any such Embassies. For with what Intention could you have sent them at that Period? To exhort the Grecians to Peace? It was already universal. To War? You yourselves were negotiating a Peace. Thus it appears, that I was neither a Principal, nor indeed in any Measure an Agent in concluding it, and that all the other Calumnies he hath invented against me are equally false.

Now recollect what was the general Tenour of his Conduct and mine after the Peace was concluded. From thence you will easily discern, who with Ardour supported Philip in all his Designs; who directed their Actions to your Interests, and were zealous for the Republic. I preferred a Decree in the Senate, that Ambassadors should sail with utmost Expedition to wherever they heard Philip resided, and receive his Oaths of Ratification. But they thought proper not to obey this Decree, the Force and Importance of which, O Men of Athens, I shall now lay before you. It was Philip's Interest to delay, and yours to hasten the Ratification of the Peace, as much as possible. Why? Because, not only from the Moment you had sworn to ratify, but even from the Moment you had entertained Hopes of even a possibility of concluding it, you abandoned all
your

your military Operations. Philip, on the Contrary, during that whole Time profecuted his Schemes with greater Vigour; prefuming, as the Event hath proved, that he might continue in firm Poffeffion of whatever Places he could rend from the Republic before he had fworn, and that you would never renew the War to recover them. Forefeeing thefe Confequences, and reasoning upon them with Attention, I propofed this Decree, which commanded our Ambaffadors to fet fail with all poffible Expedition; to find Philip, and tender him the Oaths of Fatication; that while your Confederates, the Thracians, continued in Poffeffion of Serrium, and Myrtenon, and Ergifce (whofe Names our Declaimer now treats with Ridicule) the Ratifications might be then mutually exchanged; that Philip might neither feize upon thefe important Fortreffes, by which he might afterwards make himfelf Master of Thrace, nor by the abundant Treafures and numerous Forces, he might raife from thofe Conquefts, more eafily carry his other Projects into Execution. Yet Æſchines never cites this Decree, nor orders it to be read. But if I have given my Opinion in the Senate, that Philip's Ambaffadors ſhall be publicly received, this Opinion he treats with the fevereſt Malignity. But in what Manner ſhould I have acted? Should I have preferred a Decree to forbid their being introduced into your Affembly, who came hither on Purpoſe to confer with you? Should I have ordered the Manager not to appoint Seats for them in the Theatre, which however they might purchafed for two Oboli, though

no such Order ever were given? Ought I rather to have been anxious to save this little Pittance, or, like these Trators, have sold the whole Republic to Philip? Take and read this Decree, which Æschines, apparently conscious of its Importance, hath passed over in Silence.

The DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the thirtieth Day of July, the Pandionian Tribe being Presidents of the Council, Demosthenes delivered this Opinion: WHEREAS Philip hath sent an Embassy to Athens to negotiate a Peace, of which he hath ratified certain preliminary Articles; it therefore seemeth good to the Senate and People of Athens, in Order, that this Peace, approved of in the first general Assembly, may be finally concluded, that five Ambassadors be elected out of the whole Body of our Citizens, and when their Election is confirmed, that they depart without Delay to whatever Place they are informed Philip shall reside, and there interchange the Oaths of Ratification, according to the Articles of Convention between Him and the Athenian People, mutually including their common Confederates. Eubulus, Æschines, Ctesiphon, Democrates, and Cleon, are appointed Ambassadors.

WHEN in my Zeal for the Interests of the Commonwealth, certainly not those of Philip, I had preferred this Decree, your very excellent Ambassadors, little solicitous for its Success, sat
down

down indolently three whole Months in Macedonia, 'till Philip returned from Thrace, after having reduced and ruined the whole Country, although in ten, or rather in three or four Days, they might have arrived at the Hellespont, and by demanding his Oath before he had subdued that Kingdom have preserved it from Destruction. For either he would not have invaded it in our Presence, or we should have rejected his Oaths. Thus he must necessarily have been disappointed of the Peace he desired. He could not have enjoyed that, and his Conquests together. Such was the first Instance of Perfidy in Philip during our Embassy, or of Venality in these Traitors, whom the Gods detest, and against whom I then professed, and do now, and shall for ever profess an irreconcilable Enmity and Hatred.

BEHOLD another more flagrant Act of Villainy, that immediately followed. When Philip, after having made himself Master of Thrace by the Disobedience of these Ambassadors to my Decree, had consented to ratify the Peace, he once more bribed them not to depart from Macedonia, untill he had completed the Forces he was then raising against the Phocæans. For he was apprehensive, that if they returned hither, and made their Report of his intended Expedition, you might yourselves march to the Assistance of your Allies, or embarking on board your Gallies, as you had done once before, might shut up the Streights between Eubœa and the Continent. He therefore

fore determined, that you should at the same Moment hear the Design he was meditating, and the Execution of it by his having entered into Thermopylæ, and your being no longer capable of acting. But in such Apprehensions was Philip, in such Terrors (although he had taken Possession of Thermopylæ) lest you might receive Intelligence of his Designs before he had totally extirpated the Phocæans, and by your passing a Decree to succour them he might lose the Opportunity of destroying them, that he again bribes this abominable Wretch, not in common, as before, with the other Ambassadors, but privately and separately, to give you such Information, and make such a Report, as have brought down upon us this universal Destruction.

BUT here, O Men of Athens, let me demand as a Right; let me request as a Favour, that you will constantly remember through this whole Contest, if Æschines had not exceeded the Limits of his Prosecution, neither would I have urged any Arguments foreign to this Defence. But since he hath made use of every Kind of Slander and Defamation, he hath rendered it incumbent upon me briefly to answer each particular Article of his Accusation. What Harangues therefore did he pronounce, by which he hath wrought this universal Ruin? “ That we should not be alarmed at Philip’s having entered
 “ the Streights of Thermopylæ: for every thing shall certainly
 “ succeed as you desire, if you continue in Quiet, and you
 “ shall

“ shall hear, that Philip is become a Friend to those, against
 “ whom he now marches, as an Enemy, and on the contrary an
 “ Enemy where he now professes being a Friend. For neither
 “ Words nor Promises” (and with exceeding Solemnity did he
 “ pronounce the Maxim) (3) but the Union of Interests alone,
 “ constitute political Friendships. It is equally Philip’s Interest,
 “ and yours, and that of the Phocæans, to be relieved from
 “ the Arrogance and Stupidity of the Thebans.” These Ex-
 pressions were heard with general Satisfaction, from the Detes-
 tation in which we held the Thebans. But what were the im-
 mediate Consequences? The Phocæans were utterly destroy-
 ed; their Cities rased to the Ground; you were persuaded by
 this Traitor to continue unactive; were soon afterwards obliged
 to remove your Effects from the open Country into Athens,
 and Æschines received his Bribe. In Addition to these Mis-
 chiefs, the Thebans and Thessalians detested the Republic for
 this Manner of acting, and gave Philip every Mark of their
 Gratitude for his Conduct. In Attestation of these Assertions,
 read me the Decree of Callisthenes, and Philip’s Letter. They
 will both render this whole Transaction perfectly clear.

The DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, an extraordinary
 Assembly

(3) *Μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων.* Translated by Wolfius, and perhaps not very intelligibly, *valde utens honesto nomine.* It had been little worth remarking, but that it hath escaped his very accurate Editor. *Parlando molto gravemente.* ITALIAN TRANSLATOR. *Graviter & magnifice pronuntians.* LAMBINUS. *Valde quidem graviter id proferendo.* ARETINUS.

Assembly being convened, on the twenty-first Day of November, by the Generals, with the Consent of the civil Magistrates and the Senate, Callisthenes thus delivered his Opinion: LET no Athenian, upon any Pretence whatsoever lye a Night out of Athens, excepting those, who are ordered to serve in Garrison: of these let every Man guard the Post assigned him, nor be absent either Day, or Night. Whoever shall disobey this Decree, let him incur the Penalties ordained for Treason, unless he can prove the Impossibility of his Obedience. Let the General of Foot in Command, and the Magistrate, to whom is committed the Care of the City, and the Secretary of the Senate, be Judges of that Impossibility. Let all Effects, within a hundred and twenty Furlongs, be brought into Athens, and the Pyræum: let all beyond that Distance be carried into the neighbouring Cities. Thus Callisthenes delivered his Opinion. BUT did you really conclude the Peace upon these Hopes, or were these the Promises made you by this Mercenary? Now read the Letter, that Philip sent hither, after he had subdued Phocis.

PHILIP'S LETTER.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, Greeting. KNOW, that We have entered the Streights of Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis to our Obedience. We have placed Garrisons in the Cities, that voluntarily submitted to us, and those that refused to surrender, We have
 taken

taken by Force ; made their Inhabitants Slaves, and rased their Foundations. | Being informed, that you were preparing to march to their Assistance, I have written to you, to prevent your giving yourselves any farther Trouble concerning these Matters. Upon the whole, you appear to me to have acted beyond all Measure irregularly, in concluding a Peace with me, and yet marching an Army against me, in Defence of a People who were not comprehended in our Convention. If however you are determined not to maintain those Treaties, to which we mutually agreed, be assured, that you shall gain no other Advantage by this Act of Injustice, than that of being the first Aggressors,

You hear how plainly he discovers ; how expressly he declares to his Confederates, in this Letter, “I have acted thus
 “ in Despite of the Athenians, and their Repentments. If
 “ therefore, O Thebans and Theffalians, you wisely consult
 “ your own Interests, you must esteem them your Enemies,
 “ and place your Confidence in me.” He has not indeed made use of these very Words in his Letter, but he would willingly be thus understood. | By these Expressions therefore did he so impose upon their Credulity, as not only to render them unsuspecting and insensible to whatever might afterwards happen, but even to suffer him to subdue every Thing to his Ambition. Thus were the unhappy Thebans reduced to those Misfortunes, which even at this Moment they endure. But Philip’s Agent

and strenuous Assistant in gaining him this fatal Confidence; he, who reported his Falsehoods here, and imposed upon you so grossly; he, who now laments the Calamities of the Thebans, and sadly numbers over their Distresses, hath been the sole Author of whatever Miseries that People, and the Phocæans, and Greece in general have suffered. For it appears most manifestly, that although you have large Possessions, Æschines, in Bœotia, and cultivate the Lands of the unhappy Thebans, yet you are miserably affected at these Events, and sincerely weep over their Misfortunes; while I, whom Philip, who perpetrated these Mischiefs, demanded should instantly be delivered up to his Repentment, now certainly rejoice in their Destruction.

BUT I have accidentally fallen upon a Subject, which perhaps I can more conveniently speak to hereafter. I therefore return to the Proofs, that the Venality and Guilt of your Ambassadors have occasioned the present Situation of your Affairs. For after Philip had imposed upon you by their Perfidy, who during their Embassy had sold themselves to his Service, and had never made you a Report of your real Circumstances; when the wretched Phocæans had also been deceived, and their Cities rased to the Ground, what followed? The abominable Thessalians, and stupid Thebans imagined him their Friend, their Benefactor, their Saviour. He was every thing to them; nor would they listen to the Man, who seemed to insinuate the contrary. | Al-
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though

though you suspected, and resented his Conduct, yet you continued to maintain your Treaties (for impossible you could have attempted any thing alone with Success) and the other States of Greece, deceived like you, and disappointed of their Expectations, were unwilling to violate the Peace, although Philip had treated them, in numberless Instances, as if he had actually declared War against them. For when, extending his Conquests on every Side, he had subdued the Treballians and Illyrians, and even some Nations of Greece; when he commanded a very numerous and formidable Army, and when some particular Citizens of almost every Grecian State, who under Favour of the Peace had travelled into Macedonia, were corrupted by him (among which Number Æschines was one) then did he really commit Hostilities against those, for whose Destruction he had formed these Preparations. Whether they were sensible of his Designs, is another Question, in which I have no Concernment. I foretold; I constantly protested against his Proceedings, both here in Athens, and in every Country, where I was appointed an Ambassador. But all our Republics were infected with one common Distemper. The Magistrates of our Oligarchies were venal and corrupt. (4)

The

(4) This Passage is here translated in a Sense very different from that, in which it is understood by all our Translators and Commentators. Our Orator lays down this Position, *that the Republics of Greece were diseased.* αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσθον.

The Instances therefore, which he gives in Proof of this Assertion, should in strict reasoning be taken from the Conduct of different Republics, not from the Citizens in any one State. They will be then direct and conclusive. Let

The Citizens of our Democracies were either insensible of their Danger, or dissolved in continual Idleness and Luxury. Thus were they affected in general; while each of them in particular imagined, that the Mischiefs could never reach themselves, but that whenever they pleased they might establish their own Authority upon the Ruin of that of others. From thence, in my Opinion, it came to pass, that many democratical Republics, by an excessive and ill-timed Indolence, lost their Liberty; while the Oligarchical Magistrates, who intended to sell every thing but themselves, were sensible, that they themselves were first sold. For instead of the Names of Friends and Guests, by which they were usually distinguished, when they were receiving the Price of their Perfidy, they now hear themselves called Flatterers, and Enemies to the Gods, with every other Appellation of Abhorrence and Infamy, which they really deserve. For no Man ever lavished away his Treasures, O Men of Athens, with a View to the Advantage of those whom he corrupts; or when he has made himself Master of what he hath purchased, ever admits them again into his

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us now consider the Words, in which he hath expressed himself. τῶν μὲν, ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν, must necessarily mean the Magistrates, in whom the Direction of all political Affairs, and the executive Part of an oligarchical Government are placed; as πολλῶν and πλῆθυσιν are Terms, by which our Author usually expresses, not Multitudes or Numbers, but the whole Body of Citizens, in whom reside the Power and Authority of a demo-

cratical Republic. Doctor Taylor tells us, πολλῶν is not in the Harleian Manuscript, and that perhaps it was at first a Glossary of τῶν ιδιωτῶν. Here seems the original Mistake. τῶν ιδιωτῶν is rather the Glossary of τῶν πολλῶν. The Passage thus understood, the Conclusion is just and regular. Εἰτ' συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλῆθυσιν——τοῖς δὲ προεσηκῶσι, &c.

Counsels. Otherwise, nothing could be happier, than the Condition of these Traitors; but this, certainly this, is not their Condition. For whoever aims at arbitrary Power, and is successful in his Ambition, instantly becomes the Tyrant of those, who have given him his Authority, and by his own Experience conscious of their Wickedness, he then, certainly then, detests, distrusts, despises. / But consider the Circumstances of this Affair; for although the Time, in which it happened, be really passed, yet the Time of knowing it with Certainty is always present to the Wise. How long was Læsthenes called the Friend of Philip? untill he had betrayed Olynthus. How long was Timolæus? untill he had destroyed the Thebans. How long Eudemus and Simus? untill they had reduced Thessaly under the Power of Philip. Then driven into Exile, and treated with Ignominy, what Indignities did they not suffer? The whole World is full of those Traitors. Aristratus at Sicyon? Perilaus at Megara? are they not most abject and despised? From these Instances it is easy to perceive, that whoever most zealously defends his Country, and forms the most powerful Opposition to such Villainies, gives to you, Æschines, to these Traitors and Mercenaries, an Opportunity of receiving the Wages of Corruption; and when the Number is considerable, and the Opposition to your pernicious Counsels supported with Ardour, you then continue in perfect Security, and enjoy your Pensions; for left to yourselves, you had been long since totally undone.

ALTHOUGH I might greatly enlarge upon the Transactions of those Times, yet I imagine I have already said more than sufficient. His however be the Blame, who by pouring upon me, like a Drunkard in the Excess of his last Night's Wine, the Filthiness of his Malevolence and Villainy, hath compelled me to the Necessity of purifying myself before many of our Citizens, who were born since these Affairs were transacted. But perhaps you are already tired, and before I spoke were conscious of his Venality, which however he speciously calls Friendship and Hospitality. He just now somewhere distinguished me by this Character, "He, who reproaches me with being the Guest of Alexander." I reproach thee with being the Guest of Alexander? Whence couldst thou obtain, whence merit such an Honour? I never called thee Philip's Friend, or Alexander's Guest. I am not so absurd; unless we could with Propriety call our Mowers, or those, who labour for their Wages, the Friends and Guests of their Paymasters. But this were impossible. Yet I formerly called you the Hireling of Philip, and now of Alexander; as does this whole Assembly. If you disbelieve, ask them the Question; or let me ask it for you. Whether then, O Men of Athens, does Æschines appear to you the Hireling, or the Guest of Alexander? Do you hear their Answer? (5)

I SHALL now regularly make my Defence against this Indictment,

(5) Our Orator was probably hurried on by his natural Impetuosity to ask this hazardous

dictment, and recount to you my Conduct in Administration, that Æschines, however conscious of their Truth already, may hear upon what Reasons I hold myself worthy not only of this Decree of the Senate, but even of greater Honours. Read the Indictment.

The INDICTMENT.

UNDER the Archonship of Chærondas, the sixth of March, Æschines laid before the Archon an Indictment against Ctesiphon, for a Decree preferred by him in Opposition to our established Laws, and importing, “ that Demosthenes should
 “ be crowned with a golden Crown, and Proclamation thereof
 “ made in the Theatre, during the Festival of Bacchus, when
 “ the new Tragedians were to appear upon the Stage : that the
 “ People crowned him for his singular Merit ; for the Zeal he
 “ hath constantly preserved towards the States of Greece in
 “ general, and particularly the Athenian People : lastly, for
 “ his Magnanimity, and because in all his Words and Actions
 “ he hath endeavoured with Ardour and Alacrity to support
 “ the Constitution to the utmost of his Abilities.” This Indictment affirms, that every Article of this Decree is false, and a direct Violation of those Laws, which forbid any Falsehood to be inserted in our public Records ; or that the Person should be crowned, who hath not yet given in his Accounts : that

Demost-

hazardous Question, which, it seems, other Accounts of this Matter are unworthy of our Author, and ridiculous the Judges, who afterwards condemned in themselves ; consequently not worth Æschines, or perhaps by some of our repeating. Orator’s Party among the People. All

Demosthenes is at this Moment Surveyor of our Walls, and Director of our theatrical Funds: that the Crown should not be proclaimed in the Theatre, during the Festival of Bacchus, when the new Tragedians are entering upon the Stage: that if the Senate decrees a Crown, it shall be proclaimed in the Senate-House; if the People, in their own Assembly, in the Citadel. This Indictment is marked at fifty Talents. The Witnesses Cephisophon and Cleon.

THESE, O Men of Athens, are the Articles, to which Æschines hath objected. But even from these Articles themselves, I principally hope the Justice of my future Defence will appear. I shall follow the same Method he has pursued in his Indictment, and speak to them separately and in order, nor shall designedly leave any of them unmentioned. When Ctesiphon therefore affirms, that in all my Words and Actions, I constantly supported the Interests of the People; that I was always ready with the utmost Alacrity to render them every Service, to the utmost of my Abilities; and that upon these Accounts I am worthy of being praised, I imagine, the Decision of the Question will depend upon my Conduct in Administration; for when that hath been examined with Attention, it will be found, whether he hath pronounced concerning me with Truth and Candour, or with Partiality and Falseness. That he hath not added, “ he shall be crowned after having given in his Accounts;” that he hath ordered, “ the Crown shall be pro-
“ claimed

“ claimed in the Theatre;” these Articles also, I conceive, belong in common to my Administration; whether I am really worthy of the Crown, and Proclamation, with these peculiar Exceptions in my Favour. I besides acknowledge, it is incumbent upon me to produce the Laws, that empower Ctesiphon to prefer this Decree. Thus equitable, O Men of Athens, thus simple is the Method, I propose to follow in this Apology. I shall now proceed to my Conduct in Ministry; nor let any Man suspect, that I purpose to evade the Force of this Indictment, if I enter into a general Account of all the Services I have performed, and all the Orations I have made, for the common Interests of Greece. He, who arraigns this particular Article of the Decree, “ that I had constantly pursued the wisest and most honourable Measures;” he, who hath affirmed in his Indictment, that these Assertions are false; this Man hath rendered it proper and necessary for me to give an Account of my whole System of Administration. Besides, as there are many different Provinces in public Business; and as I had chosen that Department, which superintends the general Affairs of Greece, I may justly be permitted to deduce from them the Proofs and Arguments of my Defence.

THE Conquests and Usurpations of Philip before I was engaged in Administration, I shall pass over unmentioned; because I do not imagine, I can have any Concernment in them. But all the Designs, from the Day I entered into Ministry,

which he was hindered from executing ; these I shall now desire you to recollect ; of these I shall render an Account, and only premise at present, that Philip, O Men of Athens, was possessed of one important Advantage against us. Never, within the Memory of Man, appeared in Greece, not in any particular State, but equally in all, such an abundant Harvest of Traitors, and Mercenaries ; Wretches, devoted to divine Vengeance. These Wretches Philip employed as his Assistants, and Associates in the Work of Tyranny, and by their Means rendered the Grecians, ill disposed already towards each other, more violent in their Dissentions. Some he deluded ; to some he lavished out his Treasures ; others by every possible Method he corrupted ; and thus divided those Nations into a thousand Factions, whose common Interest should have united them in opposing his Power. In such a Situation ; in such universal Ignorance of the imminent and still increasing Mischief, it is your Duty, O Men of Athens, to consider, what Measures, what Conduct it became the Republic to pursue, and of these to demand from me an exact and punctual Account, because I then engaged in the Direction of Affairs.

TELL me therefore, Æschines, should the Republic have forgotten her wonted Magnanimity, and her ancient Glory, so far as to enlist under the same Banners with the Thessalians and Dolopians to promote the Tyranny of Philip over Greece, and thus deface all the glorious and honourable Monuments of

the Virtues of their Ancestors ? Or if this conduct must have been deemed unworthy of her (it indeed would have been most ignominious) yet ought she to have indolently neglected all Opposition to the Mischiefs, that she saw must necessarily happen, if not prevented, and which she probably had long foreseen ? (6) Yet many of the Nations, who have acted in this Manner, or rather all of them, have been treated with greater severity, than us, by the Conqueror. But if Philip, immediately after his Victories, had retired into Macedonia ; had he there continued in Peace, nor offered either to his own Allies, or to the rest of Greece, any farther Injuries or Insults, yet whoever had not opposed the Execution of his Projects, would now be justly liable to Reproach and Censure. But since he hath equally despoiled us all of Dignity, Power, Liberty, or rather, as far as was possible, even of the very Being of our civil Polity, did you not, when guided by my Counsels, confessedly maintain the most honourable Conduct ? But I return from this Digression.

WHAT Measures therefore, Æschines, did it become the Dignity of the Republic to pursue, when she beheld Philip preparing to extend his Dominion and Tyranny over Greece ? What

D d d 2

Advice

(6) We have here another Instance of Doctor Taylor's critical Sagacity, not unlike that in Page 364. There appears in all our Editions and Manuscripts a tedious Repetition of the same Sentiments, although somewhat differently expressed.

The Doctor imagines it a different Reading taken from the first and earliest Editions of our Authors. Upon his Authority, and the Arguments, with which it is supported, the present Translation.

Advice ought I to have given; what Decree should I have preferred, especially in Athens? (for this Circumstance is of highest Importance) I was conscious, that through all Time, to the very Day upon which I first ascended this Tribunal, my Country had ever contended for Sovereignty, for Fame and Honour; that she had expended more Blood, and more Treasures in her Zeal for the Glory and Interests of the Grecians, than any single State of those Grecians had ever expended for its own particular Safety. I saw Philip himself, with whom we maintained this Contest, after having lost an Eye, his Collar-bone broken, his Arm, his Leg maimed, yet still with Ardour pursuing his Projects of Empire and Dominion, and abandoning to Fortune, with Chearfulness and Alacrity, any other Part of his Body she pleased, so that he might enjoy the Remainder with Honour. Besides, no Mortal could have ever ventured to assert, that a Man educated in Pella, an obscure and inconsiderable Village, could have been animated with a Spirit capable of aspiring to the Sovereignty of Greece, or that such a Design could have ever entered into his Imagination; while you, Athenians as you are, and instructed in your earliest Education to behold and admire the glorious Examples of your Ancestors, could of your own meer Motion make a Surrender of the Liberties of Greece to Philip. No Man living would have ventured such an Assertion. It therefore of Necessity remained to oppose his Usurpations with Resolution. Thus did you act at the Beginning, with Justice, and
with

with Dignity. Thus did I decree, and advise, while I continued in Administration. I confess it; but indeed in what other Manner could I have acted? I ask you this Question, Æschines, without mentioning Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonesus: I do not mention them; Serrium, Doriscus, the taking Peperethus by Storm, and every other Instance of Injustice, with which the Republic had been treated, I will not even know whether they ever existed. You have however asserted, Æschines, as you can indeed very dextrously assert whatever you think proper, that I had often mentioned them, merely with an Intention of provoking Philip's Resentment; whereas in Fact, all the Decrees relating to them were preferred not by me, but by Eubulus, Aristophon and Diopithes. But I shall not speak at present to those Decrees. However, when Philip had made himself Master of Eubœa, and fortified that Island with a Design of making a Descent upon Attica; when he meditated his Expedition against Megara; seized upon Oreum, dismantled Porthmus, established the Tyrant Philistides in Oreum, and Clitarchus in Eretria; when he had subdued the Hellespont, besieged Byzantium, and among the Cities of Greece, had absolutely destroyed some, and obliged others to restore their Exiles; in all this Conduct did he commit any real Act of Hostility; did he dissolve the Treaties between us? Did he violate the Peace, or not? Should any of the Grecian States have appeared in Opposition to these Acts of Violence, or not? If they really ought not, and Greece,

according

according to the Proverb, should have been given up like a Mysian Conquest (7) to the first Invader, while the People of Athens were yet in Being, and even beheld these Transactions, I then confess, that I was trivially employed, when I gave my Advice, and the Republic was as trivially employed, when she followed that Advice. Be mine therefore all the Faults and Errors of her Conduct; yet if ever any Opposition were to have been formed against these Usurpations, whom could such an Opposition better have become, than the Athenian People?

SUCH was my Conduct in Administration during that Period. When I saw this Oppressor enslaving all Mankind, I opposed him; I foretold the Event, and remonstrated to you not to abandon the World to his Ambition. With regard to the Peace, it certainly was not violated by the Republic, Æschines, but by Philip, when he seized our Ships. Read the Decrees themselves, and Philip's Letter concerning that Transaction, in their proper Order; for by examining them both with Attention, it will manifestly appear, who was blameable in every particular of that Affair.

The DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Neocles, in the Month of September, an extraordinary Assembly being convened by the
Generals,

(7) *A Mysian Conquest* was a Proverb to express the Weakness of a State, such as that of the Mysians, when Telephus, their King, went by Advice of an Oracle to Achilles, to be cured of a Wound, that Hero himself had given him.

Generals, Eubulus the Cytherian, delivered his Opinion: Whereas the Generals have made Report to the Assembly, that Philip's Admiral Amyntas hath carried into Macedonia, and there detains in Custody, our Admiral Laodamas, with twenty Vessels sent to the Hellespont for the Importation of Corn; be it decreed, that the Presidents of the Senate, and the Generals take Care to convene the Senate, and that Ambassadors be sent to Philip, who shall remonstrate to him upon his releasing the Admiral, the Vessels and the Soldiers: that if Amyntas hath indeed acted in this Matter through Ignorance, the Athenian People will not prefer any Complaint against him; or if Laodamas shall be found to have acted in any Thing contrary to his Instructions, the Athenian People will take Cognizance of the Affair, and punish him according to the Nature of his Offence: but if neither of these appear to be the real State of the Case, but that some intentioned Injustice hath been committed either by Philip or his Admiral; then the Ambassadors shall return an Account of the Affair, that the People may deliberate upon proper Measures. Eubulus therefore, not Demosthenes, preferred this Decree; Aristophon another; afterwards Hegesippus; Aristophon a second Time; then Philocrates, Cephisophon, and many others. I never had any Concernment in these Measures. Read the Decree.

The DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Neocles, on the thirtieth of September,

tember, with Consent of the Senate; the Magistrates and Generals, having first made Report to the Senate of what had passed in the Assembly, declared that the People had determined, Ambassadors shall be sent to Philip to solicit the Restitution of their Ships, and that proper Instructions be given them, besides this Decree of the Assembly. Cephisophon, Democritus and Polycritus were elected; the Tribe Hyppothoon presided in the Senate, Aristophon, the President, made the Motion for this Decree.

As I produce these Decrees, so should you, Æschines, produce those, that I have preferred, by which you may convict me of having been the Occasion of the War. But impossible. If you had any such Decrees, it was your Interest to have immediately shewn them. Neither indeed does Philip himself impute any Blame to me with regard to the War, although he complains of others most severely. Read his Letter.

PHILIP'S LETTER.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, Greeting. Your Ambassadors are arrived here, and have remonstrated to me concerning the Dismission of those Ships, that Leodamas commanded. Upon the whole of this Matter, you appear to me to have acted with uncommon Weakness, if you could imagine, I am ignorant of the real Destination of these Ships, or their being sent under Pretence of transporting

transporting Corn from the Hellespont to Lemnos, but in Reality with Design to succour the Selymbrians, then besieged by me, and not comprehended in our Treaties. These Orders were given to your Admiral, without the Consent of the Athenian People, by certain of your Magistrates and others, who now are private Citizens, and have resolved by every possible Method to violate the Peace subsisting between us, and to renew the War. This Resolution they pursue with much more Earnestness, than that of succouring the Selymbrians, imagining, that such an Event will be an ample Revenue to them. I cannot however conceive, how it can promote our mutual Advantage. For these Reasons I restore the Ships brought into our Harbours; and if you are willing no longer to suffer these Ministers, by whom you are impelled to commit such Acts of Injustice; if you punish them, as they really merit, I shall endeavour to preserve our Treaties. Farewell.

THE Name of Demosthenes never once appears in this Letter, nor hath he charged me with having any Share in this Transaction. But wherefore, while he censures others, doth he not mention my Administration? Because, he must then have mentioned his own Usurpations. For upon them I had unmoveably fixed my Attention, and made them the principal Objects of my Opposition. I first decreed an Embassy to Peloponnesus, when he first secretly marched against Peloponnesus: then to Eubœa, when he attempted Eubœa: afterwards I proposed,

not an Embassy, but an Expedition to Oreum, and Eretria, when he had established his Tyrants in those Cities. Lastly, the Fleets, by which Chersonesus was preserved, and Byzantium, and all our Confederates, were appointed by my Decrees. A Measure from which you received the fairest of all Rewards; Praises, Fame, Honours, Crowns, and Gratitude from those, who were indebted to you for their Preservation. Among the Nations, oppressed by this Ufurper, they, who were directed by your Counsels, found in them their Deliverance: they, who slightly regarded your Advice, have had frequent Reasons to remember what you foretold, and to be convinced, that you were not only well affected to their Interests, but endowed with superior Wisdom, and even with a Spirit of Prophecy; for certainly whatever you predicted, the Event hath verified.

THAT Philistides would have purchased at any Rate the Possession of Oreum, and Clitarchus of Eretria; that Philip would have given a mighty Sum to have made himself Master of those Cities, from whence he might have annoyed the Coasts of Attica; and paid any Price, to have been secure against a Conviction of his other Ufurpations, or to prevent an Inquiry into the numberless Acts of Hostility committed against us, every Man is perfectly conscious, and you, Æschines, can least of all Mankind be ignorant. For the Ambassadors, who came hither from Clitarchus and Philistides, took up their Residence in your House, and you entertained them at the Expence of the Pub-

Public ; those very Ambassadors, whom the Athenians violently drove out of the City, and considered as Enemies, who neither offered Proposals just in themselves, or advantageous to the Commonwealth. These Enemies, however, of the Republic, were the Friends of Æschines. Are not these Things true, thou Slanderer ? Thou, who hast asserted, that I receive my Bribe, and am silent, but grow clamorous, when I have lavished it away. Not such however is your Practice. You are clamorous, even when you receive, nor will ever stop those clamours, unless our Judges impose an eternal Silence upon you, by branding you this Day with Infamy. (8)

BUT when I was crowned for these Services by your Order ; when Aristonicus proposed a Decree, in the very same Terms, that Ctesiphon hath now used (for this is the second Time these Honours have been conferred upon me) Æschines, though present, never opposed it, or indicted the Person, who preferred it. Read the Decree.

The DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Chærondas, on the twenty-fifth Day of January, the Leontidean Tribe presiding in the Senate, Aristonicus delivered this Opinion : Whereas Demosthenes hath rendered many and important Services to the People of Athens ;

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main-

(8) The Person, condemned under the Penalty of Infamy, was for ever incapable of pleading in any Court of Judicature.

maintained the Interests of their Confederates both in Times past, and in the present by his Decrees; restored some of the Eubœan Cities to their Liberty; given constant Proof of his Affection to the Athenian People, and, to the utmost of his Power, promoted their Interests and those of the other States of Greece in all his Words and Actions; it seemeth good to the Senate and People of Athens, that Demosthenes shall receive the Praises due to his Deservings; that he shall be crowned with a golden Crown, and the Crown itself be proclaimed in the Theatre, when the Festival of Bacchus is solemnized, and when the new Tragedians appear upon the Stage; that the Proclamation shall be committed to the Care of the presiding Tribe, and the Director of the public Games. Thus Aristonicus delivered his Opinion.

WHERE then is the Dishonour, the Derision and Laughter, or whatever else he assures us shall attend the Republic, as a Consequence of my being crowned at present? Certainly, when Affairs are recent, and universally known, if they have been happily conducted, they shall be rewarded with Thanks; if otherwise, stigmatized with Punishment. It is however apparent, that I was then rewarded with the general Thanks of my Fellow-Citizens, not stigmatized with Punishment or Censure.

DURING the Period therefore in which these Transactions
hap-

happened, it must be univerfally confefed, that I managed the Affairs of the Republic in the beft manner, becaufe whatever I propofed, whether fpeaking or writing, prevailed in your Councils; becaufe my Decrees, by which the Commonwealth, and I, and every Citizen of Athens were honoured with Crowns by the other States of Greece, were always carried into Execution; becaufe you folemnized Sacrifices and Proceffions to the Gods, for the wife and happy Conduct of your Affairs. When Philip therefore was driven out of Eubœa, by your Arms indeed, but by my Politics, (and though fome, who hear me, fhould even burft with Spleen) by my Decrees, he attempted to raife another Battery againft the Republic. Obferving that we imported a greater Quantity of Corn, than any other State, he determined to make himfelf Mafter of the Exportation of it from the Hellespont, and marching into Thrace endeavoured to prevail upon the Byzantians, who were at that Time his Confederates, to unite their Forces with him, and to declare War againft us. When they refufed, and afferted (as they might with utmoft Truth affert) that they had not entered into an Alliance with him upon fuch Conditions, he invefted their City; erected Batteries againft it, and befieged it in Form. I fhall not ask in what Manner we ought to have acted in fuch a Conjuncture. It is univerfally manifef. But who fuccoured the Byzantians and preferved them? Who prevented the Hellespont from being at that Time fubdued to a foreign Power? You did, O Men of Athens; when I fay you, I fay the Republic.

public. But who was he, that in all his Orations, Decrees and Actions, with Simplicity of Heart, and without Reserve, devoted himself to the Service of that Republic? I. (9) How universally advantageous were those Measures, you are not now to learn by my Oration; you have been convinced by their Effects. For that War, besides the honest Fame you acquired, supplied you with a larger Abundance of all the Necessaries of Life, and at a cheaper Rate, than this Peace, of which, to the Ruin of their Country, some of our very excellent Citizens, in View of their own future Expectations, are so religiously observant. In such Expectations may they for ever be disappointed, nor ever partake of those Blessings, which you implore of the immortal Gods in your warmest Affection for the Commonwealth, nor ever prevail upon you to engage in their Machinations. Now read the Decrees, by which the Byzantians and Perinthians crowned the Republic for these Measures.

DECREE of the BYZANTIANS.

BOSPHORICUS being Pontiffe, Damagetus, having obtained
Leave

(9) Medea's Answer to her Confidant, in Corneille, very much resembles the Boldness and Sublimity of this Passage.

*Vôtre pays vous hait, vôtre Epoux est
sans foi,*

Contre tant d'ennemis que vous reste-t-il?

MED. *Moi.* Act I. Sc. 4.

All France, says Turreil, hath felt and admired this Answer. But should not the Critic have acknowledged, how cold and spiritless the Beginning of the next

Line? *Moi, dis je, & c'est assez.* There is another Passage, of almost the same Kind, in this great Author.

JULIA. *Que vouliez-vous qu'il fit contre trois?*

HORACE. *Qu'il mourût.*

HORACE, Act 3. Sc. 6.

How much more forcibly might the Expression have been? *What would you have had him done against three? — Died.*

Leave of the Senate to deliver his Opinion, spoke thus in the Assembly: WHEREAS the People of Athens have in Times past constantly preserved a Spirit of Benevolence towards the Byzantians, and their Confederates and Kindred, the Perinthians; and whereas they have conferred upon them many and great Obligations, particularly in a late Conjunction, when Philip of Macedon invaded their Dominions, with Intention utterly to destroy their whole Nation; laying waste their Country with Fire, and cutting down their Forests; the People of Athens then sent us Succours of an hundred and twenty Ships with Provisions, Arms, and Soldiers; relieved us from imminent Danger, and restored to us our ancient Form of Government, our Laws, and the Sepulchres of our Ancestors; it therefore seemeth good to the Byzantians and Perinthians, to grant unto the Athenians the Rights of Intermarriage, the Privileges of Citizens, the Possession of Lands and Tenements, a distinguished Seat at all our public Games, a Freedom of entering into our Senate, and into the Assemblies of our People, next to those, who have the Superintendence of all religious Matters: furthermore, that whoever thinks proper to inhabit our Cities shall be exempted from all Taxes and Imposts: that three Statues, sixteen Cubits high, shall be erected at the Port of Byzantium, representing the Republic of Athens crowned by the Byzantian and Perinthian Republics: that Prizes shall be sent to the general Meetings of Greece at the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic and Pythian Games: that
the

the Crowns, with which the People of Athens are crowned by us, shall be there proclaimed, to the Intent that all the States of Greece may know the Magnanimity of the Athenians, and the Gratitude of the Byzantians and Perinthians.

Now recite the Decrees of the People of Chersonesus, when they sent Crowns to this Commonwealth.

The DECREE of the CHERSONESITES.

THE People inhabiting the Cities of Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, and Alopeconnesus, present the People of Athens with a golden Crown of sixty Talents Weight; and consecrate an Altar to Gratitude, and the Athenian People, because they have received from that People the greatest of all human Blessings, by being taken out of the Hand of Philip, and restored to their Country, their Laws, their Liberty and their Temples. These Benefits we shall through all Time gratefully remember, and return these Obligations to the utmost of our Power. Thus they unanimously decreed in their general Assembly.

My Counsels therefore, and my Administration not only preserved Chersonesus and Byzantium; not only prevented Philip from making himself Master of the Hellespont; not only acquired these Honours for the Republic, but made the Generosity of Athens, and the Perfidy of Philip, evidently manifest to all Mankind. For while he was actually an Ally and Confederate

federate of the Byzantians, yet he besieged them in the Face of the whole World, (an Action at once most infamous, and execrable) while you, although you had many just Reasons of Complaint against them for Injuries formerly committed, not only did not remember your Repentment, or abandon them, when they were oppressed, but openly appeared in their Defence. By this Conduct you gained universal Honour and Esteem. That indeed you yourselves have crowned many of your Citizens for the Wisdom of their Administration, no Man is ignorant. But that the Republic herself was ever crowned, I mean by any of her Senators or Orators, except by me, no Man living will venture to assert.

I SHALL now demonstrate, that his Invectives against the Eubœans and Byzantians, when he numbered over the Errors, which perhaps they had really committed against the Interests of the Commonwealth, are absolute Calumnies; not only because they are false in themselves (of which I presume you are perfectly convinced) but supposing them true, because I have employed them in such a Manner, as to have rendered them advantageous to your Affairs. To this Purpose, I shall briefly mention one or two Instances of your own Conduct, most honourable to the Republic. For every Citizen in his private, and every Nation in its public Character, should perpetually endeavour to excell in their future Actions, whatever they themselves have already

performed most reputable and glorious. (10) When the Lacedæmonians therefore, O Men of Athens, were absolute Masters both by Land and Sea; had furrounded Attica with Guards and Garrisons; had taken Possession of Eubœa, Tanagra, Bœotia, Megara, Ægina, Cleonæ and the adjacent Islands; when the Republic had neither Ships in her Harbours, nor Walls round her Capital, yet you marched to Haliartus, and a few Days afterwards to Corinth, although you might justly have resented the numberless Outrages, committed both by the Corinthians and Thebans in the Decelean war. (11) But you acted not thus ingloriously; far otherwise. The Athenians, Æschines, engaged in both these Expeditions, neither in gratitude for Benefits received, nor because they were insensible of their Danger; but because they would not abandon those, who fled to them for Protection. Then, ardent in the Pursuit of Honour and of Fame, they determined to expose themselves to the most formidable Perils; thus generously consulting at once their Interest and their Glory. For Death is the certain Period of Life to every human Creature, although he hide himself for Safety in his most secret Chambers. It therefore becomes the

brave

(10) This Passage hath been ill rendered by our Translators, except the Italian. *Perciocche l'huomo nelle sue private attioni, & una città nelle publiche, all' esempio delle piu belle opere sempre, che egli, ò ella ha fatte, debbe forzarfi di far l'altre cose, che à far gli rimangono.*

(11) Decelea was a little Village about fifteen Miles from Athens. Here the Lacedæmonians, by the Advice of Al-

cibiades, built a strong Fort, from whence they ravaged the open Country; kept Athens in perpetual Alarms, and often intercepted her Convoys of Provisions. The Importance of this Fort gave its Name to the War, although it was not built 'till the nineteenth Year of what is

generally called the Peloponnesian War.

THUCYDIDES. 7. Lib.

brave to attempt every honourable Enterprize ; opposing their Courage and their Hopes to the Danger, and resolute to bear with Fortitude, whatever God shall appoint. Thus acted our Ancestors ; thus acted some of our Citizens, who are yet living, when they succoured the Lacedæmonians, (12) certainly neither Friends nor Benefactors, but guilty of a thousand Acts of Injustice and Oppression with regard to the Republic. Yet when the Thebans, after their Victory at Leuctra, determined utterly to destroy them, you opposed their Oppressors, neither terrified by the Greatness of their Power, nor the military Reputation they had acquired ; neither considering the numberless Wrongs you had received from that very People, in whose Defence you now endangered your own Safety. By these Instances you made it evident to all the States of Greece, that however they might offend, you would reserve your Resentment for some other Occasion, and neither remember nor demand an Account of their Offences, when either their Safety, or their Liberty were in Danger.

F f f 2

NOR

(12) The Sentence in the Original is imperfect. The Verb, that should express *defending, succouring, relieving* the Lacedæmonians, does not appear in the Text. Οἱ Λακεδαιμονίαις. Doctor Taylor thinks it an Instance of that vehement and violent Spirit, which will not be confined by the Rules of Grammarians. Yet surely we might rather have expected to find such an Instance of Irregularity, unknown even to the Boldness and Licentiousness of Poetry, in some other Parts of this Oration, where the Passions might be supposed to have occasioned it,

than in the temperate Dignity of the Passage before us. Would not some of the ancient Orators have imitated, or the Critics have mentioned it with their usual Marks of Wonder and Approbation? Is it not more natural and simple to imagine, that ἐβλήθησαν, ἐσάωσαν, or some such Word, hath been lost by the Carelessness of Transcribers? However, we should be cautious of applauding these hazardous Beauties, which perhaps are only pardonable in their original Author, and are greatly liable to be abused by his Imitators.

NOR with regard to the Lacedæmonians only did you behave yourselves in this Manner, but when the Thebans invaded Eubœa, you did not indolently behold that Event, nor remember how you had been injured by Themison, and Theodorus in the Affair of Oropus, but succoured and relieved them. It was at this Period, that our Citizens, among whom I have a Right of being numbered, first voluntarily offered themselves to the Republic to support the Expence of fitting out your Gallies. But of this Matter hereafter. Yet however glorious your preserving that Island, still more glorious, when you became absolute Masters of its Cities and the Lives of their Inhabitants, that you honourably restored them to those, by whom you were thus injured, without demanding an Account of their Injustice, when they had placed this Confidence in your Integrity. A thousand other Instances I pass over unmentioned; the Sea-fights, Expeditions, Battles, in which, both formerly and within our Memory, the Republic engaged, in Support of the Liberties and Interests of Greece. When I beheld Her, upon so many and such important Occasions, voluntarily entering into these Contests in Defence of others, what Counsel should I have proposed, what Advice should I have given, where her own Safety was in some Measure under her Consideration? To remember her Resentments against those, forbid it Jupiter! who now solicited her Protection; and to seek for Pretences, by which we should have betrayed the common Cause of Liberty? Might not any of our Citizens have been justified in killing me, if I had attempted,
even

even in Words alone, to dishonour the ancient Glories of the Commonwealth? For that in Fact you were incapable of acting in so degenerate a Manner, I was perfectly convinced. If you had been thus inclined, what could have hindered you? Was it not undoubtedly in your Power? Were not Æschines and his Faction most assiduous in advising you to such Measures?

BUT I return to the regular Account of my Administration after this Period, and do you again consider, whether I have acted for the general Advantage of the Commonwealth. When I beheld your Marine, O Men of Athens, lying in Ruins, and the Rich for an inconsiderable Pittance exempted from the Taxes, that should support it; when I beheld your Citizens, of moderate and indigent Circumstances, despoiled of their Property, and the Republic perpetually too late in her Operations, I determined to establish a Law, by which I compelled the rich to act with Justice; protected the poor from Oppression, and, what was of infinite Importance, effectually provided, that the Commonwealth should always be ready, at the appointed Time, in all her military Preparations. When I was indicted upon an Action of preferring a new Law in opposition to those already established, I appealed to your Tribunal, and was acquitted; nor did my Prosecutor obtain the fifth Part of the Suffrages. (13) What Sums do you then imagine would our
principal

(13) This was an honourable Acquittal. When a Prosecutor had not a fifth
Part

principal Citizens, (14) appointed for the Equipment of our Gallies, have given me, not to have proposed this Law; or at least, to have suspended the immediate Prosecution of it, under the usual Forms of an Oath to propose it hereafter. (15) Such Sums, O Men of Athens, as in Truth I am ashamed to mention. Nor would they have acted imprudently; because by the former Laws sixteen of them were permitted to join in building a single Galley; from whence their Taxes were very inconsiderable, or rather absolutely nothing, while the poor were cruelly oppressed. But by my Law, every Citizen was obliged to contribute in proportion to his Fortune; and thus the Man, who before had contributed only a sixteenth part to building one Galley, was now obliged to build two at his own Expence. For they did not before call themselves Trierarchs, but Contributors. (16) Certainly there was not any Sum, they would not cheerfully have given to have evaded the force of the new Law, and not been compelled to act with Equity to their
Fellow-

Part of the Votes, he was generally fined in Proportion to the Importance of the Cause. This was done to discourage vexatious and litigious Prosecutions. Patrocles, who preferred this Indictment against our Orator, was fined five hundred Drachmas.

(14) Litterally translated, *They, who hold the first, second and third Rank in the Classes appointed to raise this Tax.* The Reader may find the Scheme, upon which our Author founded his Law, in the first Oration, first Volume.

(15) *Εν ὑπωμοσίᾳ.* A Law-Term,

signifying the Oath, by which the Decision of a Cause was put off. One of the Parties swore he was incapable of attending, either through Sickness, or some other Necessity, but would renew the Suit, as soon as possible.

(16) The Word *Trierarch* in its first and principal Sense signifies, *the Commander of a Galley.* In this, and many other Passages, it means the Person, appointed to build it. Our very excellent Italian Translator has not been attentive to this Difference; *i governatori delle galee.*

Fellow-Citizens. Now read the Decree, for which I was indicted. Then read the Schedule of Taxes appointed by our former Laws, and afterwards by mine.

THE DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Polycles, on the sixteenth of September, Demosthenes proposed a Law to the Board of Admiralty, repealing all former Laws, by which the Contributions of the Trierarchs were regulated. It was confirmed by the Senate and People. Patrocles preferred an Indictment against Demosthenes for this Violation of our Laws, and not gaining a fifth Part of the Suffrages, was fined five hundred Drachmas.

Now produce the very honest Taxes of our former Laws.

THE TAXES.

LET sixteen Trierarchs, from twenty five Years of Age to forty, be appointed for building one Galley, and let them equally contribute to the Expence.

Now read the Taxes proposed by my Law.

THE TAXES.

LET the Trierarchs be chosen, according to the Valuation of their Estates. If it amount to ten Talents, let them build one Galley; if to more than ten Talents, let them be taxed in proportion as far as building three Gallies and a Frigate; if to less, then let a Number be joined together, whose Estates amount to that Sum.

I

Do

Do I then appear to have inconsiderably relieved the Poor from their Oppressions, or would not the Rich have purchased at any Price a Power of continuing their Injustice? I do not therefore only triumph in my not having yielded to their Solitations, or in having been honourably acquitted when I was indicted, but in having established this salutary Law, and productive of such happy Effects. For during the whole Course of the War, while your Expeditions were conducted according to this new Regulation, no Trierarch ever complained of Injustice, or applied to you for Redress; none ever fled for Refuge to the Asylum of Diana's Temple at Munychia; none were ever thrown into Prison by the Comptrollers of the Navy; your Galleys were never taken by the Enemy, or detained in Harbour, unable to put to Sea by not being properly equipped. Yet all these Accidents often happened by your former Laws, because the Poor were incapable of paying their Taxes. From hence many insuperable Difficulties arose. But I removed the Expence of these Armaments from the Poor to the Rich, and then every thing was regularly conducted. I therefore imagine, that I am not unworthy of Praise, for having through my whole Course of Ministry constantly preferred such Measures, as at once added Reputation, Honour, Strength to the Republic, and that nothing envious, malignant, ill-natured; nothing abject, or unworthy of the Commonwealth ever appeared in my Administration. Upon these Principles I shall appear to have acted, not only with Regard to your Affairs, but to the
general

general Interests of Greece. In Athens I preferred not the Favour of the Rich to the Justice due to the Poor; nor in Greece preferred the Presents and Amity of Philip to the common Welfare of her States.

I THEREFORE imagine it only remains to speak to the Proclamation, and the Obligation of passing my Accounts before I am crowned; because I presume I have sufficiently proved, that I have ever acted for the Utility of the Republic; that I have always been zealous and ardent for its Welfare. I shall therefore pass over the principal and more important Measures I recommended, and carried into Execution during my Ministry, as I am convinced, that I ought first to justify myself against the Charge of having violated our Laws; and if I am silent afterwards with regard to the rest of my Administration, I believe your Conscioufness will give sufficient Testimony in my Favour. I cannot, by the Gods, imagine, you were much informed by the confused and perplexed Harangue, that Æschines made concerning the Laws, he had transcribed, (16) and many Parts of it I myself was utterly unable to conceive. However, I shall in perfect Simplicity follow the direct Path in considering the Justice and Legality of this Decree. For so far from asserting, that I am not obliged to render an Account of my Ministry,

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(16) Æschines had transcribed the Laws, that he asserted Ctesiphon had violated, upon a Tablet, *σενιδιον*, which he placed in public View in Opposition to the Decree, by which Demosthenes was to be crowned. This was *the Rule of Justice*, mentioned in Page 330, by which the People might discern the Disagreement between the Decree, and the Laws it contradicted. TAYLOR.

as he hath falsely and repeatedly affirmed, that I confess myself through my whole Life accountable for whatever Employments I have held, or whatever Measures I have recommended ; but for what I have voluntarily given out of my own private Fortune to the Public, I do maintain, I am at no Time liable to account. Dost thou hear, Æschines? Neither I, nor any other Citizen, although he had actually possessed the Dignity of one of our nine Archons. For where is the Law, so full of Injustice and Inhumanity, as to deprive that Man of the grateful Acknowledgements due to his Merit, who hath given any Part of his Fortune to his Country; or hath performed any humane and generous Action? Where is the Law, that delivers him up to the Mercy of Calumniators, and makes them Judges of his Liberality? There never was such an inhuman Law. If Æschines affirms the contrary, let him produce it. I shall acquiesce and be silent. But in Truth, O Men of Athens, there is no such Law in being. Yet because I was Treasurer of your theatrical Funds, when I generously gave those Sums to the Public, he therefore impudently asserts, “ The Senate conferred these Honours upon him, while he was yet accountable for that Employment”. But I received these Honours, not for any Employment, subject to account, but for my pure Liberality, thou Calumniator.

“ BUT you were Surveyor of our Walls;” yes, and even from that Office have I merited these Honours, because I expended
largely

largely of my own Fortune, nor charged my Expence to the Commonwealth. Accounts of public Money do indeed require a severe Inspection and Scrutiny; but voluntary Gifts justly demand Gratitude and Praise. Upon these Motives Ctesiphon preferred this Decree. That such hath ever been your Manner of Proceeding, not only confirmed by our Laws, but by our general Usages, I shall easily demonstrate by numberless Examples. First, Naucicles, Commander of your Forces, was often crowned for his Liberality. When Diotimus and Charidemus gave Shields to their Soldiers, they were honoured with Crowns. Neoptolemus, Director of several public Works, was also distinguished with this Honour for his Generosity. It were indeed deplorable that a Magistrate, while he exercises his Office, should be forbidden to give of his Bounty to the Republic, or instead of receiving Thanks for that Bounty, should be subjected to passing an Account. To evince the Truth of what I assert, read the Decrees relating to these Persons.

The DECREE.

DEMONICUS was Archon, when Callias, according to the Resolution of the Senate, on the twenty-sixth Day of September, delivered this Opinion: that it seemeth good to the Senate and People to crown Naucicles, Commander of their Forces, because when two thousand Athenian Soldiers were in Garrison at Imbros, whither they had marched to succour their Countrymen, established in that Island; and when Phi-

alon, appointed to provide for their Subsistence, was prevented by a violent Storm from failing thither, and from paying the Troops, he advanced their Pay out of his own Fortune, nor ever afterwards demanded it from the Republic. Let the Crown be proclaimed during the Festival of Bacchus, when the new Tragedians appear upon the Stage.

The DECREE.

WHEN the proper Magistrates had collected the Suffrages of the Senate, Callias thus delivered his Opinion : Whereas Charidemus, Commander of our Infantry in the Expedition to Salamis, and Diotimus, General of the Cavalry, did at their own Expence furnish with Shields eight hundred of our Soldiery, who had been plundered by the Enemy in the Battle at the River Cephissus : it therefore seemeth good to the Senate and People to crown Charidemus and Diotimus with golden Crowns, and that Proclamation thereof be made at the great Festival of Minerva, at the gymnastic Games, at the Festival of Bacchus, when the new Tragedians appear ; and that the proper Magistrates, the presiding Tribe, and the Directors of the Games, take Care, that this Proclamation be duly executed.

EACH of these Persons, Æschines, was indeed accountable for whatever Employment he held ; certainly not for the Generosity, by which he merited these Honours ; neither, consequently, should I be accountable for mine. I may with Justice claim the same Privileges with others, in the same Circumstances.

ces. I liberally gave, and for that Liberality I am honoured ; surely not accountable for what I have given. I have born Employments, and for them have passed my Accounts ; not for these Instances of my own Generosity. But, in the Name of Jupiter ! “ I have been guilty of strange Misdemeanors in the “ Discharge of these Employments.” As you were present, Æschines, when I passed my Accounts before the proper Officers, why did you not then prefer this Indictment ? But clearly to demonstrate, that he himself bears Witness for me, that I receive this Honour for those Actions, of which I am by no means obliged to render an Account, let the Secretary read Ctesiphon’s whole Decree. Because, by every Article of that Decree, to which he never made any Objection, he will appear in his present Prosecution an infamous Calumniator. Read.

The DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Euthycles, on the twenty-second Day of October, the Oenean Tribe presiding in the Senate, Ctesiphon delivered this Opinion : whereas Demosthenes, when he was appointed Surveyor of our Walls, expended and gave to the People, out of his own private Fortune, the Sum of three Talents ; and when he was Director of the theatrical Treasury, generously added an hundred Minæ to the common Fund for Sacrifices : (17) it seemeth good to the Senate and People of Athens,

(17) Wolfius acknowledges the Difficulty of this Passage, and gives his own Explanation of it, with the different Translations of it before his Time. Let us add the Italian, and an anonymous latin Translation. *Ha donato a tutti curatorì delle cose sacre cento mine per fare i sacrifici. Tradidit omnium tribuum ærariis centum minas pro supplicationibus peragendis.*

Athens, that Demosthenes shall receive the Honour due to his singular Merit, and to that Affection, which he hath always preserved towards the Athenian People ; that he be crowned with a golden Crown, and Proclamation thereof be made in the Theatre, during the Festival of Bacchus, when the new Tragedians appear, and that the Care of this Proclamation be committed to the Director of the Games.

THESE, Æschines, are the Particulars of my Liberality ; these you have not thought proper to arraign ; but the Honours, conferred upon me by the Senate as a Reward for that Liberality, these are the Objects of your Indictment. To receive Obligations therefore you acknowledge to be within the Law ; and do you esteem the Gratitude of repaying them, illegal ? If we were obliged to describe the most abandoned Profligate, detested by the Gods, and verily possessed with the most malignant Spirit of Envy, would not these, I here attest those Gods, be the Marks of his Character ?

WITH regard to Proclamations, I shall pass over a thousand Instances, and without even mentioning, that I myself have been often crowned in the Theatre. But in the Name of the immortal Gods, canst thou indeed, Æschines, be so perversely absurd ; so stupidly senseless, as not to be capable of discerning, that a Crown always conveys the same Honour to the Person, upon whom it is conferred, wherever it be proclaimed ;

but that the Proclamation is made in the Theatre, for the Benefit and Advantage of those, by whom it is bestowed? Whoever hears it proclaimed is animated with a more generous Ardour for the Interest of the Republic, and they, who bestow the Crown, and thus gratefully repay the Services, that deserved it, are more honoured, than the Person who receives it. Upon these Reasons the Commonwealth has founded the following Law.

The LAW.

THE Proclamations for Crowns granted by the Boroughs of Attica shall be made in their own respective Boroughs; but if the People and Senate of Athens crown any of their Citizens, it shall be permitted to proclaim them in the Theatre, during the Festival of Bacchus.

DOST thou hear, *Æschines*, the Law itself expressly declaring, “if the People and Senate of Athens crown any of their Citizens, let them be proclaimed in the Theatre?” Wherefore then, unhappy Man, dost thou utter these Calumnies? Wherefore invent these Falsehoods? Why dost thou not purge away this Madness of thy Brain with Hellebore? Art thou not ashamed of having urged this Prosecution, not for any Crime, committed against the State, but to gratify thy own malignant Spirit of Envy? Dost thou not blush for having corrupted some of our Laws, and quoted others partially, which ought in Justice to have been recited at length; especially before
Judges,

Judges, who are engaged by Oath to pronounce Sentence according to those Laws? Yet after having acted in this Manner, you enumerate the Qualifications, that should necessarily enter into the Character of a zealous and faithful Republican, as if you were giving Directions to a Sculptor, and had afterwards received a Statue greatly different from the Directions you had given; or as if a valuable Republican were to be described by your Words, not by his own Conduct, and the Measures he had proposed in his Ministry. (18) Then with Clamour and Vociferation, as if you were still in the original Cart of your Profession, (19) you utter a Language, without Distinction of fitting or unfitting, far better suited to thee, and thy Family, than mine. However, I conceive there is this Difference, O Men of Athens, between Invectives and a legal Prosecution, that Prosecutions have for their Objects some Crimes, for which the Laws denounce a proper Punishment; but Invectives

(18) Our Author laughs at Æschines for supposing, that a Minister of State could be exactly formed according to his Description. He makes no Allowance for the various Abilities and Virtues and Passions, that must enter into the Composition; and form perhaps the most complex Being of the Creation. He expects it should be complete and simple, as it appears in his Ideas. Thus he gives Directions to a Sculptor for a Statue, but will be miserably disappointed, if he imagines, he shall see it finished in every Feature, Lineament, and Attitude, according to those Directions.

The learned Reader will find the latter

Part of the Sentence rendered very differently from the Sense, in which it is understood by our Translators, and Commentators.

(19) ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης. *As if out of a Cart.* The Translator confesses, he has no Authority among our Commentators for applying these Words to the particular Cart, in which Thespis and his first strolling Comedians exhibited their Plays. Yet this Application gives a peculiar Spirit to the Passage, as it whimsically represents Æschines in this original Theatre of his Profession, which Demosthenes is always extremely careful to remember.

vectives have only those Expressions of Bitterness, which they, who hate each other, are apt to utter in Proportion to the natural Malignity of their Dispositions. Yet I cannot imagine, that our Ancestors erected these Courts of Justice, that you should assemble here, and listen to those atrocious Calumnies, with which we slander each other; but that we should legally accuse and convict whoever hath been guilty of any Crime against the Republic. Although Æschines was equally conscious, as I am, of this Truth, yet he hath chosen the Invectives of his Cart, rather than a legal Prosecution.

IT were however unreasonable, that he should go off in Triumph on this Occasion, and escape the Vengeance he hath provoked. I shall therefore regularly proceed upon that Consideration, when I have asked him the following Question. Whether, Æschines, may we pronounce you my Enemy, or that of the Republic? Mine undoubtedly. When it was however in your Power to revenge, in regular Course of Law, the Crimes I am now supposed to have committed, why did you totally neglect to prosecute me by an Examination into my Accounts, by an Indictment for the Laws I had transgressed, or by some other judicial Proceeding? Or when I was declared innocent in every Instance by the Laws themselves; by the stated Days appointed for my Arraignment, and by the Judgment frequently pronounced upon my Conduct; when I never was convicted of any one Action injurious to the Interests of my

Country; when the Republic certainly gained, according to particular Incidents and Conjunctures, a greater or less considerable Share of Glory by my Administration, hast thou now determined upon this Opposition? Be cautious however of being found an Enemy to the People of Athens in Reality, to me in Appearance.

SINCE you are now instructed how to pronounce Sentence according to Justice, and the religious Obligation of your Oaths, I hold myself compelled, (for so it appears) although not naturally fond of Invectives, to return some Answer to his Calumnies, and Falsehoods; to tell some necessary Truths concerning him, and to demonstrate both what he is in himself, and from what Ancestry descended, who with such Facility provokes, and talks Evil of others; who tears to Pieces some casual Expressions of mine, though he himself utters Things, of which, what good Man would not be ashamed? If Æacus, Rhadamanthus or Minos were my Accusers, not this Word-Catcher, this hackneyed Pettifogger, this miserable Scrivener, I do not imagine they would have treated me with such injurious Language, or with such Insolence, as when, like an Actor in a Tragedy, he cried out aloud, O Earth, and Sun, and Virtue, with other Exclamations of the same Kind; and again, when he invoked that Intelligence and Erudition, by which we distinguish between Things beautiful and deformed. You yourselves heard him talk this extraordinary Language. What Commerce, thou Impurity,

purity, hast thou, or thine, with Virtue? What Knowledge to distinguish between Things beautiful and deformed? Whence could you have acquired such Discernment, whence claim the Merit of such a Talent? Canst thou presume to talk of Erudition? They, who have indeed acquired a larger Portion of it, never boast of the Possession themselves, and blush whenever it is mentioned by others. But it happens to those, who are totally uneducated like you, that in meer Want of common Sense they assume the Appearance of it, and torture their Hearers with the Vanity of displaying it, but never persuade them into an Opinion of their Learning.

ALTHOUGH certainly not a Loss for Matter in Abundance concerning thee and thine, yet I am really at a Loss where to begin. Whether that your Father Tromes was a Slave in Fetters to Elpias, the Schoolmaster, who taught Children their Alphabet near the Temple of Theseus; or that your Mother exercised her daily Matrimony in a Brothel near the Statue of Calamites, the Hero, and there educated this very lovely Picture of a Man, this first-rate Actor of third-rate Characters? Or that Phormio, the Galley-Trumpeter, and a Slave of Dion's, first raised her from this honourable and virtuous Employment?

BUT by Jupiter and all our Deities, I am apprehensive, while I am thus treating thy Character with strictest Propriety, that I shall appear to talk a Language ill-suited to my own

Manners and Reputation. I shall therefore avoid it hereafter, and will here begin the History of his proper Life. He is now no longer one of the Vulgar; one of the unknown; but eminently distinguished----by being devoted to Destruction by the general Execrations of our People. For lately; do I say lately? even Yesterday, or the Day before, he became at once an Athenian, and an Orator. Then adding two Syllables to his Father's Name, instead of Tromes he calls him Atrometus; and very solemnly decorates his Mother with the Title of Glaucothea, whom we all remember by the Surname of Empusa, in Honour of the various Forms she could assume on certain Occasions, and her ready Compliances, doing or suffering. What other possible Account of such an extraordinary Appellation? Yet thou, ungrateful as thou art, and malevolent in thy Nature, though raised from Slavery to Freedom, from Indigence to Riches, by the Favour of our People, art so far from repaying these Obligations with Gratitude, that thou hast sold thyself to their Enemies, and employed all the Powers of thy Administration to their Destruction!

Whatever appears in his Orations, by which his Intentions with regard to the Republic can possibly admit of a Dispute, I shall pass over unnoticed; but whatever he hath been openly convicted of acting in Favour of our Enemies, I shall desire you to recollect. Who does not remember the disfranchised Antiphon? He had promised Philip to set Fire to your Arsenals, and

and came hither secretly for that Purpose. When I had seized him, lurking in the Pyræum, and dragged him before an Assembly of the People, this Traitor, by loud and repeated Clamours, “ that I had outraged the Liberty of the Constitution ; “ insulted an unhappy Citizen in his Misfortunes, and unwarrantably broke into his House,” prevailed to have the Criminal dismissed ; and unless the Areopagus, perceiving the Villainy of the Affair, and sensible of your Imprudence at so critical a Conjunction, had ordered strict Search to be made after that execrable Incendiary ; unless they had arrested, and brought him before you again, he had been violently wrested out of the Hands of Justice, and escaped with Impunity under the Protection of this pompous Declaimer. On the contrary, you put him to the Torture, and then sent him to his Execution, as you ought in Justice to have treated his Advocate. But when with the same Imprudence, which had often produced most unhappy Consequences to the Public, you appointed Æschines your Deputy to the Congress of the States at Delos, the Areopagus, who were perfectly well informed of every Circumstance of his Conduct with regard to Antiphon, and to whom you had given the sole Cognizance, and absolute Determination of the Affair, instantly turned him, like a Traitor, out of his Employment, and nominated Hyperides your Deputy. Such was the Decision of the Senate, and executed with all the religious Ceremonies of approaching the Altar in giving their Suffrages,

frages, when not one Suffrage was given to this unhallowed Villain. In Atteftation of thefe Facts call me the Witneffes.

The WITNESSES.

The following Perfons, Callias, Zeno, Cleon, and Demonicus, bear this Teftimony to Demofthenes; that when the People had elected *Æſchines* their Deputy to fupport the ſacred Rights of the Temple at Delos, in the general Affembly of the Amphiſtyons, we being met in Council adjudged *Hyperides* to be much more worthy to plead the Cauſe of the Republic, and *Hyperides* was accordingly elected.

As *Æſchines* therefore was appointed to this Office; as the Senate excluded him, and preferred another, it then openly declared him a Traitor, and an Enemy to his Country. You have here one gallant Inſtance of his Politics, and which certainly bears a near Reſemblance, does it not? to thoſe Crimes, whereof I am accuſed. I ſhall now deſire you to recollect another. When Philip ſent *Python* hither, and with him the Ambaſſadors of all his Confederates, with an Intention of expoſing the Republic to univerſal Shame, and proving, that ſhe had violated the Laws of Nations, I yielded not to that insolent O-
 rator, nor gave Way to the impetuous Torrent of his Declamation. I roſe, and replied; nor did I, like a Traitor, give up the Juſtice of your Cauſe, but ſo manifeſtly convicted Philip of Perfidy and Injuſtice, that even his own Confederates aroſe and acknowledged the Charge. Yet *Æſchines* was an Advocate
 for

for Python : not only was a Witness, but even a false and perjured Witness. Nor were even these Treasons sufficient. He was soon afterwards found in Thrafo's House in secret Conference with Anaxinus, the Spy of Philip. But undoubtedly, whoever secretly confers and holds Correspondence with an Emiffary of our Enemies, is himself in the very Nature of Things, a Spy, and an Enemy to his Country. In Proof of these Assertions, let the Witnesses be called.

The WITNESSES.

CALLIDEMUS, Hyperides, and Nicomachus, having been duly sworn before the Generals, deliver this Testimony in Favour of Demosthenes : That they saw Æschines entering by Night into the House of Thrafo, and their holding secret Conference with Anaxinus, who was generally reputed the Spy of Philip. This Testimony is dated the third of July, under the Archonship of Nicias.

A thousand other Proofs of his Villainy I pass over unmentioned, for in general such was his Conduct. Besides, I could now give you many other still more flagrant Instances of his having, through that whole Period, like a Slave maintained the Interests of your Enemies, and pursued me with perpetual Vexations. But Facts of this Kind make not any just Impression upon your Memories, nor excite that Indignation they deserve. You have indulged (by unhappy Custom) an unbounded Licence to every Declaimer, who thinks proper, to supplant and calumniate

luminate the Citizen, who proposes to you the most salutary Counsels, and thus exchange the real Advantages of the Commonwealth for the trivial Pleasure and Gratification of listening to Calumnies and Invectives. From thence, it becomes more easy, and far less dangerous for them, who are fervilely devoted to your Enemies, to receive the Reward of their Perfidy, than for a faithful Citizen, and zealous of your Welfare, to accept of an Employment in your Administration.

BEFORE the War was openly proclaimed it was impious, O Earth and Heaven! to have assisted Philip. Can the Charge of Impiety be denied in an Act of Treason against our Country? Pardon him however, if such be your good Pleasure; pardon this Impiety. But when our Ships were openly plundered, Cheronefus laid waste, and Philip had invaded even the Territories of Athens; when the Affair was no longer Matter of Doubt, but Hostilities were actually commenced, yet this Sychophant, who mouths his Iambics so tragically, hath not one Decree, whether of greater or less Importance, to produce for the Advantage of the Republic. If he dares assert the contrary, let him produce it in these Hours allotted for my Defence. But there is not any such Decree. From whence, one of these two Consequences must necessarily follow, either that he was incapable of finding Fault with my Conduct, and therefore did not offer any other Decrees; or being solicitous to promote the Interests of our Enemies, was determined not to propose any
better

better Measures. But when he found a Possibility of working any execrable Mischief, did he still refuse to prefer any Decree? Was he still obstinately silent? No. He would not then suffer any one else even to speak.

His other, secret Practices, the Commonwealth might perhaps have endured; but one daring Act of Villainy hath crowned and compleated all the former. That Act, upon which he consumed so considerable a Part of his Harangue, when he seemed determined utterly to pervert the very Nature of Truth by a perplexed and tedious Enumeration of Locrian Decrees and Resolutions. But impossible. How can Truth be perverted by Falsehood? It is not, *Æschines*, in the Multitude of Words to wash away the Guilt of this Transaction. But I here invoke, O Men of Athens, in your Presence, all our Gods and Goddesses, who graciously preside over these Territories, especially the Pythian Apollo, the God of our Ancestors, and implore them all to grant me Happiness and Health, as I now speak truly, or as I truly spoke in your Assembly, when I first perceived (for I perceived; and instantly perceived) this unhallowed Wretch engaging in these execrable Designs. But if in personal Enmity to him, or Love of Opposition, I now accuse him falsely, may those Gods render me for ever incapable of enjoying the Blessings I possess. But wherefore this earnest Invocation, or why these vehement Exclamations? Because, although I can indisputably prove the Facts, whereof I shall accuse him, by our public Records; although I am persuaded,

that you yourselves perfectly remember the whole Transaction, yet I am apprehensive he may be deemed too inconsiderable to be capable of working such enormous Mischiefs. Thus it happened before, when he brought hither his Falsehoods from Macedonia, and utterly wrought the Destruction of the miserable Phocæans. For Æschines was the sole Contriver of the Amphissæan War; that War, by which Philip got Possession of Elataæ; by which he was elected Commander in Chief of the Amphictyons, and overturned the whole imperial Constitution of Greece: Æschines alone was the Cause of all our severest Misfortunes. When, at the Moment, I entered my Protest against him, and cried aloud in the Assembly, “ You bring a War, Æschines, into Attica; the Amphictyonic War,” some of his Party, convened by him for that Purpose, would not suffer me to proceed; while others were astonished, and even suspected, that in personal Hatred I had charged him with an imaginary Crime. Now hear, O Men of Athens, since you were not then permitted to hear, the Nature and Circumstances of this Affair; with what View the Project was contrived, and how it was carried into Execution. You will behold a Scheme admirably well concerted; you will receive no inconsiderable Lights with regard to this Period of your History, and observe how great was Philip’s Dexterity, and Address.

It was impossible for him to expect a happy Issue of the War, or to be relieved from its Distresses, except he could en-
gage

gage the Thebans and Theſſalians in a Quarrel with this Republic. For although your Generals conducted the War againſt him unfortunately, and with very unequal Abilities, yet the War itſelf, and our Privateers wrought him a thouſand Miſchiefs. He could neither export the Produce of his own Kingdom, or import whatever Neceſſaries he wanted from other Countries. He was neither, at that Time, ſuperior to us by Sea, nor powerful enough by Land to have invaded Attica, if the Theſſalians had not followed his Standards, or the Thebans opened him a Paſſage through their Dominions. Whatever Superiority he gained over the Generals, ſuch as they were (for their Characters are not at preſent under our Conſideration) whom you employed againſt him, yet by the Nature and Situation of the Country, where the War was carried on, and by ſome Advantages we mutually enjoyed, he was infinitely diſtreſſed. If he ſhould attempt, upon Motives of his own perſonal Enmity alone, to induce the Theſſalians and Thebans to invade us, he was convinced, they would pay him very little Attention ; but if, by aſſuming the ſpecious Appearance of a common Cauſe, he could be choſen General of the Amphiſtyons, he then hoped to ſucceed more eaſily, either by Artifice or Perſuaſion. What therefore was the Plan he propoſed ? Behold how admirably concerted. To kindle a War againſt the Amphiſtyons, and to raiſe Diſſentions in their Counſels at Thermopylæ, from whence he preſumed, they would immediately apply to him for Aſſiſtance. If however he ſhould em-

ploy either his own Deputies, or those of his Confederates in the Scheme, he was justly apprehensive, that the Thebans and Theſſalians would ſuſpect him, and the Grecians in general be more upon their Guard. But if an Athenian; a Deputy, appointed by a People, who had declared themſelves his Enemies, would negotiate the Affair, he doubted not, as in Fact it happened, that he ſhould conceal his Deſign. But how did he execute his Project? He bribed this Traitor. Then, while we were in general, I believe, unapprehenſive of their Intentions, or (as it uſually happens in your Affairs) not ſufficiently careful to prevent their taking Effect, it was propoſed to ſend Æſchines Ambaſſador to the Congreſs at Thermopylæ, and when three or four of his own Faction had given him their Suffrages, he was declared duly elected. Being thus inveſted with the Authority of the Republic, he entered into the Council of the Amphiſtyons, and there, neglecting and treating every other Conſideration with Contempt, he ſtudiouſly applied himſelf to perfect the great Work of his Corruption. Having compoſed a very ſpecious Harangue, and diſplayed his Invention in a fabulous Story of the Conſecration of the Cirrhæan Lands, he ſo far impoſed upon the Deputies, Men unexperienced in the Subtleties of Eloquence, and little ſagacious to foreſee the Conſequences of their Compliance, as to perſuade them to decree, that a Survey ſhould be taken of the Territories, which the Amphiſſæans aſſerted to be their Property, and had therefore cultivated, but which Æſchines with loud Accuſations of Sacrilege affirmed

affirmed to have been dedicated to Apollo, although the Locrians never had instituted any Suit against us upon a Claim of Imposts or Customs, as he hath most untruly pretended in his Harangue. You will be convinced by this only Consideration. It was impossible for them to have instituted any Suit against the Commonwealth, unless they had first sent us a regular Citation. But who ever sent us such a Citation? From what Power and Authority was it issued? Shew us, Æschines, the Man, who knows, and will assert the Fact. Impossible. The whole is an Abuse of Truth; a vain and idle Pretence of your own Invention.

WHEN the Amphiçtyons therefore, by his Suggestions, went to survey these Lands, the Locrians suddenly fell upon them, and had well nigh destroyed them with their Arrows. Some of the Deputies were taken Prisoners. When this Contest arose, and War was declared against the Amphissæans, Cottyphus was appointed General of the Amphiçtyonic Forces. But when several States either did not appear at the Congress, or, if they did appear, were totally inactive, some of the Thessalians, who had long been Traitors to their Country, and certain
Citizens

(20) It was a wise Institution, that whatever Disputes happened between any two Grecian States, a third should be chosen as Umpire, to whose Decision they should be obliged to submit. This third State issued out Citations, or Summons to the Parties concerned, with all the Forms of a regular Process. If the Locrians therefore had demanded any new Customs, or Imposts in their Ports of the Athenians, they must have sued for them under the Authority of some other Republic, whose Citations would now appear upon Record. We are obliged to Doctor Taylor for this Explanation of the Passa ge.

Citizens of other Republics, instructed for the Purpose, instantly proposed Philip at the next Assembly to be Commander in Chief, and alledged many very plausible Reasons in Favour of their Proposal; “ That either they must be obliged to bring in
 “ Contributions themselves; to maintain a Body of foreign
 “ Troops, and to punish those, who refused to comply with
 “ their Orders, or to elect Philip their General.” What need I say more? Upon these Reasons he was elected; when instantly assembling his Forces, and entering on a feigned March to Cyrrha, he heartily bids farewell to the Cyrrhæans and Locrians, and seizes upon Elataæ. At this Moment therefore, if the Thebans had not suddenly changed their Resolution, and united with you, this whole Project, like a Winter’s Tempest, had precipitately fallen on the Republic. Thus, principally, by the favourable Interposition of some God, O Men of Athens, and next, as far as lies within the Power of any one Man, by my Services, did the Thebans instantly check the Progress of this Destroyer. Now let the Secretary read the several Resolutions of the Congress at Thermopylæ, with their respective Dates, that you may behold what Mischiefs this detestable Villain occasioned, for which he hath to this Moment escaped your Vengeance. Read.

RESOLUTIONS of the AMPHICTYONS.

UNDER the Pontificate of Clinagoras, in a Spring-Council held at Thermopylæ, the Deputies and Assistants of the Amphictyons

phictyons entered into the following Refolution : ¶ Whereas the Amphiffæans do now trespafs upon, cultivate and graze Cattle on the Lands consecrated to Apollo, it is resolved, that the Deputies and their Assistants shall take a Survey of those Lands ; mark out the Bounds with Pillars, and forbid the Amphiffæans ever to enter upon them for the future. ¶

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

UNDER the Pontificate of Clinagoras; in a Spring-Council held at Thermopylæ, it is resolved by the Deputies, Assistants and general Assembly of the Amphictyons : ¶ Whereas the Amphiffæans have divided among them ; do now cultivate, and graze Cattle on the Lands consecrated to Apollo ; and whereas, when they were forbidden to act in this sacrilegious Manner, they appeared in Arms, and repelled by Force the common Council of Greece, and wounded some of their Deputies, particularly Cottyphus, appointed General of the Amphictyons ; be it therefore resolved, that an Embassy shall be sent to Philip, to solicit him to assist Apollo and the Amphictyons, and not indolently behold the God insulted by these profane Amphiffæans, and to acquaint him, that all the Grecians, assembled in Council at Thermopylæ, do for that Purpose elect him Commander in Chief of their Forces, with full Power and Authority to act, as he shall find expedient. ¶

Now read the Dates of these Resolutions, from whence it will appear, that Æschines was your Deputy at that Period. ¶ Read.

The

The DATES.

UNDER the Archonship of Mnecithides, the sixteenth Day of February.

Now give me the Letter, that Philip sent to his Confederates in Peloponnesus, when the Thebans refused to obey his Orders. By that Letter you will clearly perceive he concealed his real Design, such as the Destruction of Greece, of Thebes, and Athens, under an Appearance of Zeal for the common Cause, and Obedience to the Decrees of the Amphictyons. But the Traitor, who furnished him with Opportunities of executing these Projects, and assuming these Pretences, was Æschines. Read.

PHILIP'S LETTER.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, to all the Magistrates of his Confederates in Peloponnesus, and to all his other Allies, Greeting. Whereas the Locrians, Inhabitants of Amphissa, have impiously violated the Temple of Apollo in Delphos, and laid waste the consecrated Lands, I am determined, in Conjunction with you, to assist the God, and to take Vengeance of a People, who have violated whatever is held sacred among Mankind. For this Purpose, you are required to join me at Phocis, completely armed, and furnished with Provisions for forty Days, on the next ensuing Month, which we Macedonians call Loiis, the Athenians Boedromion, and the Corinthians Panemon. We shall afterwards proceed in our Conduct by the general

Advice of those, who join us with all their Forces, and shall certainly chastise those, who do not obey our Orders. Farewell.

BEHOLD, how he avoids mentioning his real Motives, and conceals himself under his Zeal for the Amphictyons. But who concerted these Measures with him, and cooperated with him in the Execution? Who furnished him with these Pretences? Who was the principal Author of all our Calamities? Was not this Traitor Æschines? Do not therefore, O Men of Athens, as you walk and converse together, ascribe the Miseries of Greece to one Man alone. Not by one Man alone, I here attest the Powers of Earth and Heaven, but by a Multitude of abandoned Wretches, dispersed through all our Republics, and among whom Æschines may be justly numbered, have we been thus totally undone; this Æschines, whom, if it were necessary to make the plain and unreserved Declaration, I should not hesitate to declare the universal Ruin of all the Men, the Territories and Cities, that have been destroyed in Consequence of these fatal Measures, because, whoever sows the Seed, is Author of the Harvest: this Æschines, from whom, I am astonished, that you do not instantly turn away, whenever you meet him, with Aversion and Horror. But thick and impenetrable is the Darkness, for so it appears, that hath intervened between you and Truth.

IT hath happened, while I have thus lightly touched upon his Perfidy to his Country, that I have regularly come to the

Measures, by which I opposed his Treasons, during my Administration. These you are upon many Accounts obliged in Justice to hear me relate, but especially because, if I have in Fact endured such Labours for your Service, it would be shameful indeed, O Men of Athens, if you were unable to endure the simple Recital of them. For when I beheld the Thebans, I had almost said, beheld even the Athenians themselves, so far seduced by Philip's Agents, and the Wretches he had corrupted both in Thebes and Athens, as to be regardless of, and unattentive to Philip's future Greatness; an Object of equal Terrour to both Nations, and requiring their utmost Attention; when I beheld you rather prompt to injure and oppose each other, I was perpetually anxious to prevent a Rupture between you. Neither did I rely upon my own Judgement only for the Expediency of these Measures, but was convinced by the Conduct of Aristophon, and afterwards of Eubulus, who always endeavoured to promote this Friendship between the Nations; and while they differed upon many other Points of Administration, yet in this they constantly agreed. These two great Persons, when living you followed with a servile Adulation, thou vile, pernicious Animal, and now do not blush to outrage their Memory after their Death. For whenever you censure me with regard to the Thebans, you condemn their Conduct, much more than mine, who before I entered into Ministry had constantly approved of this Alliance. But I return from this Digression to inform you, that when Æschines had
had

had thus kindled the Amphiffæan War, and his other Accomplices had effectually fet us at Variance with the Thebans, Philip took that Opportunity of invading us, for the sake of which they had fomented these Quarrels between the Republics; and if we had not a little roused us from our Lethargy, we should never afterwards have been able to recover our Strength; to such an Extreme had they precipitately driven the Affair. In what Manner you were then affected towards each other, will best appear by your Decrees and by Philip's Answer, which I desire may be read.

The DECREE.

UNDER the Archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth of March, the Erecthean Tribe exercising the Prytanic Power, it is resolved, with the Advice and Opinion of the Senate and the Generals; that whereas Philip hath made himself Master of some Towns upon the Frontiers of Attica, and actually demolished others; and whereas he was now meditating an Invasion of our proper Territories, setting at nought our mutual Treaties, and determined to violate those Oaths, by which they were ratified; thus acting in Contempt of the Peace concluded between us, and our public Faith mutually given and received; it therefore seemeth good to the Senate and People to send Ambassadors to him, who shall remonstrate upon his Proceedings, and exhort him especially to preserve the good Concord and the Treaties subsisting between us; or if he be otherwise de-

terminated, to grant the Republic Time for their future Counfels and a Truce until May. The Senators, Simus, Euthydemus, the Philafian, and Olagoras, were chofen for this Embaffy.

ANOTHER DECREE.

UNDER the Archonfhip of Heropythus, on the thirtieth of April, the Commander in Chief of our Forces made this Motion; whereas Philip hath attempted to alienate the Thebans from us, and is now preparing to make an Irruption with all his Forces into a Country fituated upon the Frontiers of Attica, in open Violation of the Treaties fufifting between us; it therefore feemeth good to the Senate and People to fend an Herald and Ambaffador to expoftulate with him, and exhort him to grant us a Truce, that the People may deliberate upon this Exigency; becaufe they have not yet determined to fend him any the leaft Succours, in his War againft the Amphiffæans. (21) The Senators, Nearchus, and Polycrates were chofen Ambaffadors; and Eunomus, the Plebeian, was appointed Herald. Now read his Anfwer.

PHILIP'S Anfwer to the ATHENIANS.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, Greeting. I am not ignorant of your original Intentions

(21) We have feen Philip's Demand of Succours againft the Amphiffæans, in Virtue of the Amphictyonic Decree, and the Menaces, with which it is concluded. Thefe were probably levelled at the Athenians particularly; and we now fee him marching towards Athens, as if to put thefe Menaces into Executi-

on. He could have no other Pretence for invading them, or they for defiring Time to deliberate, but becaufe *they had not yet determined to fend him the Succours he demanded.* The Paffage is acknowledged desperate, and incapable, fays Doctor Taylor, of any Senfe yet given to the Words.

Intentions towards us, nor with how much Earnestness you have endeavoured to gain over the Theſſalians and Thebans, and even the Bœotians to your Meaſures. But when they reſolved to follow wiſer Counſels, and not to ſubmit their Inclinations to your arbitrary Decisions, but to be guided by their own apparent Intereſt, you now change your Manner of acting, and ſend Ambaſſadors and Heralds to bid us recolleſt our Treaties, and to demand a Truce, although you have never ſuffered any Act of Hoſtility from our Arms. Having given Audience to your Ambaſſadors, we comply with your Demands, and ſhall readily grant the Truce you deſire, provided you remove from your Councils the Perſons, who have ill adviſed you, and inflict on them that Infamy they merit. Farewell.

PHILIP'S Anſwer to the THEBANS.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Thebes, Greeting. I have received your Letter, by which you renew that Harmony and Peace ſubſiſting between us. I am beſides informed, that the Athenians have uſed every Solicitation to induce you to comply with their Requeſts; and I confeſs, I did at firſt imagine, you would be perſuaded, by the Hopes with which they flattered you, to follow the Meaſures they propoſed. But being now fully convinced, that after having inquired into the State of your Affairs, you chooſe rather to maintain your Treaties with us, than to be guided by the Counſels of others, I have felt a very ſenſible Satisfaction.

But

But while I greatly approve of your Conduct in general, I must particularly applaud your Prudence in this Affair, and the Regard you have manifested for my Friendship; from whence I hope you will derive no inconsiderable Advantages, if you continue firm in your Resolution. Farewell.

PHILIP, by these Artifices, raised a mutual Jealousy between the two Cities, and being now greatly elated with your Decrees and his Answers, he marched with all his Forces and reduced Elataea; as if he were persuaded, that, whatever he attempted, you and the Thebans would never unite to oppose him. You all remember the Tumult and Commotion, that rose in the City upon the Occasion, yet permit me to mention some few Circumstances, that require your present Attention. It was Evening, when a Messenger arrived and informed the Magistrates, that Elataea was taken. Having instantly risen from Supper, some of them rushed into the Forum, drove the Tradesmen from their Shops, and burnt the Sheds, that covered them; others sent for the Generals, and called for a Trumpeter, and the whole City was full of Confusion. Next Morning, as soon as Day appeared, the Magistrates convoked the Senate to their usual Place of meeting, while you ran with Earnestness to your Assembly, and before the Senators had debated the Affair, or come to any Resolution upon it, the whole People had already taken their Seats in their usual Court. (22) When the Senate

was

(22) There are many Particulars in this Description, that deserve our Attention.

was afterward assembled, the Magistrates made their Report of the Advices they had received, and introduced the Messenger, who related the Affair. The Crier then made Proclamation, WHO IS WILLING TO GIVE HIS OPINION? No one appeared. The Question was frequently repeated without Success, though all our Generals, all our Orators were present, and heard the common Voice of their Country calling upon them to save her by their Advice. For whatever the Crier is by Law commanded to pronounce, ought in Justice to be esteemed the common Voice of our Country. But had it been necessary for every Citizen, who with Ardour wished the Prosperity of his Country, to have given his Opinion, you and every other Athenian would have arisen, and crowded to the Tribunal; for I am confident you all with Ardour wish her Prosperity. Had this Proclamation regarded the Rich alone, the three hundred would

have

tion. Wolfius asks, why the Magistrates set Fire to these Sheds? Was it, that the People might not be hindered from assembling? Doctor Taylor answers, that they might not be interrupted in their Deliberations, but that every one might assist his Country in this common Danger. A very extraordinary Reason. As probably, perhaps, to alarm the Citizens, and by this Instance of public Terror, engage them to attend the next Morning's Assembly. But why is this Trumpeter called for? Whether to found an Alarm, or some military Charge to call the Soldiers together? These Questions are not yet answered by our Commentators, and our Translators only translate. Next Morning the People

had taken their Seats, as the Original expresses it, *above ávw*. Wolfius and his very accurate Editor have both overlooked the Word, though certainly remarkable and difficult. *In gradibus Theatri*. ARETINUS. *Superiori parte*. ANON. *Sedeva di sopra*. ITAL. *In locis superioribus*. LAMBINUS. *Les sieges d'enhaut*, TOURREIL; with a pretty bold Addition, *ou l'usage le place*. Thus it seems far easier to translate, than to acknowledge our Ignorance. Mr. Portal by the Word *ávw*, *above*, understands the Court, called *Pnyx*, in which the People generally assembled, and which was situated on a Rock, that over-looked the

TOWN.

have offered their Advice; or had it affected those, who possessed both Riches and Affection to the State, then the Citizens, who afterwards made such liberal Benefactions to the Public, would have laid before you their Opinions: for they were animated by the Love of their Country, as they were enabled by their Wealth, to make those magnificent Benefactions. But it appears, the Conjunctions of that Day not only demanded a wealthy Citizen, and zealous for his Country, but one who from the Beginning had regularly attended to the Progress of Affairs, and from thence justly concluded, upon what Motives Philip had thus acted, and what were his future Designs. For whoever had not, long before, examined this Point with Attention, however great might be his Property and Affection to the State, they could neither have enabled him to discern what Measures we ought to have pursued, nor to give you the necessary Advice.

UPON that important Day therefore did I appear, such as the Exigency of your Affairs required. I came forward on the Tribunal, and what I then proposed, I now desire you, for two Reasons, attentively to hear me repeat. First, to convince you, that I alone, of all your Orators and Magistrates, did not in the Hour of Danger desert that Post, in which my Zeal for the Republic had placed me, but considered, both in my Orations and Decrees, whatever, amidst these Terrors, could be most conducive to your Interests. Next, because that by
employing

employing a little Portion of Time in this Manner, you will be better instructed in the future Government of the Commonwealth. I therefore declared, that whoever was much alarmed at the Friendship of the Thebans for Philip appeared to me totally ignorant of the real State of Affairs. “ Because, I am convinced, if such a Friendship had subsisted between them, we should not have heard that Philip is now Master of Elataea, but already entered on our Frontiers. I know with certainty, that his present Expedition is intended to carry into Execution the Schemes he hath concerted against the Thebans.” I then desired your Attention, while I explained the whole Affair. “ Every Theban, whom either his Money could corrupt, or his Artifices deceive, are all ready to obey his Commands. Some indeed, who were originally his Enemies, and at present oppose him, he could never influence. What therefore is his Design, and for what Purpose did he take Elataea? That by giving them a nearer View of his Power and the Terror of his Arms, he might animate, and raise the Spirits of his Adherents, and either terrify the Party, that opposed him, into a Compliance with his Designs, or compell them to grant, what they now refuse. Should we therefore determine in the present Conjuncture to remember the Injuries we may possibly have received from the Thebans, and esteem them, as Enemies, unworthy of our Confidence, we shall act in the very Manner Philip would desire. Besides, I am apprehensive, that they, who

“ now oppose him, will embrace his Party; unanimously sup-
“ port his Interests, and even join with him in his Invasion of
“ Attica. If however you will be guided by my Advice; if
“ you will attentively, and without the Prejudices of Faction,
“ consider the Measures I propose, I am persuaded, I shall
“ merit your Approbation, and avert the Danger, that me-
“ naces the Republic. What therefore do I advise? First,
“ to dismiss your present Fears, or to change the Object of
“ them, and to be universally alarmed only for the Thebans.
“ For they are much nearer to Destruction, and upon them,
“ the Danger, that threatens the general Liberties of Greece,
“ will first descend. Then, let our Citizens, who are within
“ the Age of military Service, together with our Cavalry,
“ march out to Eleufis, to convince the States of Greece, that
“ you yourselves are in Arms, and that your Party in Thebes
“ may with Confidence, equal to that of their Adversaries,
“ assert the Freedom of their Debates, while they are assured,
“ that as the Traitors, who have sold their Country to Phi-
“ lip, are supported by an Army at Elatæa, in the same Man-
“ ner you are prepared to assist them, who are nobly deter-
“ mined to contend for their Liberties, whenever they are at-
“ tacked. Let me then advise you to elect ten Ambassadors,
“ who, in Conjunction with our Generals, shall have Power
“ to appoint the Time for marching to Eleufis, and to direct
“ the Expedition. Now listen to me with Attention, while I
“ inform you, in what Manner the Affair should be conducted
“ after

“ after these Ambassadors shall have arrived at Thebes. Make no
 “ Demands upon the Thebans. At such a Conjunction, it were
 “ dishonourable. Promise them your Assistance, if they de-
 “ sire it, without Reserve, because you think they are involved
 “ in the utmost Distress, while you have more prudently fore-
 “ seen this Event. Thus, if they accept our Offers, and will
 “ be directed by our Advice, we shall attain the End we pro-
 “ pose, and our Proceedings will have an honourable Appear-
 “ ance, and worthy of the Republic. Or if unhappily our
 “ Endeavours fail of Success, the Thebans must blame them-
 “ selves for whatever Errors they may hereafter commit, while
 “ nothing dishonourable, nothing inglorious can be imputed
 “ to the Commonwealth.”

HAVING urged these Arguments, and others of the same
 Kind, I descended from the Tribunal. When my Discourse
 was universally applauded (not a single Negative in Opposition)
 I did not only give you my Advice in Words, but proposed it
 in Writing; I did not only propose it in Writing, but under-
 took the Embassy; nor did I undertake the Embassy alone,
 but succeeded in persuading the Thebans. I began, I continu-
 ed, I perfected the Work, and for your Service devoted my-
 self without Reserve to the Dangers, that surrounded the Re-
 public. Now read me the Decree, that I preferred on this Oc-
 casion. Yet tell me, Æschines, how I shall represent either my-
 self or you on that important Day? Shall I confess myself that

effeminate Batalus your Calumnies and Sarcasms have called me, yet acknowledge you an absolute Hero, and of no mean Degree ; one of our theatrical Heroes ; a Cresphontes, or a Creon, or that Oenomaus, whom you tragically murdered in one of our Villages by your miserable performance ? Yet I, the Athenian Batalus, manifestly appeared, upon that decisive Occasion, far more worthy of my Country, than you, the theatrical Oenomaus. Not in any one single Instance were you ever useful or profitable to the State ; whereas I have performed every Duty and Service, that a good Citizen owes to his Country : Read the Decree.

The DECREE of DEMOSTHENES.

UNDER the Archonship of Nausicles, the Tribe of Ajax presiding in Council, on the sixteenth of June, Demosthenes proposed the following Decree. WHEREAS Philip, King of the Macedonians, hath in Time past openly violated his Treaties concluded with the Athenian People, regardless of the Oaths, by which they were ratified, and of every other Obligation held sacred by the Greeks ; taking Possession of Cities, which did not of Right belong to him, and of some confessedly under the Dominion of the Athenians, although he never had received the least Provocation to these Acts of Hostility : and whereas he still makes a greater Progress in Violence and Cruelty, putting Garrisons into some of the Cities of Greece, and destroying their ancient Forms of Government ; raising others to their Foundations,

tions, and enslaving their Inhabitants; planting Colonies of Barbarians in others; expelling their Grecian Possessors, and delivering up to Violation their Temples and their Sepulchres (in these Instances, however, acting not inconsistently with the Manners of his Country, or his own natural Genius) intemperately abusing his present good Fortune, and forgetful that he hath unexpectedly risen to this Greatness, from an inconsiderable and obscure Original. While the Athenians beheld him reducing to his Obedience barbarian Cities only, that had no Society or Alliance with Greece, they did not consider it as a personal Injury, that merited their Resentment. But when they now behold the Grecian Cities, some of them insulted, others ruined to their Foundations, they must esteem it criminal in them, and unworthy of the Glory of their Ancestors, indolently to see the Greeks enslaved. It is therefore resolved by the Senate and People of Athens, having first put up their Petitions, and offered Sacrifices to the immortal Gods, and Heroes, Guardians and Protectors of this City and its Territories, and then having deeply impressed upon their Minds the Remembrance of the Virtues of their Ancestors, who were always more anxious to preserve the Liberties of Greece; than even their own native Soil; it is resolved, that two hundred Gallies shall immediately put to Sea, and their Admiral set Sail for the Streights of Thermopylæ; that our Generals shall assemble the Troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, at Eleusis; that Ambassadors shall be sent to the other Grecian States, but first

first of all to the Thebans, because Philip has marched nearer to their Frontiers; that these Ambassadors shall encourage and exhort them not to be terrified at Philip's Approach, but firmly to maintain their own and the Liberties of Greece; shall give them every Assurance, that the Athenian People no longer remember the Injuries they have received (if perhaps the two Republics may have formerly injured each other) but will assist the Thebans with Men and Money and Arms, offensive and defensive; being conscious, that when Greeks contend with Greeks for Sovereignty, the Contest is glorious; but to be governed by a Barbarian, and to be despoiled by him of all Authority, is unworthy of their own Honour, and the ancient Glory of their Ancestors: that besides, the Athenian People do not esteem the Thebans as Aliens and Foreigners, either with regard to the Dignity of their Origin, or their being Natives of one common Soil; that they remember the Benefits, which their Forefathers conferred upon those of the Thebans; that they restored the Descendants of Hercules, who were dispossessed by the Peloponnesians of their hereditary Dominions, and won a decisive Victory over the Nations, that endeavoured to oppose their Restoration: that they hospitably received Oedipus and the Party, that was banished with him, besides many other very honourable Instances of their Affection and Humanity. For these Reasons, the Athenian People never will desert the Interests of Thebes, or of Greece in general; and are now ready to conclude an Alliance offensive and defensive,

to

to be confirmed by all the Rights of Intermarriage, and by Oaths mutually given and received. Demosthenes, Hyperides, Mnesithides, Democrates, Callæschrus, were deputed Ambassadors.

THIS was the Beginning and first Foundation of our Union with the Thebans. Before that Time, the two Republics were violently impelled by these Traitors to mutual Enmity, Hatred and Jealousy. By this Decree, the Danger, that surrounded the Commonwealth, past away like a Cloud, and was dissipated. It was then the Duty of an able and honest Citizen, if he had any more salutary Measures to propose, to propose them openly; not now to censure and accuse. For although a Minister, who gives his Advice to his Country, and a factious Calumniator, do not in any one Instance resemble each other, yet in this they principally differ. The first delivers his Opinion before the Event, and renders himself accountable to those, who have acted in Compliance with his Advice; to Fortune; to Contingences, and to whoever pleases to demand a Reason for his Conduct. The second is silent when he should speak, and whatever Misfortunes happen are the Subject of his Invectives. This was the Period therefore, as I have already observed, that required a Man, solicitous for his Country, and capable of giving her more salutary Counsel. Yet I will boldly venture so far as to affirm, that if any one can even now discover a better, or indeed any other Plan of Operations, that what I then

then proposed, I will acknowledge myself guilty. Because, if any Expedient, that might have contributed to your Service, can even now be devised, I confess it ought not to have escaped me. But if there neither is, nor was, nor can be devised at this Moment, any such Expedient, how ought your Adviser to have acted? Ought he not to have chosen the best among all the visible and practicable Schemes, that occurred to him? This I performed, Æschines, when the Crier demanded, WHO IS WILLING TO ADVISE THE PEOPLE? Not, who will censure past Measures? Not, who will be answerable for our future Success? While all this Time you sat silent in the Assembly, I came forward and gave my Opinion. But since you then declined it, now at least declare; inform us, what was that Expedient, which I ought to have invented? What Opportunity of serving the Republic have I neglected? What Confederacy, what Scheme of Action, to which I should rather have urged and impelled this Assembly? But past Transactions are totally disregarded, nor do Mankind ever make them the Subject of their Deliberations. The future and the present only demand the Attention of an able Minister. At that Period therefore, the future, as it appeared, threatened us with its Terrors; the present oppressed us with its Misfortunes. In these Circumstances, examine the Maxims, upon which I founded my Administration; but do not inveigh against the Consequences. Events are determined by the good Pleasure of God, but the Measures proposed by a public Minister alone discover

discover his Abilities and Integrity. Do not therefore impute it to me as criminal, that Philip hath happened to conquer us in Battle; for such Events are in God's Disposal, not mine. But if I did not form every Resolution, that human Prudence could suggest; if I did not execute them with Integrity, with Diligence and an Activity even beyond my natural Strength; if the Measures I supported were not honourable, necessary, and worthy of the Republic, shew me these Facts, and upon these Facts accuse me. But if the Thunder, falling impetuously from Heaven, or the Winter's Tempest, rushing upon us, did not only overwhelm you, but every other Grecian State, what could I have done to oppose it? Shall the Merchant, who in fitting out his Vessel for her Voyage hath prudently provided, and equipped her with whatever he thought necessary for her Safety; if a Storm arise, under which her Masts labour, and her Sails are rent, shall he be accused of her Shipwreck? He might alledge, that the Vessel was not under his Direction; neither did I command your Armies; neither was I Master of Fortune, but She sole Arbitres of all human Affairs.

YET examine and attentively consider this Circumstance alone; if such hath been our Destiny, though fighting in Conjunction with the Thebans; what must we necessarily have expected, had we been deprived of their Assistance, and had they united with Philip, which he solicited with all the Power of Words? If, though the Battle was fought at the Distance of

three Days Journey from Attica, such Alarms of Danger; such Terrors surrounded the City; what might we not justly have expected, had this great Calamity befallen us within our own Dominions? Dost thou imagine, that in such Circumstances we could have found it possible to stand, to assemble, to recover Breath from our Confusion? The Respite of one, or two, or three Days contributed to the Preservation of Athens. But it were an ungrateful Office to repeat the Calamities, that possibly might have happened in such a Situation, and which, by the good Favour of the Gods, and the Interposition of this Alliance, which you malignantly censure, the Republic never experienced.

THIS Discourse is particularly directed to you, my Judges, and to the People, who have surrounded the Tribunal, and compose my Audience: For as to this contemptible Wretch, one short and simple Argument is decisive. If the Secrets of Futurity were open, Æschines, to your View alone, you should have foretold the Event, when the Republic had the Affair under Consideration. But if you were not possessed of such Foresight, you are now equally accountable with others for your Ignorance. Why therefore should you rather accuse me of this Want of Sagacity, than I you? However, with respect to the Matter at present in Debate (for there are other Things I do not yet mention) I so far approved myself a better Citizen than you, as I devoted myself to the vigorous Execution

tion of those Measures, which were unanimously deemed expedient, neither declining, nor entertaining a Thought with regard to my own personal Danger ; while you neither offered any wiser Counfels (for mine could not otherwise have been received) nor did you render yourself useful in forwarding the Execution of what I propofed. On the contrary, whatever Injuries the bafeft and moft inveterate Foe to the Commonwealth could poffibly commit againft her, thou art convicted of having committed in thefe Conjunctures. While Ariftratus at Naxus, and Ariftolaus at Thafus, both of them determined Enemies to the Republic, accufe every Friend of the Athenians, *Æſchines* impeaches *Demofthenes* at Athens. Yet certainly the Man, who owes his Reputation to the Calamities of Greece, ought rather to perih himfelf, than be allowed to accufe another. Nor is it poffible, that he, whoſe Proſperity is united with that of the Enemies of his Country, can ever be well affected to that Country, or zealous for its Welfare. The conſtant Tenour of your Life, and every Action of it, whether you accept, or decline entering into Adminiftration, openly confirm the Truth of this Reflection. Does any Project ſucceed? *Æſchines* is ſilent. Does any unfortunate Accident happen? *Æſchines* appears. Thus old Fractures and Strains torment us, whenever our general State of Health is affected.

BUT ſince he thus abundantly inſiſts upon Events, I ſhall venture to aſſert what may probably appear a Paradox ; yet in

the dread Name of Jupiter and all our Gods, let none be amazed at the Boldness of this Assertion, but consider it with Candour and Attention. ¶ If all the Secrets of Futurity had been open to our View ; if the whole People of Athens had foreseen the Distresses, that have since happened ; if you yourself, Æschines, through the whole Affair so profoundly silent, had foretold and attested them with your wonted Clamour and Vociferation, not even then should the Republic have deserted the Principles she had constantly maintained, if she had any regard for her Glory, her Ancestors, or her Posterity. ¶ At present it only appears, that she hath been disappointed of her Hopes ; the common Lot of human Kind, when it seemeth good to divine Providence. But while she claimed a Sovereignty over others, if she had then apostatized from her ancient Principles, she would have certainly been accused of betraying the States of Greece to Philip. Had she without Resistance abandoned those Prerogatives, for which our Ancestors with Fortitude supported every Danger, who would not, Æschines, have spit upon thee with Vileness and Contempt ? Yet surely never would they have treated the Commonwealth or me with such Marks of Detestation. But with what Eyes, dread Jupiter ! could we have beheld the People, who now come hither from other Nations, if by our own ignominious Conduct, our Affairs had been reduced to their present unhappy Situation ; or if, when Philip was elected Commander of our united Forces, and Sovereign of Greece, we had basely refused our Assistance to those,

who

who engaged in the Contest, that possibly might have prevented this Dishonour? Especially, since the Republic never in former Ages preferred an ignominious Security to glorious and honourable Danger. For what Grecian, what Barbarian is ignorant, that the Thebans, and the Lacedæmonians, who had before them been the most powerful People of Greece, or that even the Persian Monarch, would thankfully and gladly have allowed the Republic whatever she pleased to accept, besides the secure Possession of her own Dominions, provided she would herself submit to be commanded, and suffer another to preside over Greece? Such Conditions, it is evident, appeared to the Athenians, of that Age, intolerable, and inconsistent with the Honours derived to them from their Ancestors, or with their own innate Love of Virtue; nor through all Time was it ever possible to persuade the Republic to accept of Slavery, upon an Assurance of Security by uniting with those, however powerful, whose Dominion was founded in Oppression. Yet she entered with Ardour into the Conflict, and exposed herself to every Danger, when the Contest was for Preeminence, and Fame, and Glory. These Actions you have always esteemed so worthy of your Veneration, so agreeable to your Genius and Manners, that you highly applaud our Ancestors, who performed them; and with Justice applaud. For who does not admire their Virtue, who had Fortitude enough to leave their Country, their native City, and to embark on board their Galleys, rather than submit to a foreign Tyranny? Then having chosen Themistocles, who
 proposed

propofed this Advice, for their General, they not only ftoned Cyrfilus to Death, who had declared in Favour of fubmitting to the Conditions impofed upon us, but your Women deftroyed his Wife in the fame Manner. The Athenians of thofe Days did not folicitoufly inquire for an Orator, or a General, who could procure them an eafy Slavery, but efteemed even Life itfelf not worth preferving, unlefs it might be enjoyed with Liberty. Each particular Citizen was perfuaded, he was not born only for his Father and Mother, but for his Country. In what does the Difference confift? The Man, who imagines himfelf born to ferve his Parents only, patiently expects his Hour of Deftiny, and a natural Death; while he, who is convinced, that he received his Being for the Service of his Country, will rather wifh to die, than to behold her enslaved; will look upon Death as far lefs formidable, than the Infults and Indignities he muft neceffarily endure in a State difpoffeffed of its Freedom.

HAD I therefore attempted even to infinuate, that I had infpired you with Sentiments thus worthy of your Anceftors, I fhould juftly merit your univerfal Indignation. But I declare, they were your own Determinations, and acknowledge, that the Republic had entertained thefe generous Refolutions before ſhe heard my Advice. Let me however affume to myfelf ſome Merit in executing thefe glorious Refolves. But while Æſchines accuses my whole Adminiftration, and endeavours

vours to enflame your Resentment against me, as the Author of every Terror and Calamity the Republic hath experienced, he purposes to deprive me of my present Reputation, and violently to despoil you of your future Glory with Posterity. Because, should you now condemn Ctesiphon, as if I had not always proposed the wisest Counsels in my Administration, you will appear to have suffered these Calamities by your own Imprudence in following such Counsels, not by the Capriciousness of Fortune. But impossible, O Men of Athens, it is indeed impossible, you could have acted imprudently in attempting every Danger for the Freedom and Safety of our common Country. No; by our Ancestors; by those, who confronted the Dangers of War at Marathon; who engaged in the Battle of Plataeæ; who fought in our Fleets at Salamis and Artemisium, and by many other valiant Citizens, whose Names are now preserved to Immortality in our public Registers, and whom the Commonwealth, esteeming them all equally worthy of the same Honours, hath interred, Æschines, in one common Sepulchre, neither distinguishing the successful, nor the victorious. Such Distinction would have been most unjust; for whatever was within the Duty of a Soldier to perform, they all performed; but the supreme Being distributed to each of them, according to his own good Pleasure, their particular Success. Yet here, thou accursed Villain; thou miserable Pettifogger, you tediously talk over the Trophies, the Battles and Achievements of our Ancestors, to rob me of the Affection and Esteem
of

of my Fellow-Citizens. How do they affect the present Contest? With what Sentiments, thou third-rate Actor, should I have ascended this Tribunal to advise the Republic, when Power and Preeminence were the great Objects of her Deliberations? Should I have proposed any Thing unworthy of her ancient Glory? I had justly deserved Death. Besides, O Men of Athens, you should not proceed upon the same Principles in determining private and public Causes. But as in examining the Disputes, that every Day arise in civil Life with regard to Contracts and Compacts, you should consult the Laws specially provided, and the Circumstances of each particular Case, so in any Resolutions, that regard the Commonwealth, you should consider the Dignity of your Ancestors; and when you enter upon this Tribunal to pronounce Sentence on any Measure of public Concernment, you should assume, along with the Symbols and Ensigns of your Office, those Sentiments of Magnanimity that inspire the Republic, if you purpose to act in a Manner worthy of her Character.

BUT by thus accidentally mentioning the illustrious Actions of your Ancestors, I have passed over some Decrees and Transactions of Importance. I shall therefore return from whence I digressed. Upon our Arrival at Thebes, we found Philip's Ambassadors, and those of the Theffalians, with his other Confederates, already assembled; we found the Friends of Athens dispirited; those of Philip insolent and elated. But

to

to convince you, that I do not mention these Circumstances merely to serve my own Purposes, read me the Letter we immediately sent hither upon opening our Embassy. Yet to such Excess of Calumny has this Man proceeded, as to attribute whatever was happily executed, not to me, but to some favourable Conjunction; whereas every unfortunate Event he imputes to me alone, and to that unhappy Destiny, which attends me. Thus, in my proper Character of advising and speaking, I have, in his Opinion, no Merit in that Success, which only could arise from Eloquence and Wisdom; yet am the sole Author of all our Misfortunes in War, and all the Errors of our Generals. Was ever Slanderer more inhuman, or more deserving of all Execrations? Read the Letter.

The LETTER.

WHEN the Thebans had opened the Assembly, they introduced the Theſſalian Ambassadors, as holding the first Rank among the Confederates. They came forward, and harangued the People, with many an Encomium upon Philip; with many an Invective against you, and very minutely recollected all the Offences, you had ever committed against the Thebans. They concluded with delivering it as their Opinion, that the Thebans ought to be grateful to Philip for the Benefits he had conferred upon them, and should now take Vengeance on you for the repeated Injuries, you had committed against them, either by opening him a passage to Athens through their Territories,

or by uniting with him in his Invasion of your Dominions. They afterwards demonſtrated, according to their own Opinion, that by the Meaſures they recommended, all the Cattle and Slaves and other Riches of Attica would paſs over into Bœotia ; and then aſſerted, that by the Propoſals we were going to make, Bœotia would be expoſed to all the Ravages of War. Many other Arguments they urged, but all tending to the ſame Purpoſe. And here, with whatever I deem moſt valuable in Life, would I gladly purchaſe your Permiſſion to repeat every particular Article of our Reply. But I am apprehenſive, while you imagine, that Time, like a reſiſtleſs Deluge, hath ſwept away the very Being of theſe Tranſactions, you will receive, as an idle Impertinence, the Diſcourſe, that would recall them to your Remembrance. I ſhall therefore only deſire you to hear the Propoſals we made, and the Answer they returned. Take and read it.

The ANSWER of the THEBANS.

They afterwards ſolicited, and earneſtly ſent to you for Succours. You marched to their Aſſiſtance, and that I may not be obliged to mention any leſs important Circumſtances, they received you with ſuch Demonſtrations of Friendſhip, that while their own Troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, were encamped without their Walls, they admitted your Army into their City and their Houſes, among their Children, their Wives, and whatever elſe they eſteemed moſt valuable. Thus did the Thebans

bans on that memorable Day, in the Sight of all Mankind, give you three the most illustrious Proofs of their Esteem ; the first with regard to your Courage, the second to your Justice, and the third to your Continnence. For by determining to choose you as their Fellow-Soldiers in this Contest, rather than to fight against you, they manifestly declared their Opinion, that you were superior to Philip in your military Character, and far more equitable in your Proposals for Peace. Then, by intrusting you with whatever is guarded both by them and all Mankind with greatest Attention, their Children and their Wives, they clearly shewed how much Confidence they reposed in your Virtue. In all these Instances, O Men of Athens, it hath appeared by the Event, that they judged, with regard to you, most rightly. Because, from the Moment your Troops entered Thebes, there never was the least Complaint against them, even an unjust one ; so regular was your Behaviour. In the two first Engagements afterwards, when our Forces and theirs were united ; in that, near the River Cephissus ; the other, in the Winter after our Alliance, you shewed yourselves not irreproachable only, but worthy of all Admiration in the Discipline, and Appointments, and Alacrity of your Troops. You received abundant Applause from others, for your Behaviour in these Engagements, and you yourselves offered Sacrifices, and ordered Processions to the Gods for your Success. Here therefore I would gladly demand of Æschines, during these Solemnities, when the City was full of Triumph and Exultation,

ultation, and Praise, whether he joined in these Sacrifices, and participated of the public Joy ; or whether he sat weeping at home, and groaning, and indulging the Malevolence of his Spirit, over the Prosperity of his Country ? If he was personally present and assisted at these holy Solemnities, is he not criminal ; is he not rather impious, if he now advises you to condemn those Measures, as ruinous and pernicious, to the Wisdom and Excellence of which he once called the Gods to witness ? If he were not present at them, is he not worthy of a thousand Deaths, if he alone beheld with Sorrow, what his Country celebrated with Joy and Triumph ? Read the Decrees.

DECREES OF SACRIFICES.

THUS were we employed in Sacrifices, and while the Thebans were convinced, they were indebted to us for their Preservation, such was in general the Situation of our Affairs, that we, who lately seemed, by the Machinations of these Traitors, to want Assistance ourselves, were now enabled, by following my Counsels, to send succours to others. What Exclamations Philip uttered ; and what Confusion he was in upon this Occasion, you will best learn from his own Letters to the Peloponnesians. Let them be read. They will convince you, what Effects my unwearied Application wrought, my frequent Journeys, my Fatigues and numerous Decrees, which Æschines hath malignantly calumniated. In Truth, although many celebrated and excellent Magistrates, O Men of Athens, have risen among us before me, Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus,
Thra-

Thraſybulus and a thouſand others, yet none of them ever devoted himſelf totally and abſolutely to the Republic. He, who preferred the Decree, never perſonally engaged in the Embaſſy. He, who engaged in the Embaſſy, never preferred the Decree by which it was appointed. Each of them reſerved to himſelf ſome Relaxation from the Fatigue ; ſome Refuge and Reſource, if any unfortunate Accident ſhould happen. What then (it may perhaps be objected) are you ſo far ſuperior in Abilities and Intrepidity to others, that you are able, and dare alone undertake the whole Adminiſtration ? I would not venture ſuch an Aſſertion ; but I imagined ſo imminent was the Danger, that ſurrounded the Commonwealth, as not to give me Time to conſider and provide for my own perſonal Safety. I beſides imagined, we ought to be perfectly ſatisfied, if nothing was left unattempted, and whatever appeared abſolutely neceſſary, was done for our Security. I then perſuaded myſelf, perhaps fooliſhly, but I perſuaded myſelf, that whoever preferred a Decree, would never prefer any more ſalutary, than mine ; whoever entered into Negotiations, would never execute them with greater Spirit ; and that whoever engaged in your Embaſſies, would never diſcharge the Functions of them with more Integrity. For theſe Reaſons I ſingly took upon myſelf all theſe different Employments. Now read Philip's Letters.

The LETTERS.

To theſe Terms did my Adminiſtration, *Æſchines*, reduce Philip, and by me was he compelled to this Language, who
before

before had written to the Republic in a Style of Insolence and Superiority. For these Services I was justly crowned, nor did you, though personally present, oppose it; nor had Diondas, who preferred an Indictment against it, a fifth Part of the Suffrages. Now read the Decrees themselves, which at that Time were pronounced most equitable, and to which Æschines never made the least Opposition.

The DECREES.

THOSE Decrees, O Men of Athens, contain the very same Syllables, the very same Words, that Aristonicus formerly, and Ctesiphon makes use of at present. Yet neither did Æschines prosecute them himself, nor join with Diondas in his Prosecution, though certainly, if the Crimes, of which he now accuses me were real, he might with much greater Justice have then prosecuted Demomeles and Hyperides, than have engaged in his present Indictment. Why? Because Ctesiphon may justify himself by their Example, and by the former Decisions of our Courts; by urging, that Æschines never indicted the Authors of those Decrees, so exactly resembling this, which is now under your Consideration; and lastly, that the Laws do not allow a second Prosecution for any Cause, already determined; with many other Arguments of the same Kind. The present Affair would have then been determined by its own proper Merits, before he could have taken Advantage of any Circumstances, that have since happened. It would then, I presume,
 have

have been impossible for him to have acted in the Manner he does at present ; to have collected Extracts from ancient Records and obsolete Decrees, which no Man ever heard of before, or could imagine would have been quoted upon the present Occasion, meerly with an Intention to calumniate ; to have confounded all Dates and Order of Time, or suppressed the real, and substituted false Motives of Action, only to maintain the specious Appearance of a Prosecution. This Manner of proceeding would have been then impracticable. All his Arguments must have been urged in the very Presence of Truth itself, while you yourselves remembered every Circumstance, and only had them not, at that very Moment, in your own Hands. Having therefore declined the Proofs and Conviction of Facts, he now, though late, comes forward, imagining, as it appears to me, that you have here proposed a Prize of Eloquence, not appointed an Inquiry into the Affairs of your Administration ; and that you are now to pronounce Judgement upon the Power of Words, not upon the Utility of your public Measures.

HE then argues with exceeding Sophistry, and affirms, you ought no longer to regard the Opinions you brought with you into this Assembly, either in relation to him or me ; but as when you imagine a Sum of Money to be still remaining in any public Account, yet if the Calculations are clear, and nothing really remains, you yield to Conviction, and are satisfied ; in
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the same Manner you should insist upon a clear and positive Demonstration in the present Dispute. Behold how corrupt in its own Nature, as indeed it ought, is every Argument, that is not founded upon Truth and Justice. For even by this very subtle Comparison, it is acknowledged, you are now conscious, that I am pleading for the Interests of my Country, and that Æschines is the Advocate of Philip. He never could have been thus anxious to persuade you to alter your Opinion of us, if he had not been assured, that these were your present Sentiments. But I shall easily convince you, how iniquitous is the Attempt of engaging you to alter this Opinion, not by arithmetical Calculations, (for this is not a Computation of Money) but by a short Recollection of Facts, while I take this Assembly, as Auditors at once and Witnesses to the Account. Instead of the Thebans joining with Philip to make an Irruption into our Territories, which all Mankind expected, my Administration, which he thus condemns, produced this good Effect, that they united with us to prevent his invading us; instead of making Attica the Seat of War, it was removed to the Frontiers of Bœotia, almost ninety Miles from Athens; instead of being infested and plundered by the Eubœan Pyrates, our Sea-Coasts enjoyed an uninterrupted Security, during the whole War; instead of Philip's making himself Master of the Hellespont by reducing Byzantium, the Byzantians engaged with us against him. Does this Account of Facts appear to you, Æschines, to resemble your arithmetical Calculations? Is it necessary to take these

Articles out of the Account? Or should we not rather endeavour to perpetuate the Remembrance of them to all future Ages? I might add another Circumstance, that others have unhappily experienced the Cruelty, which it is apparent Philip constantly exercised over all the Nations he subdued, while you, by the Wisdom of your Conduct, have reaped the Fruits of that pretended Clemency, which he artfully assumed, with regard to you, while he was extending and enlarging his Conquests. I do not insist upon these Circumstances; but I shall not hesitate to affirm, that whoever would inquire with Candour, though with Severity, into the Conduct of a public Minister, and not pursue him merely with the Malevolence of a Slanderer, would not accuse him, as thou hast done, by inventing Comparisons, ridiculing his Words and mimicking his Gestures (for do you not absolutely behold, that the Fate of Greece depended upon my using this, not that particular Expression; upon my extending my hand on this, not on the other side?) but he would examine Facts themselves with Attention; what Resources the Republic possessed, what military Strength, when I entered into Ministry; and what Addition of Power I acquired for her, while I was in the Direction of Affairs. He would afterwards inquire into the State and Circumstances of our Enemies. If then I have lessened the Strength of the Republic, in any one of these Instances, prove and convict me of the Crime; but if I have considerably augmented it, do not abuse me with Slander and Invectives. However, since he

hath avoided this Method of Proceeding I will undertake it, and do you confider the Juſtice of my Diſcourſe.

THE Forces of the Republic at that Period conſiſted of the Iſlanders, nor indeed of all, but even the leaſt powerful among them; for neither Chios, Rhodes, nor Corcyra were united with us. Our Funds amounted only to forty-five Talents, and even theſe were anticipated. We had neither Infantry, nor Cavalry, beſides our own domeſtic Troops. But the Circumſtance of all others moſt terrible, and which wrought moſt powerfully in Favour of our Enemies, all the neighbouring Nations, Megareans, Thebans, Eubœans, were inclined, by the Practices of theſe Traitors, rather to declare War againſt you, than enter into Terms of Friendſhip and Alliance. Such was the Situation of the Republic, which it is impoſſible for any Man to deny, or contradict. Now behold the Condition of Philip's Affairs, with whom we were to enter into this Conteſt. Firſt, he governed with an uncontrollable Authority whoever followed his Fortune; a Circumſtance in War of all others of greateſt Importance. His Troops were inured to Action; his Funds were inexhauſtible; he was abſolute Maſter of his own Deſigns; he neither declared them by his Decrees, nor concerted his Schemes in Public; he was neither condemned by Slanderers, nor indicted for Tranſgreſſion of the Laws, nor accountable to any Man for his Conduct. In ſhort, he was at once a deſpotic Sovereign, a General, and a Maſter
of

of every thing. But I, who was appointed to oppose him (for this Circumstance should in Justice be considered) of what was I Master? Nothing. The Power of haranguing the People, that only Power of which I had any Share, you granted equally to those, who had vilely sold themselves to Philip; and whenever they gained a Superiority over me in Debate, (which from various Pretences often happened) you departed from your Assemblies, after having passed every possible Resolution in Favour of your Enemies. However, under all these Disadvantages, I procured you the Alliance of the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megareans, Leucadians and Corcyræans, who levied fifteen thousand mercenary Troops, and two thousand Horse, besides their own national Forces. Then with regard to the Contributions, I raised them as high, as I was able. Yet if you assert, Æschines, that the Contingents furnished by the Thebans, Byzantians, or Eubœans, were extremely disproportioned to those of the Athenians, and now dispute about their Equality, you are certainly ignorant, that when three hundred Galleys fought for the Liberties of Greece, Athens alone furnished two hundred of them. Neither did she deem herself injured by this Disproportion, nor did she prosecute, or let her Indignation appear against the Persons, who then directed her Councils, (this had been infamous indeed) but gratefully blessed the immortal Gods, that in the common Danger, which surrounded Greece, she was able to contribute a double Proportion to all its other States, for the general

Safety. You then attempt in vain, by calumniating me to ingratiate yourself with our Judges. Wherefore now tell us what Measures we ought to have pursued, yet though you were in Athens, though present at all our Consultations, you never proposed those Measures in your Decrees, if indeed it were possible to have carried them into Execution at such a Period, in which we were obliged to accept Conditions, not such as we should have voluntarily chosen, but such as the Necessity of our Affairs compelled us to receive. For Philip was always ready to out-bid us upon all Occasions of Purchase ; to receive whomsoever we rejected, and even to enlarge their Price.

BUT if I am now accused for my Conduct in these Circumstances, what do you imagine would have been the Consequence, if these Nations, by my entering into a scrupulous Calculation of their Contingents, had deserted us ; if they had united with Philip, and he had become Master at once of Eubœa, Thebes and Byzantium ? What do you conceive, would these execrable Wretches have done, or said upon such a Misfortune ? That all these Cities had been betrayed, and when they had determined to unite with us, had been driven into a Treaty with Philip ? That by his Alliance with the Byzantians, he had made himself Master of the Hellespont, and the Importation of Corn into Greece ? That a heavy War, maintained before upon our Frontiers, was brought into the Heart of Attica by the Thebans, and that all Navigation was interrupted by the sudden

sudden Excursions of the Eubœan Pyrates? Would they not have urged these, and a thousand other Complaints of the same Nature? An execrable Creature indeed, O Men of Athens, at all Times execrable is the Slanderer; at all Times, and in all Places, malignant, envious, and fond of Contention. Such in its own Nature is this pernicious Animal in human Shape; who never from his Birth was capable of any one Action, honest or liberal; this Ape, that mimicks our Tragedians; this Oeconomus of our Country-Villages; this Orator, of false and adulterate Coin. What Advantage did his Eloquence ever procure for his Country? And dost thou now declaim upon past Measures? Thus a Physician visits the Sick, but neither advises nor prescribes for their Disorders; yet when any of them dies, and the last funeral Rites are performed, he follows the Body to the Sepulchre, and there tediously declares, that if the deceased had followed this or that particular Regimen, he had certainly recovered. Dost thou, in very Frenzy, make these Declarations?

BUT even that Defeat, in which you impiously exult, and for which you ought rather to groan in Bitterness of Anguish, will be found to have happened, not by any Error in my Administration. Let us reason in the following Manner. In whatever Embassies I have been employed, I never returned home, vanquished by Philip's Ambassadors; neither from Thessaly, nor Ambracia; from Illyria, nor the Kings of Thrace;

from

from Byzantium, or from any other Country, nor lastly from Thebes. ¶ Yet whatever Advantages I gained over his Ambassadors by Superiority of Reason, he totally destroyed by Force of Arms. ¶ And dost thou now demand the Proofs of this Superiority? ¶ Art thou not ashamed to expect that a Man, whose Effeminacy you so licentiously ridicule, should alone have routed the Armies of Philip; and meerly by the simple Power of Words? ¶ For of what other Power was I Master? I could neither dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of the Soldiers, nor the Conduct of their General, for which however you thus absurdly would make me accountable. But here insist upon every Account a Minister can possibly be obliged to render of his Administration. I shall not deprecate the severest Inquiry. What therefore are the Duties of his Station? To discern Conjunctions as they rise; to foresee, and foretell them to others. This Duty I have performed. Then, upon every Occasion, to bring into the narrowest Compass the Delays, Irresolution, Ignorance and Factions of the People: those Errors inherent in the Constitution, and necessary to the very Being of every free State; and on the contrary, to induce his Fellow-Citizens to Unanimity and Friendship, and then to animate them with Vigour and Resolution in the Service of their Country. These Duties also I have performed, nor can any Man charge me with the slightest Omission. ¶ If it therefore should be asked, by what Means Philip has conducted his Enterprizes in general with so much Success, all Mankind would answer, by his Armies, by his
his

his Profusion in giving, and by corrupting those, who had the Direction of Affairs. But I was neither Commander, nor General of your Forces, and am consequently not accountable for their Conduct. But in one Instance, that of preserving myself uncorrupted, I have even conquered Philip. For as the Purchaser, if he compleats his Bargain, is really superior to him, who receives the sordid Price, for which he hath sold himself; so the Man, who refuses to receive, and preserves his Incorruptibility, is undoubtedly superior to him, who offers the Price of Corruption. Thus, with regard to me, the Republic is invincible.

THESE, and many other Services of the same Nature, may justify Ctesiphon in his present Decree; but I shall mention some Circumstances, of which you cannot be ignorant. Immediately after the Battle, the People, who were conscious of, and had beheld every Particular of my Conduct, even amidst the universal Terror and Alarm (when it were nothing wonderful, if the Multitude had entered into some angry Resolutions against me) confirmed all the Measures I had proposed for the Safety of the Republic; and all the Precautions, that were taken for the Preservation of the City, the posting our Guards, the Care of our Intrenchments, the Funds, that were raised for repairing our Walls, were all directed by my Decrees. /When the Election came for a Magistrate to superintend the public Granaries, the People elected me out of all the Candidates for
 5 that

for that important Employment. Afterwards, when my Enemies had conspired together for my Destruction, and persecuted me with Indictments for violated Laws, and embezzling the publick Money; with Impeachments for Treason, and with every other Kind of Prosecution; not indeed at first, in their own Persons, but by Agents, under whose Names they imagined, they might continue undiscovered; (for you certainly know and remember, that I was tried almost every day upon some new Indictment, and that neither the Madness of Socrates, the Slanders of Philocrates, the Rage of Diondas and Melanus, or any other Methods of oppressing me, were left unattempted) yet in all these Trials I was acquitted; first, by the good Providence of the Gods; next by your Affection, and by that of the whole People of Athens. My Acquittal was just, for it was founded on Truth; and it was honourable to my Judges, who had sworn to pronounce Sentence with Integrity, and who were conscious of the sacred Obligation of their Oaths. Thus, when I was impeached of Treason, and when you acquitted me, nor gave the fifth Part of your Suffrages to my Accusers, you then pronounced in Favour of my Administration. When you acquitted me upon the Indictments for having preferred a Decree in Opposition to your established Laws, you then openly declared, whatever I had decreed, whatever I had proposed in my Orations, was perfectly legal; and when you audited my Accounts, you gave public Testimony, that I had acted with Probity and an Honesty, not to be corrupted. In

such Circumstances therefore, what Name could Ctesiphon have given with Justice and Propriety to my Administration? Not that, which he saw given by the People? Not that, determined by our Judges upon their Oaths? Not that, confirmed by Truth itself, and by the united Voice of all our Citizens? Undoubtedly, replies Æschines, but it was the Glory of Cephalus, that he never was indicted; yes; by the Gods, and his good Fortune too. But because a Man hath often been accused, though never convicted, can he for that Reason be justly liable to Blame? However, O Men of Athens, I may boldly assume to myself this Glory, that seems peculiar to Cephalus, as far as Æschines is concerned, because he never preferred any regular Indictment, or entered any Prosecution against me. Thus by your own Confession, Æschines, I am acknowledged not inferior even to Cephalus in the Character of an upright and valuable Citizen.

ALTHOUGH the Malignity and Envy of my Accuser are observable in a thousand Instances, yet in none more remarkably, than in his Harangue upon Fortune. For whoever, while he confesses himself a Man, and liable to the Accidents of Humanity, reproaches any other Mortal with the Displeasure of Fortune, I am absolutely convinced is not in his perfect Mind. Because if he, who now imagines the Goddess most bounteous to his Wishes; who flatters himself, that he possesses Her most absolutely, is ignorant whether her Favour and her

Bounty shall continue to him 'till the Evening, ought he to boast of her Favours, or reproach others with her Severity. But since Æschines hath talked upon this Subject, as upon many others, in a Style of Insolence and Arrogance, behold, O Men of Athens, and consider, how much more agreeable to Truth, and to the general Circumstances of Humanity, are the Sentiments, which I shall now lay before you, with regard to Fortune. That the Destiny of this Republic is eminently glorious, I verily believe, and behold it confirmed by the Oracles of Dodonæan Jove, and Pythian Apollo; but the Destiny, that now governs all human kind, I apprehend to be most cruel and oppressive. For, where is the Grecian; where is the Barbarian, who hath not experienced, during this Period, a thousand Calamities? That you have always determined to choose the most honourable Measures, and that we have received better Terms from the Conqueror, than the other Grecian States, who imagined they could fix their future Happiness by abandoning the Fate of Athens, I ascribe to the good Fortune of the Republic; but that we have encountered some dreadful Accidents, and have not always been successful in our Designs, I conceive to be that Proportion allotted to the Commonwealth in the general Calamities of Greece. But my particular Destiny, or that of any other private Citizen, I think should be determined by an Examination into private and personal Circumstances. In this Manner we ought, in my Opinion, to reason concerning Fortune; thus rightly and justly to make an

Estimate of her Power; and I presume you will concur with me in these Sentiments. Yet Æschines asserts, that my particular Destiny, inconsiderable as it is and insignificant, hath overpowered the great and glorious Fate of the Republic. How is this possible? But if you are determined, Æschines, punctually to examine the whole Fortune of my Life, consider it however, and compare it with your own; and if you find it hath any superior Advantage to yours, forbear to rail against it hereafter. This Moment therefore consider them both from their first Origin. But here, let me conjure you by all our Deities, not to imagine, I mean to utter any thing offensive to this Assembly. For whoever talks of Poverty with Contumely and Derision, or insolently boasts him of the Affluence, in which he was educated, in my Opinion, is not Master of his proper Understanding. Yet I am compelled by the injurious Invectives and Slanders of this cruel Detracter to descend into such a Dispute; in which however I shall preserve the utmost Moderation, that the Nature of my Subject will allow.

IT was therefore my Fortune, Æschines, when I was a Boy, to frequent the Schools most proper for my Instruction; to enjoy that Affluence, which alone can preserve us from the Necessity of committing any base or dishonourable Action; and afterwards, when I came to age, to act in a Manner suitable to the generous Education I had received; to exhibit Games to the People; to build Galleys; to contribute voluntarily to the

Necessities of the State, nor ever to neglect any private or public Occasion of shewing my Liberality, but to render myself useful both to the Commonwealth, and to my Friends. When I entered into Ministry, I determined to choose a System of Administration, in which I might frequently be crowned by my Country, and the other States of Greece; and in which even you, my most inveterate Enemies, should not dare to assert, that the Measures I proposed were dishonourable. Such was the Fortune of my whole Life, of which I could give many other Proofs, were I not cautious of offending by an Appearance of boasting. Here then, illustrious Mortal, who treat others so contemptuously, compare with mine the honourable Fortune you have enjoyed. You were educated, when a Boy, in the most fordid Penury; an Assistant to your Father in his Profession of teaching Grammar; grinding the Ink-Powder, washing the Benches with Sponges; sweeping the School, and employed in all Offices of a domestic Slave, not of a Youth, liberally born. When you commenced Man, you read her holy Rituals to your Mother, when she was initiating her Disciples, and were employed in all the other Duties of her Ministry. At Night you covered the initiated with Skins of Deer; you poured out the consecrated Wine, and assisted them in the Solemnities of their Purification. You composed, of Clay and Bran, the sacred Images of Bacchus. Then making your Disciples arise to the last Ceremonies of their Initiation, you commanded them to chaunt the hallowed Hymn.

The

The Rites are clos'd; the worst is o'er;

I'll now a better Fate explore,

in which you solemnly boasted, that no Man ever howled so exquisitely. This I verily believe, for impossible to conceive, that he, who speaks in this Assembly with a Voice of such sonorous Dignity, must not have howled in such a Concert most melodiously. In the Day-Time you led the honourable Procession of your Bacchanalians, crowned with Fennel and Poplar, through the Streets; grasping in your Hands the swollen-cheeked Serpents; holding them high over your Head, and clamourously repeating, "Glory to thee, great Bacchus." Then dancing to the mystick Surnames of the God, "Hyes "Attes, Attes Hyes," you were complimented by many an old Beldam with the Title of "Prince and Leader of the Chorus; the Ivy-Bearer; the Van-Carrier," and other such illustrious Appellations; receiving besides, as a Reward for your Labours, Crufts, fopped in Wine, and Cheefe-Cakes, and Grape-Tarts, sweetened with Honey. Who would not then have pronounced him truly happy, and have envied his good Fortune? Being afterwards enrolled, by whatever infamous Practices (for I shall not mention them at present) but being enrolled among our Citizens, you immediately chose the most honourable of all Employments, that of being an Under-Clerk and Secretary to our Courts of Registry. When you were dismissed from this Office, where you committed every Villainy, for which you drew up Indictments against others, you did not
however

however do any Dishonour in your next Employment to the Actions of your past Life, but hired yourself to the deep-groaning Tragedians, Simylus and Socrates, to whom you played some under-Characters. Then, as you strolled through the Country, you gathered out of other People's Grounds, Figs, Grapes and Olives, as if you meant to turn Fruiterer; and for these Plunderings, received more Wounds, than in all your theatrical Skirmishes, where you, and the Folks of your Profession, fight for their Lives. For there hath ever been an implacable and irreconcilable War between you Players, and your Spectators, from whom you have received so many honourable Wounds, that you now with some Degree of Justice make a Mockery of those, who never experienced such Dangers. (24)

BUT passing over these Villainies, which may be perhaps imputed to his Poverty, I shall now proceed to Crimes, that demonstrate his natural Genius, and the depravity of his Manners. As soon as it entered into his Imagination to engage in the Administration, he chose such a System of Politics, that when his Country was fortunate in her Measures he lived the very Life of
a Hare,

(24) Never have any Set of People been treated in all Ages and Countries in a Manner so unaccountable to common Sense, as Players. In Athens they were employed in the most important Offices of the Republic, yet were exposed, upon the Stage, to every Kind of Insult and Contempt. That they were publicly whipped, as Lucian informs us, for dishonouring the Charac-

ters of Jupiter, Neptune, or Minerva by their Performance, might be the Resentment of a pious and religious Zeal. But surely the Profession itself, to which every polite People are indebted for the most pleasing, as well as rational, Entertainment they are capable of receiving, should have protected even its worst Performers from personal Cruelty and Outrage.

a Hare, fearful and trembling and perpetually apprehensive of that Chastisement, he was conscious he had merited. | On the contrary, when Philip and his Adherents were successful in their Projects, he grew confident and assured. He therefore, who could assume this Air of Confidence upon the Death of a thousand Citizens, what Vengeance does he not justly deserve from the living?

MANY other Instances of his Guilt I shall pass over, for I do not hold it fitting to mention every Action in his Life of Baseness and Turpitude, but those only, that I can mention without Dishonour to myself. For this Reason, Æschines, I desire you will compare, with Temper and without Bitterness, all the Circumstances of our Lives, that have any Resemblance between them, and then ask our Audience, which they would choose for themselves. You taught Children their Alphabet; I was a Scholar. You initiated others into the lowest Mysteries of our Religion; I was initiated into the most solemn. You were a Performer, and I was a Director, in our public Games. You were a Clerk, and I was an Orator in our Assemblies. You were a villainous Comedian, and I was a Spectator. You blundered in your Part, and I hissed. You exerted your Politics in Favour of our Enemies; I employed my Administration for the Preservation of my Country. I shall carry the Comparison no farther, and shall only mention, that I am this Day thought worthy of the Honour of a Crown, and am already
publicly

publicly acknowledged never to have committed any Crime against the Republic; while you are adjudged an absolute Informer, and are in Danger, either of continuing in this odious Employment, or of having an eternal Silence imposed upon you by the Sentence of our Judges. // An honourable Fortune, is it not, which you, for your whole Life, enjoyed; and in Comparison of which, you esteem mine vile and despicable? But I shall now produce the Testimonials of my Behaviour in all the public Offices I have held, and do you compare, in Opposition to them, the Verses you have repeated upon the Stage, and murdered.

“ From Hell’s Abyfs and Darkness, lo! I come. (25)
and_____

“ Behold th’ unwilling Messenger of Fate.
and_____

“ Mischiefs” _____ May the good Gods rather, and this Assembly, inflict those Mischiefs upon thee, pernicious Citizen, thou Traitor, thou very villainous Comedian. Now read the Testimonials.

The TESTIMONIALS.

SUCH hath ever been my Conduct towards the Republic. But in my private Character, if you do not all acknowledge
me

(25) Our unfortunate Actor blunders, *ἐξέπιπτει*, in the first Line of his Part, and leaves out the Word *νεκρῶν*. ἦ καὶ νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα. In his third Speech he begins with the Word *κακὸν* *Mischief*, when our Orator suddenly and unexpectedly breaks the Line and turns the Expression into a violent Execration against his Adversary. This last Remark, certainly a very happy one, belongs originally to Wolfius, and is confirmed by Doctor Markland.

me to have been goodnatured, humane, and always ready to relieve the distressed, I shall be silent. I will not utter any thing in my own Defence, or produce a single Witness either of my having ransomed any of my Fellow-Citizens from the Enemy, or portioned out their Daughters in Marriage, or any other Instance of my Liberality. For I have ever held it as a Maxim, that he, who received an Obligation, should remember it for ever; but he, who conferred, should instantly forget it, if the first would deserve the Reputation of being grateful, or the other avoid the Appearance of a mean and contracted Spirit. To recollect, and to repeat with Ostentation, the Favours we have personally bestowed, I conceive to be very little different from upbraiding and Reproach. I will not act in this Manner. I will not be so far transported; but content myself with whatever Opinion my Fellow-Citizens entertain of me at this Moment. Leaving then these Instances of private Character, I shall briefly speak to the Affairs of the Republic. (If you can therefore, Æschines, produce any one Nation, whether Greek or Barbarian, beneath yonder Sun, that did not formerly experience the Tyranny of Philip, and at this Moment does not feel the Power of Alexander, I shall readily acknowledge, that either my Fortune, or if you rather please to call it, my unhappy Destiny, hath been the sole Occasion of all our Distresses.) But if many, who never saw me; never heard my Voice, not only single Persons, but whole Cities and Nations, have suffered numberless and the severest Calamities under their

Tyranny, how much more just, and more agreeable to Truth, were it to imagine, that the common Fortune, as it appears, of human kind, and the rapid Impetuosity of particular Conjunctions, cruel and unaccountable, have been the real Cause of our common Ruin? But regardless of these Considerations, you accuse me, as the sole Author of this universal Ruin, because I had some Share in the Administration at that dangerous Crisis; although you are conscious, that if not absolutely the whole, yet certainly a considerable Part, of your Invectives falls upon our Citizens in general, and upon you more particularly. For if I had assumed to myself the sole Direction of our Counsels, it was in your Power undoubtedly, and that of our other Magistrates, to have instantly accused me. But if you were constantly present in all our Assemblies; if the Commonwealth proposed every Measure to public Debate, and every Resolution was universally approved of, and especially by you (though surely not from any personal Kindness to me did you encourage the People in their Hopes of Success, and permit me to receive those Praises and Honours bestowed on my Administration, but because you were manifestly compelled by the Force of Truth, and had no better Expedients to propose) are you not guilty of Injustice and Inhumanity, in now blaming those very Measures, than which you then knew no other more useful to the Public.

THE following Maxims I have ever found incontestably fixed
and

and determined among Mankind. Are we guilty of a voluntary Crime? Indignation and Punishment is our Portion. Have we committed an involuntary Mistake? Instead of being punished, we are pardoned. Is there a Man, who has neither been guilty of any voluntary Crime, nor committed even an involuntary Mistake; who hath totally given himself to the Execution of those Measures, which were universally thought most expedient, and hath been unsuccessful, not singly, but with all his Fellow-Citizens in general? He certainly deserves Compassion, not the Severity of Censure and Reproach. All these Sentiments are apparent, not in our Laws alone, but Nature hath impressed them upon her own unwritten Dictates, and the universal Usages of human kind. // But Æschines hath so far exceeded the rest of Mankind in Cruelty and Slander, that he hath imputed to me as Crimes, those very Events, which he once ascribed to the Power of Fortune. Besides, while he professed, that all his own Orations are pronounced in perfect Simplicity of Heart, and Affection to his Country, he advised you to be cautious and observant, that I did not deceive and impose upon you. He then called me, among many other Appellations of the same Kind, a terrible Impostor; a dangerous and subtle Disputant, as if whoever speaks first could give his Adversary all his own ill Qualities; could really fix them upon him; or as if his Audience would not examine into the Reputation of the Person, who thus boldly pronounces upon the Character of others. But I am persuaded,

you all so perfectly well know my Accufer, as to be convinced, that these Names are far more suitable to his Character, than mine. Besides, I am conscious, that my Eloquence—(for I must allow the Charge, although I am sensible the Reputation of an Orator almost wholly depends upon his Audience, and that his Influence rises in Proportion to the Attention and Complacency, with which you receive him) if however I have acquired by long Experience any Degree of Eloquence, you will constantly find it employed, whether in public or private Causes, for your Interest alone; while that of Æschines, on the contrary, hath not only been exerted in Favour of your Enemies, but whoever offended or provoked him, against them hath it been employed: never in Defence of private Justice, or for the public Advantage. Yet it becomes not the Character of a reputable and valuable Citizen to demand of the Judges, who enter into these Courts to pronounce Sentence upon the Affairs of the Republic, to authorize his personal Resentment, his Hatred, or any other such Passion. He should not himself enter into these Courts from such Motives. Better not to have these Passions in his Nature; but if he have, to govern them with Temper and Moderation.

IN what Instances therefore should a public Minister or an Orator employ the Terrors of his Eloquence? When the Constitution is in Danger, or the Contest maintained between the People and their Enemies. In these Instances; for these demand a generous and honest Citizen. But if Æschines never
preferred

preferred any Prosecution against me, either of a public or private Nature; either in his own Name, or in that of the Commonwealth, yet now comes forward with an Indictment framed on Purpose to deprive me of the Crown, you had decreed me, and the Praises I have deserved; if he hath consumed such an Abundance of Words upon the Occasion, it is a Proof of personal Enmity, and Envy, and Meanness of Spirit; certainly of Nothing reputable or estimable. But his avoiding to enter into the Contest with me, and his attacking Ctesiphon, includes every Kind of Baseness and Villainy. Yet in Truth, Æschines, it appears to me, by your Oration, that you have entered into this Controversy merely with an Intention of giving us a Specimen of the Strength and Sweetness of your Voice, not to take Vengeance of any Crime committed against the Public. But it is not his Language, Æschines, or his Tone of Voice, that does Honour to an Orator, but his preferring the Sentiments and Inclinations of the People to his own; in hating and loving those, whom his Country loves or hates. An Orator, whose Soul is thus affected, will for ever speak the Language, that his Affection dictates; while he, who servilely cultivates the Friendship of those, from whom the Commonwealth foresees some imminent Danger, does not cast Anchor in the same Harbour with the People, nor consequently can have the same Views and Expectations of Safety. How different has been my Conduct? I always proposed to myself the same common Advantages with these my Fellow-Citizens, nor ever acted upon
Views

Views of separate or personal Interests. “ But did not you always act in the same Manner?” How is it possible? Immediately after the Battle, you went Ambassador to Philip, at that Moment the sole Author of all the Distresses of your Country, even though you had before, as all the World is convinced, obstinately refused that Office. Who therefore deceives the Republic? Is it not he, who does not utter what he thinks? Against whom does the public Crier, at the opening of our Assemblies, justly denounce his Execrations? Is it not against the Man of this detested Character? What more enormous Crime can be imputed to an Orator, than that his Thoughts and Words are perpetually different? Convicted, as thou art, of this Crime, hast thou Assurance enough to speak, or to lift up your Eyes in the Presence of this Assembly? Can you imagine they are ignorant, what a Villain thou art, or that Sleep and Oblivion have so totally possessed them, that they no longer remember the Harangues you pronounced before the People, in which with direful Curses and Imprecations you forswore all Correspondence with Philip, and vowed, that I had falsely accused you of that detested Crime, in meer personal Enmity? Yet the Moment our Advices of the Battle arrived, wholly regardless of these Protestations, you acknowledged, and even boasted an ancient Friendship and Hospitality with Philip, covering under these specious Titles your infamous Venality and Corruption. For upon what just or honourable Pretence could Philip be the Guest and Friend, or

even

even the Acquaintance of Æschines, the Son of Glaucothea, the Minstrel? For my own Part, I cannot conceive. But verily you sold yourself to him for the wicked Purpose of perverting all Conjectures, that might possibly arise in Favour of the Republic. However, although you were so manifestly detected in being a Traitor, and, since these Events happened, have been even an Informer against yourself, yet you can outrage me with Invectives, and impute to me such Crimes, of which, among all our Citizens, you shall yourself acknowledge, I am least culpable.

MANY great and glorious Enterprizes, Æschines, did the Republic wisely resolve, and happily execute under my Administration, nor hath she been forgetful of them. Let this be a sufficient Proof, that when the People, immediately after our unhappy Defeat, proceeded to the Election of a Person to pronounce their funeral Oration over the Dead, they did not elect you, although you were proposed; although you excelled in the Sweetness of your Voice; neither did they choose Demades, who had lately negotiated the Peace; nor Hegemon, nor any other of your Faction; but me they elected. When you and Pythocles afterwards came forward, and (cruelly and shamelessly, I call the Gods to witness!) accused me of those very Crimes, which are at present the Subject of your Indictment, your Slanders rather confirmed them in their Resolution to elect me. You are not ignorant of the Motives to this Resolution;

I shall

I shall however repeat them. They were equally conscious of my Zeal and Ardour in the Administration of Affairs, as of your Improbability, and that of Pythocles. For what in our Prosperity you denied with Oaths and Execrations, when the Republic fell into Adversity, you daringly professed. The People therefore justly concluded, that they, whom the public Calamities alone could oblige to discover their real Sentiments, had been long the secret Enemies of their Country, and were now openly detected. Besides, they held it not decent, that he, who was to pronounce the funeral Oration over the deceased, and to do Honour to their Virtue, should ever have dwelt under the same Roof, or performed the Libations of Hospitality and Religion with those, who had fatally opposed them in the Day of Battle. They held it not decent, that the Persons, who had revelled and sung Hymns of Victory in Macedonia over the Desolation of Greece with those very Barbarians, whose Hands were drenched in the Slaughter of their Fellow-Citizens, should come hither to receive such distinguished Honours; or that the Misfortune of those Citizens should be lamented with counterfeit Sounds of Sorrow, and dissembled Tears, but with a Spirit, that sympathized with the Public in this great Calamity. Those Emotions of Affliction, which they sensibly felt in their own Bosoms, they perceived in me, but neither in you, nor in any of your Faction. For these Reasons, they elected me to that sad Office, not you, nor any of your Associates. Neither did the People only judge in this Manner,
but

but the Fathers and Brothers of the deceased, who were appointed to perform their Obsequies, entertained, with regard to me, the same favourable Sentiments; and when they were obliged to give a funeral Supper in Honour of the dead, which, according to ancient Custom, was to be given in the House of their nearest Relation, they gave it in mine, and certainly with the utmost Justice. Because, though each of them separately was more nearly related in Blood to each of the deceased, yet none of them in general was so nearly allied to them all, either in Affection or Interest. For he, to whom their Safety and Success were of greatest Importance, must certainly have born for their Misfortune, would to the Gods, that such Misfortune had never happened! a greater Proportion of the public Sorrow. But read him the Inscription, which the Republic ordered to be engraved on the Monument erected to their Memory, that you may be obliged, Æschines, to acknowledge yourself a prostitute Slanderer and Informer.

The INSCRIPTION.

To save their Country from impending Shame,
 To guard her Freedom, and assert her Fame,
 They shone in Arms; the dreadful Battle led,
 And the fierce Foe beneath their Valour bled.
 All Care of Life, indignant, they despise;
 Their Umpire Death, and Liberty the Prize.
 They fought, that Greece her Freedom might maintain,
 Nor feel the haughty Victor's galling Chain.

But now their Parent-Earth, so Jove ordains,
 To her sad Breast receives their last Remains.
 Unerring Wisdom and Success await
 The Gods alone; but Man must yield to Fate.

DoST thou hear, Æschines, that in this Inscription, unerring Wisdom and Success await the Gods alone? Nor does it ascribe the good Fortune of the Combatants to him, by whose Counsels the Battle was fought, but wholly to the Gods. Wherefore then, execrable Wretch, dost thou pursue me with these Slanders, and utter such Expressions of Virulence against me, as may the righteous Gods in their Vengeance retort upon your own Head, and upon the Heads of your Associates?

BUT amidst the Multitude of his Calumnies and Falsehoods, O Men of Athens, one Circumstance I particularly admired; that while he recited the Misfortune, which at that Period happened to the Republic, he felt not the Emotions of a zealous and faithful Citizen; he wept not, neither was his Soul affected; but raising his Voice, with a Tone of Exultation, and clamorously distending his Throat, he fancied he was accusing me, when in reality he gave a convincing Proof, that his Sentiments upon these unfortunate Events were very different from those of others. Yet certainly the Man, who professes that Anxiety for the Laws and Constitution of his Country, which Æschines hath just now professed, though he has not any other good Quality, should

at least possess that of sympathizing with his Fellow-Citizens in their Joys and their Afflictions ; but in whatever Measures the public Welfare is concerned, he certainly should not engage in the Party with her Enemies. Yet while he stands convicted of this Crime, he boldly asserts, that I am the sole Author of our Ruin, and that by my Administration the Republic is involved in her present Difficulties, though neither by my Politics, nor my Direction of your Affairs, did you first engage to succour the States of Greece in their Distress. Let it be granted, that you were inspired by my Counsels to form so glorious an Opposition to the Tyranny, that was prepared for Greece, it will be a nobler Gift, than ever you bestowed on any other Citizen. But I will not arrogate such Honour to myself. I will not do you such Injustice. / Neither, I am persuaded, would you consent to such a Claim ; nor would Æschines, if he had a just regard for your Glory, have thus wounded your Reputation in personal Enmity to me, or calumniated the fairest Annals in your History.

BUT why do I reproach him with these Instances of his Malignity, when he falsely accuses me of Crimes infinitely more opprobrious ? For he, who accuses me, O Earth and Heaven ! of supporting the Interests of Philip, what will he not assert ? / Yet by Hercules and all our Deities, if we could remove far from us the Malevolence of Lying, and personal Resentments ; if we could examine with Impartiality the Characters of those,

to whom Greece with Justice and Propriety might attribute her Misfortunes, we should find them in every Republic to be such, whose Manners resembled those of Æschines, not mine. For while the Power of Philip was yet weak and inconsiderable, although we frequently admonished them of their Danger ; exhorted them to better Counsels, and instructed them in the wisest, most honourable Measures, yet, from a sordid Attention to their private Advantage, they betrayed the general Interests of Greece ; deceived and corrupted their Fellow-Citizens, until they had reduced them to the most abject Slavery. Thus Daochus, Cineas, and Thrasydæus enslaved the Theffalians ; Circidas, Hieronymus, and Eucalpidas the Arcadians ; Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnaseas, the Argives ; Euxitheus, Cleotimus and Aristæchmus, the Eleans ; Neon and Thrasylachus, Sons of that Enemy of the Gods, Philiades, the Messenians ; Aristatus and Epichares, the Sicyonians ; Dinarchus and Demaratus, the Corinthians ; Ptæodorus, Helixus and Perilaus, the Megareans ; Timolaus, Theogiton, and Anemoetas, the Thebans ; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, and Sosistratus, the Eubœans. The Day would fail me even in repeating the Names of these Traitors. Each of them, O Men of Athens, in their respective Countries have pursued the same pernicious Measures, which Æschines and his Faction supported here ; prostituted Wretches, perfidious Flatterers, Dæmons of Cruelty, who tore to pieces, and dismembered their Country ; who formerly betrayed the Liberties of Greece to Philip, and now

to Alexander ; who meafured their Happinefs by their Appetites, and infamous Exceffes ; who totally ruined that Spirit of Independence ; that Refolution never to endure a Mafter, in which our Forefathers bounded their Ideas of Happinefs, and made the great Rule of all their Actions. Yet never was this Conſpiracy, fo ſhameful and fo notorious ; never was this Act of Villainy, this Treafon rather (for ſuch the proper Language) againſt the Liberties of Greece, attributed by the reſt of Mankind, to the Republic, for following my Counfels, nor by you imputed to my Adminiſtration. Doſt thou demand then, for what Virtue, I think myſelf worthy of Honour ? This is my Answer ; becauſe, when every other Magiſtrate, employed in conducting the Affairs of Greece, and you among the firſt, was corrupted, formerly by Philip, and now by Alexander, never did the Difficulties of Conjunctions, nor the Blandiſhments of Words, nor the Mightinefs of Promiſes, nor Hope, nor Fear, nor Favour, nor any other Motive, influence or induce me to betray whatever I thought juſt in itſelf, or uſeful to my Country ; becauſe, in all the Counfels I have given the Athenians, I never inclined, as you and your Associates have done, like the Ballance to its Weight, but gave my Advice with an upright, honeſt, and uncorrupted Spirit ; becauſe, I have been intruſted with the Direction of more important Affairs than any other Man of this Age, and have executed every Truſt with a religious Purity ; with Integrity, and Simplicity. For theſe Reaſons I do eſteem myſelf worthy of Honour.

IN regard to repairing our Walls and Intrenchments, which you have made the Subject of your Ridicule, I really think it deserves Gratitude and Applause. Why should it not? However, I am far from placing it among the more important Services of my Administration. I did not fortify the Republic with Bricks or Stones, nor from thence do I derive my principal Glory. But if you will accurately inquire what were the Fortifications I have erected, you will find them to consist in Arms, and Cities, and Fortresses, and Harbours, and Gallies, and numerous Levies of Cavalry and Infantry, that fought in Defence of the Athenians. These were the Bulwarks, which, as far as possible to human Wisdom, I opposed to the Enemies of Attica; these were the Ramparts, with which I surrounded, not only the Pyræum and the City, but all our Dominions. Never did Philip gain any Superiority over me either in his political or military Capacity. Far otherwise. He was indebted to Fortune for whatever Advantages he gained over the Generals of our Confederates, and their Army. But what Proofs of these Assertions? They are obvious and evident.

LET it be considered, in what Manner ought a Citizen, zealous for your Welfare, to have acted? He, who proposed to serve his Country with all possible Diligence, Activity and Integrity? Should he not have covered our Sea-Coasts with Eubœa, our inland Territories with Bœotia, and our Frontiers, towards Peloponnesus, with the Places adjacent? Should he
not

not have provided for the Importation of Corn, and the Conveyance of it with Security through every Country, with which we were in Friendship, even into the Pyræum? Besides preserving our ancient Possessions by powerful and effectual Succours; by the Influence of his Orations and Decrees, should he not have endeavoured to procure us the Friendship and Alliance of other Nations? Should he not have deprived our Enemies of their principal Resources, and supplied the Republic with whatever was wanting to her Safety. All these good Purposes were effected by my Decrees and Counsels, which whoever will examine without Envy, will be convinced were planned with Wisdom and executed with Integrity, and that no favourable Occasion of acting was never neglected by me, or lost through Ignorance, or yielded to the Enemy by Treachery, or in general, as far as the Prudence and Abilities of one Man could extend, omitted. But if the Power and Influence of some unpropitious Deity, or Fortune, or the Incapacity of our Generals, or the Depravity of Traitors, or all of them in Conjunction, have thus distressed our Affairs even to utter Ruin; what Crime hath Demosthenes committed? Had there been only one Man in every Grecian State, faithful like me in the Station, to which I was appointed; or even if Theffaly had produced only one single Magistrate, and Arcadia another, whose Principles and Sentiments had concurred with mine, no Grecian, either on this, or the other side of Thermopylæ, had experienced their present Calamities; but enjoying
their

their Liberty, their Laws and Constitution, had possessed their native Soil, without Fear or Disquietude, in Safety and Prosperity, with perpetual Acknowledgements to you, and the whole People of Athens, for these invaluable Blessings, conferred upon them by my Administration. But to convince you, that I have made use of Expressions far beneath the Dignity of my Actions meerly to avoid giving Offence, let the Secretary take and read this Catalogue of the Auxiliaries provided by my Decrees.

CATALOGUE OF AUXILIARIES.

THESE, Æschines, and Measures like these, become the Character of an honest and valuable Citizen. If they had succeeded, we should indisputably have obtained, and with Justice deserved, the highest Decree of human Felicity and Glory. But although they failed of Success, yet we have still preserved our Reputation unblamed; nor can any Man accuse the Republic, or the Measures she pursued, but reproaches Fortune alone with having reduced our Affairs to their present Situation. It did not therefore, by supreme Jupiter, besit the Character of an estimable Citizen to desert the Service of the Republic; to hire himself out to her Enemies, and to promote their Interests in Opposition to those of his Country; to pursue with Calumny the Man, who resolutely proposed and decreed whatever Measures were worthy of the Republic, and with Firmness supported his Opinion; to retain an implacable
 Resentment

sentment of personal Injuries, and lastly, to retire malevolently and treacherously from public Business; as thou hast frequently done. There is, I confess, there is a certain Kind of Retirement, both honourable in itself, and advantageous to the Republic; such as you have frequently and unblameably enjoyed. But very different are his Ideas of Retirement. He deserts Government whenever he thinks proper (but he very often thinks proper) and vigilantly observes when you are fatiated with hearing the repeated Advice of some particular Magistrate; or when any accidental Disappointment, or unfavourable Event hath happened (but many and various are the Accidents of Humanity) in that very Moment he becomes an Orator, and rising like a Whirlwind out of his Retirement, exercises all the Powers of his Voice, and having collected a confused Heap of Words and Sentences, he gives them Utterance with a distinct and rapid Pronunciation, and without catching his Breath. But in whatever Manner pronounced, they never produced either public or private Advantage or Benefit; to every particular Citizen injurious, to the Commonwealth dishonourable. Yet if this violent Spirit of Declamation; this earnest Solitude had proceeded from an upright Intention, and a Regard for the Interests of your Country, the Fruits they had produced must certainly have been generous, honourable, and universally beneficial; Confederacies, Supplies, Extension of Commerce, salutary Laws, and a vigorous Opposition to the common Enemy. These were in former Times the general

neral Objects of Attention, and surely the late Period afforded every good Man abundant Opportunities of demonstrating his Virtue. But in these you never appeared; neither in the first, or second, or third, or fourth, or fifth, or sixth, or any other Rank whatever. (26) What Addition therefore of Strength or Glory hath your Country gained by your Abilities? What Alliance did you ever negotiate for her Safety? What Succours, what Friendship, what Honour did you procure her? By what Embassy or Employment did you ever increase her Glory? What Affairs, either domestic, Grecian, or foreign have succeeded under your Direction? What Galleys, what Arms, what Arsenals, what Fortifications, what Cavalry have you provided? In all these Instances where have your Services appeared? Have you ever assisted either the wealthy or the indigent by any generous and public Contribution? Never. "But his Affection and Zeal, though not his Services, are abundantly manifest." When? Where? While every single Citizen, who had ever spoken to the People from this Tribunal, paid their voluntary Taxes for the general Safety; particularly, when Aristonicus generously gave the whole Fortune he had collected to enable him to support the Dignity of an

(26) This arithmetical Enumeration hath a Kind of religious Solemnity, as it is an Imitation of an Answer, given by the Oracle of Apollo to the Ægeans, when they consulted him, and asked what Rank they bore among the States of Greece.

Υμεῖς δ' Αἰγίεες μήτε τρίτοι, ἔτε τέ-
ταρτοι,

Μήτε δωδέκατοι· μήτ' ἐν λόγῳ, ἔτ'
ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

*You are neither third, nor fourth, nor
twelfth. You have neither Character, nor
Number among the Grecians.* SUIDAS.

an Athenian Citizen, even then you never appeared; never contributed to the Exigencies of the Public. (27) You cannot plead Indigence. How is it possible? You had inherited the Estate of your Father-in-Law Philo amounting to more than five Talents; and received a Gratuity of two Talents from our principal and wealthier Citizens for your Opposition to the Law, that had established a more equitable Method of raising our naval Supplies. But that I may not wander from my principal Design, by multiplying Arguments upon Arguments, I shall pass over all further Proofs. Yet it is already most apparent, that you were not prevented by your Poverty from contributing to relieve the Necessities of your Country, but by your exceeding Caution not to do any thing contrary to the Interest of the Persons, to whose Service you have constantly directed your political Conduct. Upon what Occasions therefore has your Spirit been exerted, and your Abilities displayed? Whenever you have an Opportunity of speaking to the Disadvantage of your Fellow-Citizens, then your Voice becomes particularly sonorous, and your Memory most excellent; then you appear an admirable Actor, a very tragical Theocrines. (28)

S s s 2

BUT

(27) Aristonicus was a Friend of Demosthenes, who bears this honourable Testimony to his Virtue. He had not, probably, a sufficient Fortune, in the earlier Part of his Life, to entitle him to the more considerable Employments and Offices of the State, or to support the necessary Expences attending them.

He had collected this Fortune by his Industry or Economy, and now generously sacrifices it to the Safety of his Country. TOURREIL.

(28) Theocrines had been an Actor, and afterwards turned Informer. His Name and its Infamy in both these Characters are here applied to Alcibiades.

BUT you applaud the illustrious Characters of former Ages ; and with Justice applaud. It is however unjust, O Men of Athens, to take Advantage of that Veneration you bear the Dead, and then examine my Conduct, who am yet living among you, in Comparison with theirs. Is there a Man upon Earth, who is ignorant, that a certain Proportion of Envy always attends the Living ; whereas the dead are no longer hated even by their Enemies ? Since therefore such is the Condition of human Nature, shall I be tried and examined by Comparison with those, who lived before me ? No, certainly. It were neither just, nor equitable. Let me be compared with you, Æschines, or any others you think proper, who have chosen to act upon your Principles, and who are still alive. Consider besides, whether it is more honourable and advantageous for the Republic, while she gratefully remembers the Services performed by your Ancestors (the Greatness of which undoubtedly exceeds all Power of Expression) to treat with Ingratitude and Insult those she at present receives ; or whether every Citizen, whose Affection to the State hath appeared in any of his Actions, should have some Share in the Honours bestowed by the Public, and in the Favour of these his Countrymen. However, I dare affirm, since I am compelled to use this Language, that my Conduct in Ministry, and my Counsels, if examined with Candour, will appear not meanly to resemble the Administration of those great Men, so justly celebrated, and to be calculated for the same glorious Purposes ;

on

on the contrary, yours will appear to resemble, that of the Sycophants, by whom they were calumniated. ¶ For it is evident, that even in those Ages there were some, who depreciated the Merit of their Contemporaries, but spoke of their Ancestors with the highest Encomiums; a malevolent and malignant Office, like that in which thou art at present employed. Dost thou assert therefore, that I do not resemble these illustrious Personages? Dost thou, Æschines, resemble them? Does your Brother? Does any other of our present Orators? Not one, I positively affirm. But my worthy Friend (not to use any severer Expression) compare the Living with the Living, as is usual in other Professions: as Poets, Musicians, and Wrestlers are compared to each other. Philammon did not return from the Olympic Games uncrowned, because he was inferior to Glaucus, or any other athletick Champion of former Ages, but was honoured with a Crown, and proclaimed Victor, because superior to every Antagonist, with whom he personally engaged. Compare me therefore with our present Orators; with yourself, or any other you think proper. I yield not to any of them. While the Republic was yet at Liberty to choose the Measures she thought the most conducive to her Safety; when the Contest, who should excel the rest in Affection to his Country, was opened in common to us all, the Counsels I proposed were always deemed most powerful and effectual; and by my Decrees, my Laws, my Embassies was every thing

regu-

regulated. None of your Faction ever appeared, unless when you had an Opportunity of distressing the Athenian People. But after our great Calamity, which, would to Heaven! we never had experienced, there was no longer any Inquiry made for Counsellors to advise, but for Slaves to obey; for Traitors, ready to receive the Wages of Villainy to the Destruction of their Country, and for Wretches, who could submit to the vilest Adulation. Then did you and your Faction appear in your several Stations with Magnificence, and a Pomp of Equipages. Then, I confess, I was inferior to you in the Splendour of your Appearance, but in my Affection for this People, still your superior.

THERE are two Qualities, O Men of Athens, which every Citizen, who enters into Ministry, however moderate his natural Abilities (for in speaking of myself I would willingly use a Language least liable to give Offence) should certainly possess. During his Continuance in Power he should encourage a Spirit of Generosity in the Republic, and an Ardour for Sovereignty. But in all Times, and upon all Occasions, he should preserve his Affection for her inviolable. These Qualities are under the Direction of Nature; but Power and Success depend upon another Being. The natural Disposition, you will find, hath in perfect Simplicity attended all my Actions. Remember, for Instance, that when Philip and Alexander demanded I should
be

be delivered up to their Resentment; when I was summoned to appear before the Amphictyons; when Menaces and Promises were equally employed to terrify or seduce me from my Duty; when these Wretches were let loose, like wild Beasts, to destroy me, yet I never abandoned my Zeal for your Interests. | From my first Entrance into Ministry, I chose the direct and honest Path; to dedicate my Services to the Honours, the Glory of my Country, and in them to fix my own Being. | Upon any Successes of a certain Nation I never wander round the Forum with a Countenance of Exultation and Triumph, stretching forth my Hand in Sign of Gratulation, and publishing the joyful Tidings to People, who, I am confident, will send Advice of my Behaviour elsewhere. Nor do I hear the Successes of the Republic with Horror, and Groans; or bend me to the Earth in Sorrow, like these impious Wretches, who slanderously abuse the Commonwealth, as if they could slander Her without publishing their own Infamy. All their Views are directed to a foreign Power, and when he hath founded his Dominion upon the Calamities of Greece, they make it the Subject of their Encomiums, and boldly tells us, it is our Duty to render it for ever fixed and permanent. But never, O all ye Gods! never may any of your Divinities confirm their impious Wishes. Inspire them rather, with better Counsels and Affections. But if they continue thus incurable, separate them wholly from this People; pursue them, both by
Land

Land and Sea, with instant and unerring Destruction; but grant to us, who remain, a speedy Deliverance from the present Terrours, that hang over us, and perpetual Security from future Dangers.

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