

330 BC

THE ORATION ON THE CROWN

Demosthenes

translated by Thomas Leland, D.D.

Notes and Introduction by Thomas Leland, D.D.

Demosthenes (383-322 BC) - Athenian statesman and the most famous of Greek orators. He was leader of a patriotic party opposing Philip of Macedon.

The Oration on the Crown (330 BC) - An oration in defense of Ctesiphon, an Athenian citizen who proposed that Demosthenes should receive a crown for his extraordinary merit. Aeschines, Demosthenes' political rival, attacked Demosthenes in his "Oration against Ctesiphon." "The Oration on the Crown," Demosthenes' response, is regarded as the finest work of ancient eloquence.

INTRODUCTION

To the Oration on the Crown

THE Oration on the Crown is justly considered the greatest speech ever made by Demosthenes, and if Demosthenes is the first of orators, it is the greatest speech ever delivered by man. It certainly is the most interesting of the extant orations of the Athenian statesman. First of all, it was the last speech he made at Athens, and he spoke at a time when the liberties of Greece had been irreparably lost by the defeat on the field of Chaeronea. The effect of it was to prove that the patriotic spirit of independence still survived in the hearts of the Athenians, and that the glory of Demosthenes, amid the downfall of Athenian ascendancy, remained undimmed by the aspersions of the orator's enemies. It is moreover most interesting because of its autobiographical character. When great and good men speak of their own lives and their own motives they always find attentive readers. Hence the apology of Socrates, the letters of Cicero, the Confessions of Augustine, the Vita Nuova of Dante, even the highly colored pages of Rousseau, and the Essays of Montaigne, not to speak of Pepys's Diary, possess a special fascination, because they reveal the intimate thoughts and character of exceptional men, and admit the reader to the closest personal acquaintance with the writers. The egotism of Demosthenes in this famous speech is quite unreserved, but it is equally excusable, in that it is dictated by the necessity of self-vindication, and while it adds a vivid charm to his arguments, it at once claims the sympathy of the modern reader.

The circumstances under which this oration was delivered are as follows.

The battle of Chaeronea was in some sense the result of the policy of Demosthenes. Philip of Macedon in his invasion of Greece had partisans at Thebes, as well as at Athens, and when Thebes seemed to waver in its opposition to the invader after the capture of Elatea by Philip, Demosthenes proposed an embassy to Thebes to secure the coalition of Theban and Athenian forces in giving battle to the invader. The embassy, led by Demosthenes, was successful. The united armies marched to meet Philip, and a battle was fought and lost by the Greeks at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. A little time afterwards Ctesiphon (who appears for the first and last time in history on this occasion) proposed in the council that a crown of gold, i.e., of olive leaves entwined in gold, the usual decoration given to political or military merit at Athens, should be offered to Demosthenes as an acknowledgment of his patriotic services to the republic. His services had not been merely those of an orator whose speeches had for years alternately warned and encouraged the people against the wiles and machinations of Philip of Macedon.

For instance, when the news of Chaeronea reached Athens wild consternation spread over Attica. It was rumored that the conqueror was preparing to march upon Athens and every preparation was made to resist him. To Demosthenes was intrusted the repairs of the fortifications, and upon this work he expended three talents of his private fortune, in addition to the grant made from the public treasury. Although Philip spared the territory of the Athenians, restored their prisoners without ransom, buried their dead on the field, and sent their bones to Athens, this was merely through reverence for that city as "the eye of Greece," the home of letters and arts. His acts anticipated the profession made by his son, Alexander the Great, that he would prove himself the "Shield of Hellas." The credit and influence of Demosthenes seemed, however, to have crumbled into the dust,

and the motion of Ctesiphon was doubtless intended to put the confidence of the people to the test, and give the orator, if necessary, an opportunity of self-vindication.

Events proved that the proceeding of Ctesiphon was a wise one. The Macedonian party in Athens had now collected all their forces to overthrow the statesman who had counselled that alliance with Thebes, which had been proved illusory by the disaster at Chaeronea, and had terrified his fellow-countrymen with prophecies of Philip's vengeance on Athens, prophecies which the moderation of the victorious king had proved false. The Athenian assembly took a nobler view of the matter, and awarded the crown, but immediately afterwards Aeschines, the rival of Demosthenes, a man charged by this latter with receiving bribes from Philip, opened the attack by indicting Ctesiphon as the author of an illegal measure. Ctesiphon's measure, passed in the shape of a decree by the council, or upper legislative body, and the assembly ordered, "that Demosthenes should be presented with a golden crown, and that a proclamation should be made in the theatre, at the great Dionysian festival, at the performance of the new tragedies, announcing that Demosthenes was rewarded by the people with a golden crown for his integrity, for the goodness which he had invariably displayed towards all the Greeks and towards the people of Athens, and also for his magnanimity, and because he had ever, both by word and deed, promoted the interests of the people, and been zealous to do all the good in his power." Aeschines, the orator who challenged this decree, was at that period considered the second orator in Greece. He was the leader of the Macedonian party, and the deadly enemy of Demosthenes. He was moved against his rival by bitter feelings of jealousy and revenge. The indictment was formally drawn up against Ctesiphon, but no one doubted that the real object of the attack was Demosthenes.

Ctesiphon was accordingly accused of having violated Athenian law in three points by the wording of his decree. First, because it was unlawful to make false allegations in such a state document as the decree. Secondly, because it was unlawful to confer a crown to a state official who had not yet rendered a report of his term of office; and Demosthenes was both guardian of the walls, and a treasurer of the theoric fund, the public contributions to civic and national spectacles.

Thirdly, because it was unlawful to proclaim the honor of a crown at the Dionysian festival, at the performance of the new tragedies; the law being, that if the council gave a crown, it should be published in the bouleterion or council hall, if the people, in the Pnyx, at the popular assembly.

It will be seen that the gist of the indictment lies in the first of these points, viz.: in the inquiry, whether the high character and public services credited by Ctesiphon to Demosthenes were matter of fact or no. The indictment was preferred just before the Dionysian festival, of 338 B.C., at which the crown was to have been conferred, and had the effect of arresting the award. But the proceedings were, in legal parlance, "continued" i.e., suspended, for some seven years; and it was not until the end of that period that Aeschines uttered his speech against Ctesiphon, and maintained, with considerable force and ingenuity, the points made in his indictment of the decree.

In the mean time events in the conflict with Macedonia had passed into a new phase.

Two years after the battle of Chaeronea "fatal to liberty," the death of Philip by the hand of an assassin had raised high the hopes of Greece that deliverance was come. But his successor, Alexander, took up with untiring vigor the campaign against the independence of Greece. He utterly destroyed the city of Thebes, characteristically sparing the house of Pindar. Thebes had rebelled upon his succession to the throne, and Athens, suspected of assisting the rebels, only escaped the wrath of the conqueror by abject submission. As Alexander knew that the chief menace to his authority lay in the power of oratory at Athens to rouse the patriotic passions of the people, he demanded

the surrender of the orators and chiefly of Demosthenes; even the just and clement Phocian urged upon his countrymen to make this sacrifice for the tranquillity of the city, but the people dissented. In 334 B.C. Alexander passed over into Asia, where it was expected he would perish before the countless hosts that Darius sent to meet him. The battle of Issus proved these expectations to be groundless. Yet in 330 Agis, King of Sparta, made another and final struggle to fling off the Macedonian yoke, and while Athens kept a strict neutrality, was defeated in battle and slain by Antipater, whom Alexander had left as his viceroy in Greece. Sparta was now occupied by a Macedonian garrison, Phocion corresponded in a friendly manner with Alexander, and Persian spoils were accepted from the latter and set up in the Acropolis.

Cowed and subdued by the overwhelming sense of Alexander's successes and feeling that resistance to Macedonian ascendancy was hopeless, the Athenians seemed to be sunk into a lethargy, from which not even the voice of Demosthenes was raised to awaken them.

Then it was that Aeschines thought that the time had come for the destruction of his rival.

The attention of all Greece was excited by the forensic contest between the two most powerful statesmen and brilliant orators of Athens. Strangers crowded into the city to listen to them. Fortunately the speech of Aeschines, as well as that of Demosthenes, has come down to us. In comparing the two orations we plainly see that the orator of the Macedonian party lays most stress upon the legal and technical points of the indictment. He does indeed vituperate his opponent in gross and violent language; but he speaks as if he feels bound even more to defend his own character than to assail that of Demosthenes.

Demosthenes opens his speech with a devout prayer to the gods, and his exordium, in which he addresses the jury of five hundred citizens, is praised by Quintilian for its caution and modesty. He begins with a general view of the condition of Greece when he entered upon public life; he describes his own opinions and measures in aiding and guiding his fellow-countrymen, in their desperate struggle against the encroachments of Philip.

He does not omit an apology for the self-praise which is implied in the barest enumeration of his good offices to the state. Then he proceeds to deal with the Sacred War, and the peace of 346 B.C. He plainly shows that he was not to blame for the false steps then taken. The Phocians would have been aided by Athens, he states, unless she had been prevented by the false representations and the treachery of Aeschines and his associates.

The rupture of the peace by Athens, he proceeds to say, was the result of Philip's repeated and continuous aggressions through the length and breadth of Greece. The Athenians were menaced by the Macedonian king in their foreign possessions, in Thrace, Euboea and Megara, as well as at home. It was due to the measures which he proposed, and which were carried out during his administration, he said, that the campaigns of Athenian soldiers and sailors abroad attained such a glorious result, and he read out to his auditors the public decrees of the Byzantines, Perinthians, and dwellers in the Chersonese, passed in honor of Athens and providing for the erection of monuments to commemorate her generous patriotism. Turning from this glowing enumeration of the honors conferred on Athens, he takes up next the technical and legal objections urged by Aeschines against the decree which Ctesiphon had suggested, and cleverly shows how they may be looked upon as groundless. From this part of his oration, so brief, so abrupt that it may almost be looked upon as a digression, he launches out into a bitter personal attack upon Aeschines, whom he holds up to ridicule

as born of low and infamous parents; to this he adds more serious charges of corruption and treason, and attributes the disaster of Chaeronea indirectly to the conduct of Aeschines, when representing Athens in the mission to Delphi in 339 B.C. He proves that his rival and accuser has given a false account of the affair. In an oftenquoted passage he gives a wonderful description of the panic which seized Athens at the news of Philip's occupation of Elataea, from which position he was afterwards to advance on Chaeronea. Rising higher and higher in the nervous flight of his eloquence, he asserts that in the midst of the dismay, he alone stood up to speak and counsel a coalition between Thebes and Athens for the purpose of checking the invasion of the Macedonian; he points out that although that coalition resulted in the battle of Chaeronea, in which Athens was defeated, it was nevertheless better to be defeated in a glorious struggle for Greek independence, than weakly to surrender, without a resort to arms, the heritage of liberty. Not to the error of a minister but to the uncertainty of fortune was to be attributed that irretrievable calamity.

As Aeschines had spoken about his fortune, Demosthenes proceeds to compare the fortune of his own bringing up with the education of Aeschines, who was reared as a son of a slave and an abandoned adventuress. But all the faults of his adversary were not to be imputed to his youth of indigence and low surroundings.

His character was also base, for Aeschines grieved at the successes of his countrymen against Philip, and rejoiced at their disasters, or at least coldly related them without a single tear. In reply to a demand of Aeschines why he, Demosthenes, should claim the reward of a golden crown the orator unhesitatingly put forth a catalogue of his own good services, his incorruptibility, his study to do all that it was possible for a man single-handed to do for the republic. He does not shrink from comparison in the purity of his political life, in attachment to his country, in devotion to her interests, with either living statesmen, or with those who in the olden time had maintained the honor of Athens.

The hearers of Demosthenes felt that in this self-justification he was appealing to their patriotism, and identifying his own acts with the glories of his country.

That he was in the right, was borne out by the fact that he had always been supported by the people. Thus his judges could not condemn him without also passing sentence upon themselves. The result of his speech was that Ctesiphon was acquitted and Aeschines found no other course left him but to retire into exile.

There are many famous passages in the Oration on the Crown. It is full of the clearest argument, the most pointed epigram, the most majestic apostrophe. The main point to be observed is the testimony it bears to the transparent high-mindedness and single-eyed devotion of the great statesman and orator, whose character as revealed in this magnificent oration shed a lustre over the expiring glories of Athenian greatness.

THE ORATION ON THE CROWN

IN the first place, ye men of Athens, I make my prayer to all the powers of Heaven, that such affection as I have ever invariably discovered to this state and all its citizens, you now may entertain for me on this present trial: and (what concerns you nearly, what essentially concerns your religion and your honor) that the gods may so dispose your minds as to permit me to proceed in my defence, not as directed by my adversary (that would be severe, indeed!) but by the laws and by your oath; in which, to all the other equitable clauses, we find this expressly added- "Each party shall have equal audience." This imports not merely that you shall not prejudge, not merely that the same impartiality shall be shown to both; but, still farther, that the contending parties shall each be left at full liberty to arrange *(1) and to conduct his pleading as his choice or judgment may determine.

In many instances hath Aeschines the entire advantage in this cause. Two there are of more especial moment. First, as to our interests in the contest, we are on terms utterly unequal; for they are by no means points of equal import, for me to be deprived of your affections, and for him to be defeated in his prosecution.

As to me- but, when I am entering on my defence, let me suppress everything ominous, sensible as I must be of this the advantage of my adversary. In the next place, such is the natural disposition of mankind, that invective and accusation are heard with pleasure, while they who speak their own praises are received with impatience. His, then, is the part which commands a favorable acceptance; that which must prove offensive to every single hearer is reserved for me. If, to guard against this disadvantage, I should decline all mention of my own actions, I know not by what means I could refute the charge or establish my pretensions to this honor. If, on the other hand, I enter into a detail of my whole conduct, private and political, I must be obliged to speak perpetually of myself. Here, then, I shall endeavor to preserve all possible moderation: and what the circumstances of the case necessarily extort from me must, in justice, be imputed to him who first moved a prosecution so extraordinary.

I presume, ye judges, you will all acknowledge that in this cause Ctesiphon and I are equally concerned; that it calls for my attention no less than his: for in every case it is grievous and severe to be deprived of our advantages, and especially when they are wrested from us by an enemy. But to be deprived of your favor and affections is a misfortune the most severe, as these are advantages the most important: and if such be the object of the present contest, I hope, and it is my general request to this tribunal, that while I endeavor to defend myself fairly and equitably against this charge, you will hear me as the laws direct; those laws which their first author, Solon, the man so tender of our interests, so true a friend to liberty, secured; not by enacting only, but by the additional provision of that oath imposed on you, ye judges; not, as I conceive, from any suspicion of your integrity, but from a clear conviction, that as the prosecutor, who is first to speak, hath the advantage of loading his adversary with invectives and calumnies, the defendant could not possibly prevail against them, unless each of you who are to pronounce sentence should, with a reverend attention to that duty which you owe to Heaven, favorably admit the just defence of him who is to answer, vouchsafe an impartial and equal audience to both parties, and thus form your decision on all that hath been urged by both.

As I am on this day to enter into an exact detail of all my conduct, both in private life and in my public administration, here permit me to repeat those supplications to the gods with which I first began, and in your presence to offer up my prayers; first, that I

may be received by you on this occasion with the same affection which I have ever felt for this state and all its citizens; and, in the next place, that Heaven may direct your minds to that determination which shall prove most conducive to the general honor of all, and most exactly consonant to the religious engagements of each individual.

Had Aeschines confined his accusation to those points only on which he founded his impeachment, I too should have readily proceeded to support the legality of the decree; but as he hath been no less copious on other subjects, as he hath pressed me with various allegations, most of them the grossest falsehoods, I deem it necessary, and it is but just, that I first speak a few words of these, that none of you may be influenced by matters foreign to the cause, and no prepossessions conceived against me when I come to the chief point of my defence.

As to all that scandalous abuse which he hath vented against my private character, mark on what a plain and equitable issue I rest the whole. If you know me to be such a man as he alleges (for I am no stranger- my life hath been spent among you), suffer me not to speak: no; though my public administration may have had the most transcendent merit, rise up at once and pronounce my condemnation: but if you have ever esteemed- if you have known me to be much superior to him, of a family more reputable, inferior to no citizen of common rank, either in character or birth (to say more might seem arrogant and offensive), then let him be denied all confidence in other matters; for here is a plain proof that he hath equally been false in all: and let me be now favored with the same regard which I have experienced on many former trials. Yes, Aeschines! depraved as is your heart, your understanding here appears equally depraved to imagine that I could be diverted from the account of all my political transactions by turning aside to these your personal scurrilities! I shall not proceed thus: I am not so infatuated: no; I shall first examine all that falsehood and virulence with which you have loaded my administration; and then proceed to those calumnies with which he hath so licentiously abused my private character, if this audience can endure the odious detail.

To proceed, then, to the articles on which I am accused. *(2) These are many and grievous; some of that kind against which the laws denounce severe, nay, the utmost punishments. But the whole scheme of this prosecution discovers all the rancor of enmity, all the extravagance and virulence and insolence of malice; which, I call the gods to witness! is neither right, nor constitutional, nor just. True it is, that no man should be denied the privilege of appearing and speaking before the people; but this privilege never should be perverted to the purposes of animosity and envy. Yet thus hath he abused it; for had he really been witness of my crimes against the state, and of crimes so heinous as he hath now set forth with such theatrical solemnity, he might have resorted to the legal punishments while the facts were recent: had he seen me acting so as to merit an impeachment, he might have impeached: had I proposed illegal decrees, he might in due form have accused me of illegal decrees, or whatever other crimes his malice hath now falsely urged against me, whatever other instances of guilt he had discovered in my conduct: there are laws against them all; there are punishments; there are legal forms of procedure, which might have condemned me to the severest penalties.

Here was his resource. And did it appear that he had proceeded thus, that he had thus embraced the legal advantages against me, then had he been consistent in the present prosecution: but now, as he hath deviated from the regular and equitable method, as he hath declined all attempts to convict me while the facts were recent, and after so long an interval hath collected such a heap of calumny, of ribaldry and scandal, it is evident he but acts a part; while I am the person really accused, he affects the form of proceeding only against this man; while on the very face of the prosecution there appears a malicious design against me, he dares not point his malice at the real object, but labors

to destroy the reputation of another: so that to all the other arguments obvious to be urged with all the force of truth in defence of Ctesiphon, I might fairly add one more: that whatever be our particular quarrels, justice requires that they should be discussed between ourselves; that we ourselves, I say, should support the contest, and not seek for some innocent victim to sacrifice to our animosities. This is the severest injustice. No: he cannot pursue Ctesiphon on my account; and that he hath not directed his impeachment against me can proceed but from a consciousness that such impeachment could not be supported.

Here, then, I might rest my cause, as it is natural to conclude, from what hath now been offered, that all the several articles of his accusation must be equally unjust and equally devoid of truth. But it is my purpose to examine them distinctly, one by one; and especially his injurious falsehoods relative to the peace and embassy, where he would transfer the guilt of those actions on me which he himself committed in conjunction with Philocrates. And here, my fellow-citizens, it is necessary, nor is it foreign to the purpose, to recall to your remembrance the state of our affairs in those times, that, together with each conjuncture, ye may have a clear view of each particular transaction.

At that period, then, when the Phocian War broke out (not by my means, for I had no share in public business at that time), such were, in the first place, the dispositions of this state, that we wished the safety of the Phocians, although we saw the injustice of their conduct; and what calamity soever the Thebans might have suffered would have given us pleasure, as we were incensed, and not without reason and justice, against this people: indeed they had not used their success at Leuctra with moderation. Then, Peloponnesus was all divided: those who hated the Lacedaemonians were not strong enough to destroy them; nor could the governors appointed by Lacedaemon maintain their authority in the several cities; but they and all were everywhere involved in desperate contention and disorder.

Philip, perceiving this (for it was no secret), and lavishing his gold on the traitors in the several states, aided the confusion, and inflamed them still more violently against each other. Thus did he contrive to make the faults and errors of other men subservient to his own interests, so as to rise to that height of power which threatened all Greece. And now, when men began to sink under the calamity of a long protracted war; when the then insolent but now unhappy Thebans were on the point of being compelled, in the face of Greece, to fly to you for protection, Philip, to prevent this, to keep the states from uniting, promised a peace to you; to them a reinforcement. What was it then which so far conspired with his designs that you fell into the snare by an error almost voluntary? The cowardice, shall I call it? or the ignorance of the other Greeks? or rather a combination of both? who, while you were maintaining a tedious and incessant war, and this in the common cause (as was evident in fact), never once provided for your support, neither by money nor by troops, nor by any assistance whatever. This conduct you received with a just and a becoming resentment, and readily listened to the overtures of Philip. Hence were you prevailed on to grant the peace, not by any promises of mine, as he hath falsely asserted. And it must appear, on a fair examination, that the iniquity and corruption of these men, in the course of that treaty, have been the real cause of all our present difficulties. But I shall now proceed to a faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction: conscious that, if any instances of guilt ever so heinous should appear in it, not one can be fairly charged on me.

The first who ever moved or mentioned a peace was Aristodemus the player.

The man who seconded his instances and proposed the decree, and who with him had hired out his services on this occasion, was Philocrates; your accomplice, Aeschines, not mine: no! though you roar out your falsehoods till you burst. They who united with them

in support of this measure (from what motives I shall not now inquire) were Eubulus and Cephisophon. I had no part in it at all. And though this be really the fact, though it be proved by the evidence of truth itself, yet so abandoned is he to all sense of shame, as to dare not only to assert that I was the author of this peace, but that I prevented the state from concluding it in conjunction with the general assembly of the Greeks. O thou—by what name can I properly call thee? When thou wast present, when thou sawest me depriving the state of an interest so important, a conjunction of such moment, as thou now describest with so much pomp, didst thou express thy indignation? Didst thou rise up to explain, to enforce, that guilt of which thou now accusest me? And had Philip purchased this my important service, of preventing the union of the Greeks, surely it was not thy part to be silent, but to cry aloud, to testify, to inform these thy fellow-citizens. But this was never done; thy voice was never once heard on this occasion. And, in fact, no embassy was at that time sent to any of the Grecian states; they had all discovered their sentiments long before: such is the absurdity of his assertions. And, what is still worse, these his falsehoods are principally directed against the honor of our state: for if you called on the other Greeks to take up arms, and at the same time sent out your ministers to Philip to treat for peace, this was the act of an Eurybatus, not the part of this city, not the procedure of honest men. But this is not the fact: no; for what purpose could you have sent to them at that period? For a peace? They were all at peace. For a war? We were then actually deliberating about the treaty. On the whole, therefore, it doth not appear that I was at all the agent, or at all the author of this first peace: nor can he produce the least reasonable evidence to support those other falsehoods he hath urged against me.

Again, from the time when this state had agreed to peace, examine fairly what course of conduct each of us adopted: thus you will clearly see who was Philip's agent on every occasion; who acted for you, and sought the real interest of his country.

I, on my part, proposed a decree in the Senate, that our ambassadors should embark with all expedition for such place as they were informed was the present residence of Philip, and receive his oaths of ratification: but they, even after my decree had passed, declined to pay the due obedience. And here, Athenians, I must explain the import and moment of this my decree. It was the interest of Philip that the interval between our acceding and his swearing to the treaty should be as long, yours that it should be as short, as possible. And why? You had abandoned all warlike preparations, not only from the day when you had sworn to the peace, but from the moment you had first conceived an expectation of it: he, on the contrary, redoubled his attention to all military affairs through the whole intervening period; concluding (and it proved a just conclusion) that whatever places he could wrest from us previously to his oaths of ratification, he might retain them all securely, and that no one could think of rescinding the treaty on that account. This I foresaw; I weighed it maturely; and hence proposed this decree, that they should repair to Philip and receive his oaths with all expedition: that so he should be obliged to ratify the treaty while the Thracians, your allies, yet kept possession of those places, the object of this man's ridicule—Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergiske: not that Philip, by seizing such of them as were most convenient to his purposes, should become master of all Thrace; not that he should acquire vast treasures; not that he should gain large reinforcements, and thus execute all his future schemes with ease. Here is a decree which Aeschines hath never mentioned, never quoted. But, because I moved in the Senate that the ambassadors of Macedon should be introduced, he inveighs against me as highly criminal. What should I have done? Was I to move that they should not be introduced? The men who came purposely to treat with us? Was I to forbid that any seats should be appointed for them in the theatre? Why, they might have purchased seats at the common trifling price. Was I to show my concern for Athens

by such minute savings, while, like him and his accomplices, I sold our capital interests to Philip? No.

Take my decree, which he, though well acquainted with it, hath passed over in silence.
Read. -

THE DECREE

“In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the nineteenth day of the month Hecatombaeon, the Pandionian tribe presiding- Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the Paeanian tribe, proposed the following decree: “Whereas, Philip, by his ambassadors sent to Athens to confer about a peace, hath agreed and concluded on the terms: It is resolved by the Senate and people of Athens, in order to the final execution of this treaty, agreeably to the resolutions and conventions of a former assembly, that five ambassadors be chosen from the community of Athens; which ambassadors thus chosen shall depart, and without delay repair to such place as they shall be informed is the place of Philip’s residence, and with all possible expedition mutually receive and take the oaths necessary for ratification of the treaty concluded, as aforesaid, with the people of Athens, including the allies on each side.- The persons chosen into this commission are Eubulus, Aeschines, Cephisophon, Democrates, and Cleon.” When by this decree I had approved my attachment to the state, not to the interests of Philip, our excellent ambassadors sat down in perfect indifference three whole months in Macedon, although within the space of ten, or rather of three or four days, they might have arrived at the Hellespont, tendered the oaths, and thus saved the towns before he had reduced them: for he would not have attempted the least hostility in our presence; or, if he had, we might have refused his ratification, and disappointed his hopes of peace: for he could not have enjoyed both- a peace and his conquest also.

Such was the first instance of Philip’s artifice in this negotiation, and of the corruption of these wicked men; for which I then denounced, and now and ever must denounce, perpetual war and opposition against these enemies of Heaven. I proceed to point out another, and a still more flagrant instance of iniquity. When Philip had in due form acceded to the treaty, having first possessed himself of Thrace by means of those ministers who refused obedience to my decree, he bribed them once again not to depart from Macedon until he had completed his armament against the Phocians, lest a fair report of his designs and preparations should prompt you to issue forth, steer your course to Thermopylae, as on a former occasion, and block up the straits of Euboea with your navy. He resolved that the news of his preparations and his passage through the straits should arrive together: and such were his apprehensions, such the violence of his terror, lest when he had gained the straits, before he had completed the destruction of Phocis, you should be informed of his motions, resolve to assist this state, and thus defeat his grand design, that he again bribed this wretch, not in conjunction with the other deputies, but now apart and by himself, to make such representations and to give you such assurances as effectually ruined all our interests.

And here, my fellow-citizens, I desire, I beseech you to bear in mind, through the whole course of this dispute, that if Aeschines had urged nothing against me foreign to his cause, I too should have confined myself to the great point in contest; but as he hath recurred to every charge, every invective which malice could

suggest, it becomes necessary for me to make some short reply to all the several crimes alleged against me.

What, then, were the declarations which he made at this juncture, and which proved so fatal to our interests? That you ought not to be violently alarmed at Philip’s passage through the straits; that the event would answer to your most sanguine wishes if you but continued quiet; that in two or three days you should hear that he had entered into strict friendship with those who seemed the object of his hostilities; and that he had become their enemy with whom he now united. “For it is not words,” said he, in all the

solemnity of language, “that form the strict band of friendship, but a similarity of interests: and it is equally the interest of all- of Philip, of the Phocians, and of Athens- to be relieved from the insolence and stupidity of the Thebans.” And what were the immediate consequences? The unhappy Phocians were speedily destroyed, and their cities razed to their foundations: you who had relied on his assurances, and continued quiet, were shortly obliged to leave your lands desolate, and collect your property within these walls, while he received his gold. And, still farther, the inveterate hatred of the Thebans and Thessalians fell, with all its weight, on Athens; while Philip’s conduct was attended with applause and popularity. To prove these things, read the decree of Callisthenes, and the letter received from Philip: they both confirm the truth of my assertions. Read. -

THE DECREE

“In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the twenty-first day of the month of Maemacterion, in an assembly extraordinary, convened by authority of the generals, prytanes, and Senate, at the motion of Callisthenes, it is resolved, “That no citizen of Athens be permitted, on any pretence whatever, to pass the night in the country: but that every man shall confine himself within the city, or the precincts of the Piraeus excepting only such persons as may be appointed to the defence of some post. That every such person shall be obliged to maintain his station, without presuming to absent himself, either by night or day. That whoever refuses to pay due obedience to this resolution and decree shall incur the penalties ordained for traitors, unless he can allege some necessary cause to be approved of by the general immediately in command, the treasurer, and the secretary of the Senate, who shall have the sole power of judging of such allegations. That all effects now in the country shall be instantly removed; those within the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia, into the city or Piraeus; those at any greater distance, to Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnusium, and Sunium.” Were these the hopes which induced you to conclude the peace? Were these the promises with which this hireling amused you? Now read the letter soon afterward received from Philip. -

THE LETTER

“Philip, King of Macedon, to the Senate and people of Athens, health: “Know ye that we have passed the straits of Thermopylae, and reduced Phocis. We have stationed our garrisons in such towns as have submitted and acknowledged our authority. Those which have presumed to resist our force we have taken by assault, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, and razed their habitations to the ground. But being informed that you are making dispositions for the support of these people, we, by these presents, recommend to you to spare yourselves the pains of such an ineffectual attempt. Your conduct must certainly appear extremely inequitable and extravagant, in arming against us, with whom you have so lately concluded a treaty. If you have determined to show no regard to your engagements, we shall only wait for the commencement of hostilities, to exert a resolution on our part no less vigorous and formidable.” You hear how he announces his intention in this letter: how explicitly he declares to his allies, “I have taken these measures in despite of the Athenians, and to their eternal mortification. If ye are wise, then, ye Thebans and Thessalians, ye will regard them as enemies, and submit to me with an entire confidence.” These are not his words, indeed; but thus he would gladly be understood. And by these means did he acquire such an absolute dominion over their affections, that, blind and insensible to all consequences, they suffered him to execute the utmost schemes of his ambition. Hence all the calamities which the wretched Thebans experience at this day: while he who was the great agent and coadjutor in procuring this implicit confidence; he who in this place uttered his falsehoods, and deceived you by his flattering assurances; he it is who affects a deep concern at the misfortunes of Thebes, who displays them in such pathetic terms; although he himself be the real author both of these and the calamities of Phocis, and of all others which the Greeks have suffered. Yes, Aeschines, you must be affected deeply with these events; you must indeed feel compassion for the Thebans: you who have acquired possessions in Boeotia; you who enjoy the fruits of their lands: and I must surely rejoice at their misery; I, who was instantly demanded by the man who had inflicted it.

But I have been led insensibly to some particulars which I may shortly introduce with more propriety. I now return to the proof of my assertion, that the corruption and iniquity of these men have been the real cause of our present difficulties. When Philip had contrived to deceive you so effectually by means of those who during their embassy had sold themselves to this prince, and never reported one word of truth to your assemblies; when the wretched Phocians also had been betrayed, and their cities levelled with the ground; what followed? The miscreant Thessalians and the stupid Thebans regarded Philip as their friend, their benefactor, their saviour: he was everything with them: nor could they bear a word which tended to oppose these sentiments. On your part, although you looked with a just suspicion on the progress of affairs, although you felt the utmost indignation, yet still you adhered to the treaty; for it was not possible to act, single as you were. The other Greeks, too, equally abused with you, and equally disappointed in their hopes, were yet determined to the same pacific conduct, though Philip, in effect, had long since made war on them. For when in the circuit of his expedition he had destroyed the Illyrians and the Triballians, and even some Grecian states- when a certain set of men had seized the opportunity of a peace, issued forth from the several cities, and, repairing to Macedon, had there received his bribes (of which number Aeschines was one)- then were the real objects of his hostilities discovered, and then was the attack made on the several states. Whether they yet perceived this attack or no is another question- a question which concerns not me: I was ever violent in forewarning, in denouncing the danger here, and in every place to which I was deputed.

But, in fact, the states were all unsound. Those who had the conduct and administration of affairs had been gained by gold: while their private citizens and popular assemblies were either blind to all consequences, or caught by the fatal bait of temporary ease and quiet.

And such was the general infatuation, that each community conceived that they alone were to be exempted from the common calamity- nay, that they could derive their own security from the public danger. To this I must impute it, that the many found their inordinate and ill-timed indolence exchanged for slavery; while their statesmen, who imagined that they were selling everything but themselves, found at length that they had first sold themselves. Instead of friends and guests (so were they styled while they were receiving their bribes), now are they called flatterers, enemies to Heaven, and every other odious name so justly merited. For it is not the interest of the traitor that is at all regarded by the man who bribes him; nor when the purchased service hath been once obtained is the traitor ever admitted into his future confidence. If he were, no man could be happier than the traitor. But this is not the case, my fellow-citizens. How should it? No! impossible! When the votary of ambition hath once obtained his object, he also becomes master of his vile agents; and as he knows their baseness, then- then he detests them- he keeps them at a wary distance- he spurns them from him. Reflect on former events: their time, indeed, is past: but men of sense may always find a time to derive instruction from them. Lasthenes was called the friend of Philip, until he had betrayed Olynthus; Timolaus,- until he had destroyed the Thebans; Eudicus and Simo, until they had given him the dominion of Thessaly; then were they driven away with scorn, then were they loaded with every kind of wretchedness; and, traitors in disgrace, were dispersed through the whole nation. How was Aristratus received at Sicyon? How Perilaus at Megara? Are they not in abject infamy? And hence it evidently appears that he who is most vigilant in defence of his country, and most zealous in his opposition to such men, is really a friend to you, Aeschines, and your venal, traitorous faction (as his conduct makes it necessary to bribe you); and that your safety and your gains depend entirely on the number of such patriots, and their obstinate aversion to your counsels. If left to yourselves, you must have long since perished.

And now, as to the transactions of those times, I might say more; but I have already said what I deem more than sufficient. To him must it be imputed, who hath disgorged all the foulness of his own iniquity on me, which it was necessary to wipe away, for the sake of those who were born since the events I speak of. To you, ye judges, the detail must be tedious and disgusting. Before I had uttered one word you were well informed of his prostitution. He calls it friendship and intimate connection. Thus hath he just now expressed it. "He who reproaches me with the intimacy of Alexander!"- I reproach thee with the intimacy of Alexander! How couldst thou obtain it? How couldst thou aspire to it? I could never call thee the friend of Philip; no, nor the intimate of Alexander. I am not so mad; unless we are to call those menial servants who labor for their wages the friends and intimates of those who hire them. But how can this be? Impossible! No! I formerly called you the hireling of Philip; I now call you the hireling of Alexander; and so do all these our fellow-citizens. If you doubt it, ask them; or I shall ask them for you. Ye citizens of Athens, do you account Aeschines the hireling or the intimate of Alexander? You hear their answer. *(3) I now proceed to my defence against the several articles of his impeachment, and to the particulars of my ministerial conduct, that Aeschines (although he knows them well) may hear the reasons on which I justly claim the honor of this decree, and might claim still greater honors. Take the impeachment. Read it. -

THE IMPEACHMENT

“In the archonship of Chaerondas, on the sixth day of the month Elaphebolion, Aeschines, son of Atrometus, of the Cothocidian tribe, impeached Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, of the Anaphlystian tribe, before the archon, of a violation of the laws.

“Forasmuch as he hath been author of an illegal decree, importing that a golden crown should be conferred on Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the Paeanian tribe; and that proclamation should be made in the theatre during the grand festival of Bacchus, and the exhibition of the new tragedies, that the people of Athens had conferred this golden crown on the said Demosthenes, on account of his virtue and affectionate attachment to Greece in general, and to Athens in particular; as also, on account of that magnanimity and steady zeal in speaking and acting for the interests of this state which he hath ever discovered, and still discovers on every occasion, to the utmost of his power; all which clauses are false, and repugnant to our laws: as it is enacted, “First, that no man shall enter false allegations into our public acts.

“Secondly, that no man yet accountable for any office of trust shall receive a crown; whereas Demosthenes was director of the fortifications, and manager of the theatrical funds.

“Lastly, that no crown shall be proclaimed in the theatre during the festival, or dramatic entertainments, but in the senate-house, if the crown be granted by the Senate; if by the commons, in the Pnyx, and in full assembly.

The penalty, fifty talents. *(4) The agents, Cephisophon and Cleon.” *(5) Here you have the several articles of the decree on which he founds his prosecution; and on these very articles I mean to rest the justice of my cause. I shall take them in the order of this impeachment, and speak to them one by one, without any voluntary omission. As to the cause of “that steady zeal in speaking and acting for the interest of this state, which I have ever discovered, and still discover on every occasion, to the utmost of my power,” and the honors appointed to me on this account, the decision must depend on my ministerial conduct. From this conduct duly considered it will appear whether Ctesiphon hath adhered to truth and propriety in these assertions, or whether they be false. As to the omission of conferring the crown “when my accounts of office should first be passed,” and the appointment of the theatre as the place of proclamation; these points too might be determined by my administration; this might decide whether I be worthy of such an honor and such a publication. Yet I deem it incumbent on me to produce the laws by which these clauses are fully warranted: so upright and so plain is the scheme of my defence.

I proceed, then, to the particular measures of my administration. And let no man think that I am suspending the discussion of this cause, if I enter into the affairs and counsels of Greece. He who hath attacked this assertion, that “I have ever spoken and acted for the general interest”; he who expressly accuses it of falsehood; he it is who makes the account of all my public conduct, all my whole system of administration, immediately pertinent and necessary to this suit. Besides, among the different departments of those who engage in public business, mine was of that nature which attached me more immediately to the interests of Greece. From these I must, therefore, be allowed to deduce my evidence.

As to those conquests and acquisitions which Philip had obtained before I had engaged in the administration, before my appearance as a popular leader, I shall pass them over; for they by no means (as I conceive) affect the merits of my cause. As to those various

instances in which he found his ambition most effectually restrained, from the very day on which I first entered on public business, these I shall recall to your thoughts, and freely submit to your judgments. But let this be first premised: one advantage did our adversary enjoy, and this, my fellowcitizens, of great importance. It was the unhappy fortune of the several Grecian states, not of some only, but equally of all, to supply so vast a provision of traitors, of hirelings, of men devoted by the gods, as was not known in the memory of man. These did Philip engage as his agents and coadjutors, and by their means inflamed the animosities which had already torn and distracted the Greeks. Some he deceived; some he gained by bribes; on others he employed all his engines of seduction; and thus rent the nation into many different parties, although all were alike engaged in one common cause- that of uniting against the progress of his power. In such a general dissension of the Grecian states, in such a general blindness both to the present and to the rising evil, consider, Athenians, what were the measures, what was the conduct which became this state? And for these let me be brought to a strict account; for I am the man who advised and directed them.

Say, then, Aeschines, was it our part, in despite of every generous sentiment, every consideration of our dignity, to have taken our station with the Thessalians and Dolopians, to have ranged ourselves on the side of Philip, in order to subvert the dominion of the Greeks, the honors and the conquests of our ancestors? Or, if we were to reject such conduct (and surely none could be more shameful), was it our part- ours, who had foreseen, who seemed perfectly convinced of the consequences which must arise, unless seasonably prevented- to have proved indifferent spectators when these consequences had really arisen? Yes! I would gladly ask the man who appears most severe in his censure of our measures, what, in his opinion, was our proper part? Was it the part of those who were the immediate cause of all the misfortunes and calamities which fell on the Greeks, as the Thessalians and their associates? or of those who affected an indifference to all events from views of private interest, as the Arcadians, the Messenians, and the Argives? And yet most of these have, in the event, proved greater sufferers than we.

I shall suppose, that after Philip had made all his conquests he had retired to his kingdom, and there lived in peace, without attempting to molest either his own allies or the other Greeks. Even in this case some share of censure and reproach must have fallen on those who had refused to arm against him. But when his assaults were equally directed against the dignity, the sovereignty, and the liberty of our whole nation, nay, against the very being of those states more immediately exposed to his power, what measures could have been devised more glorious than those which you embraced and I suggested? But let me not wander from my point. What conduct, Aeschines, did the dignity of this state demand when we beheld Philip aiming at the conquest and sovereignty of Greece? or what advice should I, her counsellor, have given, what resolutions should I have proposed, and this in an assembly of Athenians, the circumstance of most importance? I, who well knew, that from earliest times down to the very day on which I first spoke in public, my country had been incessantly contending for pre-eminence, for honor and renown? had expended more blood and treasure for glory and the interests of Greece than all the other Grecian states ever had expended for their several private interests? I, who saw this very prince, with whom we fought for power and empire, with one eye torn out, his neck dislocated, pierced in his arm, maimed in his leg, freely and cheerfully resigning any part of his body which fortune pleased to take, so that he might enjoy the rest with renown and glory? And let no man presume to say that such elevated sentiments became him who was bred at Pella (a place at that time ignoble and obscure), as to aspire to the sovereignty of Greece, or to entertain a thought of such a daring purpose; and yet that you, the citizens of Athens,

you who in every assembly, in every theatrical entertainment, find perpetual memorials of the virtue of your ancestors, might descend to such abject meanness, as to resign the liberty of Greece freely and voluntarily into the hands of Philip. No! let not the presumptuous assertion be once heard.

The only course then left, and the necessary course, was this- to defend your just rights against all his injurious attempts. This course did you instantly pursue with good reason, and with becoming dignity. And in this I was your counsellor, I was the first mover, during my administration. I confess it. And how should I have acted? Say, Aeschines: I call on you. Let all former transactions be forgotten: Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Halonesus, I speak not of them. Serrium and Doriscum too, and the storming of Peparethus, and all the other instances in which the state was injured; let the memory of them be effaced. You say, indeed, that I dwelt invidiously on them, in order to embroil my country in a war; although the decrees respecting these several places were proposed by Eubulus, and Aristophon, and Diopithes; not by me. No, thou prompt slanderer; nor do I now dwell on them. But when he had deprived us of Euboea; when he had erected his fortress to command our whole territory; when he had attacked the Megareans and possessed himself of Oreum, and razed Porthmus; when he had distributed his governors through the cities, established Philistides in Oreum, Clitarchus in Eretria; when he had reduced the whole Hellespont to his obedience, and laid siege to Byzantium; when the Grecian cities had some of them been subverted by his arms, others forced to receive their exiles, in these instances did he act unjustly? did he violate the treaty, or did he not? Was it incumbent on some state to rise up against these attempts, or was it not? If not- if Greece was to have proved a prey for Mysians *(6) (according to the proverb), and this while Athens yet existed and was witness of her fall- then was I officious in remonstrating against these transactions; then was the state officious in yielding to my remonstrances: mine was then the guilt and error of every measure we pursued. But if the progress of his arms demanded a vigorous opposition, what community but that of Athens should have risen at the call of honor? This was the great principle of my administration, I saw the man aspiring to universal dominion; I opposed him; I warned my fellow-citizens; I taught them to rise against the ambition of the Macedonian. And yet the formal commencement of hostilities did not proceed from us.

No, Aeschines; but from Philip, by his capture of our ships. Produce the decrees, and the letter received from Philip. Read each in order. These, when duly weighed, will enable us to give each transaction to its proper author. Read. -

THE DECREE

“In the archonship of Neocles- an assembly extraordinary being convened by the generals, in the month of Boedromion- Eubulus, son of Mnesitheus, of the Cyprian tribe, proposed the following decree: “Whereas the generals have reported to the assembly that Leodamus our admiral, together with twenty ships sent under his command to import corn from the Hellespont, have been taken and brought into Macedon by Amyntas, a commander in the service of King Philip; it is decreed, that it shall be the care of the prytanes and generals that the Senate be convened, and ambassadors chosen, who shall repair to Philip, and demand the dismissal of the admiral, the vessels, and the soldiers; that they be instructed to declare, that if Amyntas hath in this acted through ignorance, the state of Athens hath no complaints to urge against him; that, if their officer hath in any wise exceeded his commission, they are ready to take cognizance of his offence, and to punish him as his inadvertence may have merited; but if neither of these be the case, but that this outrage be avowed either by the person who gave, or who received the commission, that the ambassadors shall demand

an explanation, and report the same, that the state may determine on the proper measures." And this decree did Eubulus frame; not I. Aristophon proposed the next: then did Hegesippus move for his: then Aristophon again: then Philocrates: then Cephisophon: and then the other speakers: I had no concern in any. Read the next.

THE DECREE

“In the archonship of Neocles, on the last day of the month Boedromion, by a resolution of the Senate.

“The prytanes and generals having reported the decree of the general assembly, that ambassadors be sent to Philip to demand the restoration of the ships, and that the said ambassadors be furnished with particular instructions, together with a copy of the decree of the assembly; “The persons hereby chosen into this commission are Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycrates. Aristophon the Cothocydian moved this resolution, in the presidency of the tribe of Hippothoontis.” As I produce these decrees, so, Aeschines, do you produce that particular decree of mine which makes me author of the war. You have not one to show; if you had, it must have made your first and favorite charge. Nay, Philip himself, amid all his insinuations against others, never once accuses me. Read his own letter to the state. -

THE LETTER

“Philip, King of Macedon, to the Senate and people of Athens, health: “I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambassadors, who have conferred with me about the dismissal of certain ships commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but consider it as an extraordinary instance of weakness, to imagine that I can possibly believe that these ships were destined to import corn from the Hellespont for Lemnos; and that they were not really sent to the relief of the Selymbrians now besieged by me, and who are by no means included in the treaty of pacification by which we stand mutually engaged. Such were the orders your officer received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magistrates, and others in no private station, who are by all means solicitous to prevail on the people to violate their engagements, and to commence hostilities against me. This they have much more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive advantages from such a rupture. Persuaded as I am that our mutual interest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given orders that the vessels brought in to us be immediately released. For the future, let it be your part to remove those pernicious counsellors from the administration of your affairs, and to let them feel the severity of your justice, and I shall endeavor to adhere inviolably to my treaty. Farewell!” Here is no mention *(7) of Demosthenes, no charge against me. And whence is it, that in all his acrimony against others, he takes not the least notice of my conduct? Because he must have brought his own usurpations full into view had he mentioned me. On these I fixed; and these I obstinately opposed. I instantly moved for an embassy to Peloponnesus, the moment he had entered Peloponnesus. I then moved for an embassy to Euboea, as soon as he had landed in Euboea.

Then did I propose the expedition (not an embassy) to Oreum, and that to Eretria, as soon as he had stationed his governors in these cities. After this did I send out those armaments which saved the Chersonesus and Byzantium, and all our confederates, from which this state derived the noblest consequences, applause, glory, honors, crowns, thanks, from those who had received such important services. And even of those who had injured us, such as on this occasion yielded to your remonstrances, found effectual security: they who neglected them had only the sad remembrance of your repeated warnings, and the conviction that you were not only their best friends, but men of true discernment, of a prophetic spirit; for in every instance the event proved exactly consonant to your predictions.

That Philistides would have gladly given the greatest sums to have kept Oreum; that Clitarchus would have given largely to have kept Eretria; that Philip himself would have given largely that he might possess stations so convenient for annoying us; and that all his other actions should pass unnoticed, all his injurious proceedings unimpeached, cannot be a secret to any man; but least of all to you.

You, Aeschines, received the deputies sent hither by Clitarchus and Philistides; by you were they entertained. Those whom we drove from us as enemies, as men whose overtures were neither consistent with justice nor with the interest of Athens, were your dearest friends. How false and groundless, then, are your malicious accusations! You, who say that I am silent when I get my bribe, clamorous when I have spent it. Your case is different: you are clamorous when you receive your bribe; and your clamors can never cease- unless this day’s decision should silence them effectually by the justly merited infamy.

And when you reward these my services with a crown; when Aristonicus proposed his decree, conceived precisely in the very words of this which Ctesiphon hath framed;

when proclamation of the honor thus conferred on me was made in the theatre (for this is the second time I have been thus distinguished), Aeschines, though present, never made the least opposition, never attempted an impeachment. Take the decree. Read. -

THE DECREE "In the archonship of Chaerondas, son of Hegemon, on the twenty-fifth of the month Gamelion, the Leontidian tribe then presiding, at the motion of Aristonicus the following decree was made: "Whereas, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the Paeonian tribe, hath at many times done various and eminent services to the community of Athens, and to many of our confederates; and, at this time, hath by his counsels secured the interests of the state, and particularly restored the liberties of certain cities in Euboea; as he hath ever uniformly persevered in an unalterable attachment to the state of Athens, and both by words and actions exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in the service of the Athenians, and the other Greeks; Be it enacted by the Senate and the popular assembly, that public honors shall be paid to the aforesaid Demosthenes; and that he shall be crowned with a golden crown; that the crown shall be proclaimed in the theatre, on the feast of Bacchus, at the time of the performance of the new tragedies; and that the making this proclamation shall be given in charge of the presiding tribe, and to the director of the public entertainments. This is the motion of Aristonicus of the Phraerian tribe." And is there a man can say that this decree brought any of that disgrace on the state, any of that derision and contempt, which he affirms must happen, if I should obtain this crown? When actions are recent and notorious, if good, they are received with applause; if bad, they meet their punishment. But it is well known that on this occasion I received marks of public favor; never was censured, never punished. And the consequence is obvious. Down to the period of these transactions I must have invariably acted for the true interest of the state: for in all your consultations my opinions and my measures ever were adopted. These measures I conducted to effectual execution: they were attended with crowns to the state, to me, and to you all; with sacrifices to the gods, and solemn processions, as instances of great success.

And now, when Philip had been driven from Euboea (yours was the military glory, but the policy, the counsels- yes! though these my enemies should burst with envy- were mine), he raised another engine against this state. He saw that we, of all people, used the greatest quantities of imported grain. Determined to secure this branch of commerce to himself, he passed over into Thrace; and applying to the Byzantines, then in alliance with him, he first required them to join in a war against us. But when they refused, when they told him (and they told him truth) that they had not engaged in his alliance for such purposes, he instantly prepared his works, erected his machines, and besieged their city. I shall not say what conduct became us on this emergency. It is manifest. Who then supported the Byzantines? Who rescued them from destruction? Who prevented the Hellespont from falling under a foreign power on this occasion? You, my countrymen. But when I say you, I mean the state. Who spake? Who framed the decrees? Who acted for the state? Who devoted all his powers, wholly and freely, to the public interests? I! And how essentially the public interests were advanced by these measures there need no words to prove. You have facts, you have experience to convince you. For the war in which we then engaged (besides the glory which attended your arms) supplied you with all the necessaries of life, in greater plenty and at cheaper rates than the present peace, maintained by these good citizens, in opposition to the interests of their country, from their hopes of private advantage.

Confounded be their hopes! Never may they share in these blessings, for which your prayers, ye true friends of Athens, are offered up to Heaven! And O, never may they involve you in the fatal consequences of their machinations! Let them hear the crowns conferred by Byzantium, and those by Perinthus, with which our state was honored on this occasion: -

THE DECREE OF THE BYZANTINES “Bosphoricus being hieromnemon, Demagetus, by permission of the Senate, drew up the following resolution: “Whereas the people of Athens have, from the earliest times, persevered in an unalterable affection to the Byzantines, and to their confederates, kinsmen, and the Perinthians, and have lately, when Philip of Macedon invaded and laid waste their territories with fire and sword, and attacked their cities, done them many and signal services; and, by a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty ships, with provisions, arms, and soldiers, have extricated us from the utmost dangers, restored our ancient constitution, our laws, and the sepulchres of our fathers; it is therefore resolved by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus, to grant to the Athenians the right of intermarriage, the freedom of our states, the power of purchasing lands, and the first and most honorable seats in all our public entertainments in the tholus, in the Senate, and in the popular assembly; and that whatever Athenian shall choose to reside in our respective cities, shall enjoy a perfect immunity and exemption from all taxes. And it is farther resolved, that three statues, sixteen cubits high, shall be erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the community of Athens crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians; and that honorary presents shall be sent to the several general assemblies of Greece, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic, and Pythian, where proclamation shall be duly made of that crown, now by us conferred on the people of Athens, that all Greece may be informed of the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians.” Read too the crowns conferred by the inhabitants of Chersonesus. -

THE DECREE OF THE CHERSONESITES “The Chersonesites, inhabitants of Sestos, Eleus, Madytus, and Halonesus, do crown the Senate and people of Athens with a golden crown of sixty talents; they also consecrate an altar to gratitude and the Athenians, on account of the important services conferred by this people on the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, in delivering them from the power of Philip, and in restoring their country, their laws, their liberties, and their religion; of which the Chersonesites shall ever retain a just and grateful sense, and be ever ready, to the utmost of their power, to return the important obligation. Thus it was resolved in a full assembly of the Senate.” And thus the measures I concerted, the conduct I pursued, not only saved the Chersonesus and Byzantium; not only foiled the Macedonian in his scheme of commanding the Hellespont; not only gained these public honors to the state; but displayed to all the world the generous sentiments of Athens, and the base perfidiousness of Philip. He, the friend, the ally of the Byzantines, in the face of Greece besieged their city! (Can we conceive a baser, a more abandoned outrage?) You justly, repeatedly incensed against them, by injuries received in former times, not only forgot all your wrongs- not only refused to look with indifference on their danger- but appeared their great deliverers; and by such transcendent generosity acquired universal love and glory. That you have frequently honored those with crowns to whom the conduct of your affairs hath been intrusted is full well known; but name the citizen, if you can- I mean the minister or public speaker, except myself, by whose means the state hath been thus honored.

I am now to show that all those virulent invectives which he hath thrown out against the Euboeans and Byzantines (invidiously recalling to your view every instance of their former offences) are merely the effect of malice; not only as his representations have been false (of this I presume there can be no doubt), but because we might admit them to be true: and even on this supposition, it will appear that my measures were the measures which your interests demanded. For this purpose, permit me to lay before you, in a few words, one or two instances of the noble conduct of this state. By the most illustrious of their former actions it is that private men, or public bodies, should model their succeeding conduct.

There was a time, then, my fellow-citizens, when the Lacedaemonians were sovereign masters, both by sea and land; when their troops and forts surrounded the entire circuit of Attica; when they possessed Euboea, Tanagra, the whole Boeotian district, Megara, Aegina, Cleone, and the other islands; while this state had not one ship, not one wall. Then did you march to Haliartus; and not many days after were your forces once more led to Corinth. And yet the Athenians of these days had many injuries to resent, both from Corinth and from Thebes, by their conduct during the Decelian War. But far were they from harboring such resentment. Observe, then, Aeschines; they acted thus in both these instances; not that they acted for their benefactors; not that they saw no danger in these expeditions. Such considerations never could induce them to abandon those who fled to their protection. No; from the nobler motives of glory and renown, they devoted their services to the distressed. And surely this their determination was just and generous: for death must come to close the period of man's life, into whatever corner one may shrink from the inevitable blow: but the truly brave should draw the sword on all occasions of honorable danger, armed in fair hopes of success, yet still resigned with an equal fortitude to whatever may be decreed by Heaven.

Such was the conduct of our ancestors; such the conduct of our elder citizens who, though the Lacedaemonians had been no friends, no benefactors to our state, but had injured us in many and important instances- yet, when the Thebans, flushed with their success at Leuctra, had attempted to destroy them, defeated the attempt; undismayed by the then formidable power of Thebes; determined by the motive of glory, not by the behavior of those in whose cause they were exposed.

And by these actions did you demonstrate to the Greeks, that whatever injuries Athens may receive, her resentment is reserved only for the just occasion: when the being, when the liberty of the injurious party is once in danger, her wrongs never are remembered, never regarded.

Nor were these the only instances in which such generous principles were displayed. Again, when Thebes had seduced the Euboeans from their attachment to this state, far from abandoning the island to the consequences of this revolt, far from remembering the injuries received from Themison and Theodorus, in the affair of Oropus, you instantly armed for their relief. And on this occasion did our trierarchs, for the first time, engage voluntarily in the public service; of which number I was one. But of this hereafter. And if you acted nobly in thus rescuing the island, still your succeeding conduct was far more noble. When the inhabitants were at your mercy, when you were masters of their cities, you gave up all with strictest integrity, to the men who had offended you. Nor were their offences once regarded when they had trusted implicitly to our faith. I might recount ten thousand instances of the same kind; but I pass them over; engagements at sea; expeditions by land; the achievements of ancient times; and our own illustrious actions; all in defence of the liberty and safety of other Grecian states. And if I saw my country cheerfully engaging in so numerous and so perilous contentions for the interests of others, when her own interests were in some sort the object of debate, what should I have advised? what measures should I have suggested? To cherish the remembrance of their offences, when these men had accepted our protection? To seek pretences for abandoning all our important interests? Would not the first brave arm have deservedly stabbed me to the heart had I thus disgraced the noble actions of my country- even but in words? For that, in fact, you never could have yielded to such disgrace I cannot doubt. Had you been in the least inclined, where was the obstacle? Had you not the power? Had you not advisers? Were not these men urgent in their applications? But I must return to those parts of my public conduct which were subsequent to this period. And, here again, consider what the interest of the state really demanded. I saw the wretched decay to which our marine had been reduced; I saw our richer citizens purchase a total

exemption from public taxes, at the expense of a trifling contribution; men of moderate or of small property despoiled and ruined; every opportunity of action lost to the state. I proposed a law, which obliged the rich to act fairly, relieve the poor from their oppressions, and, what was of most consequence, provided for the speedy and effectual execution of all our military operations. I was indicted on this occasion for an infringement of our established laws: I appealed to your justice as my sole resource; and my accuser had the mortification to find not a fifth of the suffrages in his favor. What sums of money, think ye, would our richer citizens have given me- they who contribute most largely to the public service, or even they who contribute in the next degrees not to have proposed this law at all; or, at least, to have suffered it to be defeated by affected cavil and delay? Such sums, my fellow-citizens, as I am ashamed to mention. And with good reason. By the former law, sixteen of their number were to unite in the discharge of one assessment, so that the proportion of each was almost nothing; and thus they loaded the poor with the public burdens. But by my law every individual pays in proportion to his fortune: so that he must now equip two ships of war, who by the former assessment was taxed but at the sixteenth part of one. And accordingly they styled themselves, not "trierarchs," but "contributors." They would therefore have given any price to have been disengaged from the necessity of thus acting justly. First read the decree relative to my indictment; then produce the assessments, those of the former laws, and that prescribed by mine. -

THE DECREE "Polycles being archon. On the sixteenth of the month Boedromion: the tribe Hippothois presiding.

"Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes the Paeanian, proposed a law relative to the duty of trierarchs, to be substituted in the place of former laws for regulating assessments for the navy; and whereas an indictment was brought by Patrocles against the said Demosthenes for an illegal proposal; Be it remembered that the prosecutor, not having a fifth of the suffrages in his favor, was condemned in the fine of five hundred drachmae." Produce now the first excellent assessment. "The trierarchs shall unite in the equipment of one ship, to the number of sixteen men, from the age of twenty-five to forty years; each to contribute equally to the expense." Now compare this with the assessment appointed by my law. Read it. "Trierarchs shall be taxed according to their fortunes. He who is worth ten talents by valuation shall fit out one ship; if his fortune be rated higher, he shall be taxed, agreeably to the same proportion, in a higher sum; not exceeding the expense of three ships and a tender. The same proportion also shall be observed in the assessment of those whose fortunes do not amount to ten talents; who are to unite, in order to make up the sum necessary for fitting out a ship." -

And can this be thought a trivial service to the poor? or would the rich have given but a trivial sum to have eluded this equitable mode of taxation? But I do not magnify my integrity in conducting this transaction. I do not insist on my honorable acquittal. My glory is, that I procured a salutary law, a law approved by experience as highly valuable; for, during the whole course of our late war, in all the armaments conducted agreeably to my regulation, not one trierarch was ever known to petition against the severity of his assessment; not one was known to have fled to sanctuary; not one ever was imprisoned; not a vessel did the state lose abroad; not a vessel was detained here as unfit for service. But while our former laws subsisted we were perpetually exposed to all such inconveniences. And they proceeded from our poorer citizens. These were insufficient for the discharge of their assessments; and we were continually feeling the effects of such insufficiency. But by my means were the public burdens transferred from the poorer to our richer citizens, and the business of the state conducted without the least interruption. Permit me then to claim some praise on this account at least, that through the course of my public administration I constantly pursued such measures as reflected

glory on the state, exalted her renown, and enlarged her power. No sordid envy, no rancor, no malignity have I ever discovered; no meanness, nothing unworthy of my country. Such was the general tenor of my administration in the affairs of this city, and in the national concerns of Greece. And no wonder. Here, I was never known to prefer the favor of the great to the rights of the people. And in the affairs of Greece the bribes, the flattering assurances of friendship which Philip lavished, never were so dear to me as the interests of the nation. The only articles, I presume, which now remain for me to speak to are those of the proclamation and the accounts. For that I have pursued the true interest of the state, that I have on all occasions discovered a warm affection and zealous alacrity in your service, I trust hath been established already, with the clearest evidence. I have indeed omitted the most important parts of my administration, the greatest of my services; both because I deem it incumbent on me to proceed to my defence against the charge of violating the laws; and because I am convinced your own consciences must bear the amplest testimony in my favor, although I should be totally silent as to the other parts of my conduct.

As to what he hath urged, with such confusion and embarrassment, about his authentic transcripts of the laws, Heaven is my witness, that I am convinced you could not comprehend it: and to me it is, for the most part, utterly unintelligible.

But my course shall be more ingenuous and direct. I shall lay before you the plain dictates of truth and equity. Far from asserting that I am not accountable to the public, as he hath repeatedly insinuated and affirmed, I here declare that through my whole life I must ever stand accountable for every trust which I have executed, every measure which I have directed. But for what I have freely expended of my private fortune in the service of the public I cannot at any time be liable to account. (Observe me, Aeschines!) No! nor any other citizen, were he the first of our magistrates. For where is that law so pregnant with injustice and inhumanity as to rob the man of all his merit whose fortune hath been expended for the state, whose public spirit and munificence have been displayed in some important instance? To expose him to the malice of informers? To give them a power to scrutinize his bounty? There can be no such law! If there be, let him produce it, and I shall submit in silence. No, my countrymen, he cannot!

“But,” saith this sycophant, “the Senate hath conferred public honors on him, while his accounts were yet to be approved, under the pretence of some additional disbursements from his own fortune, when manager of the theatrical funds.” Not for any part of that conduct which stood accountable; but for those additional disbursements, thou sycophant! “But you were director of our fortifications.” Yes; and on that occasion was entitled to my honors; for I expended more than the state had granted, without charging this addition to the public. Where a charge is made, the accounts must be examined; but where a free gift is conferred, favor and applause are the natural and just returns. This decree of Ctesiphon in my favor is, therefore, strictly warranted. It is a point determined, not by the laws only, but by our constant usage. This I shall readily demonstrate in various instances. In the first place, Nausicles, when at the head of our forces, was frequently honored with a crown, for his bounty to the state. Then Diotimus, who gave the arms, and Charidemus also received their crowns. I have another instance before me: Neoptolemus. He was frequently intrusted with public works, and received honors for his additional disbursements. For it would be hard, indeed, if the man invested with some office of authority should either stand precluded by this office from assisting the state with his private fortune; or find his liberal assistance the object of account and scrutiny, instead of meeting the due returns of gratitude. To confirm what I have now advanced, produce the decrees made on these occasions. Read. -

A DECREE “In the archonship of Demonicus, the twenty-sixth of the month Boedromion Callias thus reported the resolution of the Senate and people: “It is resolved by the Senate and people to confer a crown on Nausicles, the general in command; inasmuch as when two thousand regular forces of Athens were in Imbrus, assisting the Athenian colony in that island, and when by means of the severity of the season Phialon their agent could not sail thither and pay the soldiers, the said Nausicles made the necessary disbursements from his own fortune without any charge to the public in his accounts; and that proclamation be made of the crown thus granted, during the feast of Bacchus, and the performances of the new tragedies.” -

A DECREE “The motion of Callias; agreeably to the report made of the resolution of the Senate, “Whereas Charidemus, commander of the infantry in the expedition to Salamis, and Diotimus, general of horse, when in the engagement at the river some of our forces had been stripped of their arms by the enemy, at their own private expense furnished the new levies with eight hundred bucklers: It is resolved by the Senate and people that golden crowns be conferred on the said Charidemus and Diodimus; which crowns shall be proclaimed in the grand festival of Minerva during the gymnastic games and new tragedies; of which the magistrates and managers of the entertainments are to take notice, and cause proclamation to be duly made as aforesaid.” Each of these, Aeschines, was bound to account for the office he enjoyed; but the action for which he was honored was by no means subject to account. Then why should mine be subject? Surely I may claim the same treatment with others in like circumstances. I gave my additional contribution to the public: I was honored for it; not as a man who stood accountable for this donation. I held a magisterial office: I accounted for my conduct in this office; not for my free bounty.

“True!- but you have acted iniquitously in your office.”- If so, were you not present when my accounts were passed? and why did you not impeach me? But to convince you that he himself is witness that this crown is not conferred for any part of my conduct really subject to account, take, read this decree of Ctesiphon at large. The clauses unimpeached will show the malice of his prosecution in those he hath attacked. Read. -

THE DECREE “In the archonship of Euthycles; the twenty-ninth of the month Pyanepsion; the Oenian tribe presiding. The decree of Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, the Anaphlystian.

“Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the Paenian tribe, in his office of director of the fortifications, expended an additional sum of three talents from his private fortune, which he gave freely to the public; and, when manager of the theatrical funds, increased the general collection by a voluntary addition of one hundred minae for sacrifices; Be it resolved, by the Senate and people of Athens, to grant public honors to the said Demosthenes, on account of his virtue and nobleness of disposition, which he hath on all occasions invariably discovered towards the community of Athens; and to crown him with a golden crown; and that proclamation shall be made of this crown thus conferred, in the theatre, during the feast of Bacchus, and the exhibition of the new tragedies; of which the directors of the theatre are to take notice, and cause proclamation to be made as aforesaid.” My free grant of these additional sums is the article not included in your indictment: the honors decreed for this bounty is that on which you found your charge. You admit that to accept my bounty is no infringement of the laws; you insist that to confer the due returns of favor, on this account, is criminal and illegal.

In the name of Heaven, what part could the most abandoned, the malignant wretch, odious to the gods, have acted on this occasion? Must he not have acted thus? As to the circumstance of making proclamation in the theatre, I shall not mention that many times many thousands have been granted such an honor; or that I myself have been thus

honored on many former occasions. But is it possible, ye powers? Art thou, Aeschines, indeed so lost to all sense and reason, as to be incapable of apprehending, that to the party who receives the honor it comes with equal dignity wherever it be proclaimed? That it is for their sakes who grant it that the theatre is appointed for the proclamation: for by this means the multitude who hear it are inspired with ardor to approve themselves zealous in the service of their country; and they who give this testimony of their gratitude share more largely in the public applause than those who receive it. On this principle was our law enacted. Take up the law itself. Read it. -

THE LAW "In all cases where a crown is conferred on any person by a single district, proclamation shall be made of the said crown in the particular district so conferring it. Provided always, that where crowns are granted by the people of Athens at large, or by the Senate, it shall and may be lawful to make proclamation in the theatre during the festival of Bacchus." Aeschines! Dost thou hear? Are not these the very words of our law? "Provided always, that where crowns are granted by the people or the Senate, proclamation shall be made of these." Why, then, unhappy man, hath thy malice been thus restless? Why this fictitious tale? Why not recur to medicine to cure this disorder of thy mind? And feelest thou no shame at a prosecution dictated by envy, not by justice; supported by false recitals of our laws, by imperfect quotations of detached sentences: those laws which should have fairly and fully been laid before our judges, as they have sworn to decide agreeably to their true tenor? Hence you proceed to delineate the characters of a patriotic statesman, as if you were giving a model for a statue, and found the piece not conformable to your model: as if words could mark out the patriotic statesman, and not his actions and administration. Then comes your clamorous abuse, *(8) vented without distinction or reserve, but suited to you and to your family, not to me. And this, Athenians, I take to be the true distinction between a vague invective and a regular prosecution.

This is supported by criminal facts, whose penalties the laws have ascertained.

That is attended with the rancor which enemies naturally throw out against each other. Our ancestors, I presume, erected these tribunals, not for assembling to indulge our private and personal animosities in mutual scurrility, but to give us occasion of convicting that man fairly who hath injured the community in any instance. This Aeschines must know as well as I. Yet, instead of establishing his evidence, he hath discharged his virulence against me. Nor is it just that he should escape without the due returns of severity on my part. But before I am involved in the odious task, let me ask him one question. Say, Aeschines, are we to deem thee an enemy to Athens, or to me? I presume, to me. And yet, on every occasion, where you had all the advantage of the law in bringing me to justice (if I had offended)- on passing my accounts, on moving my decrees, on former trials, where my conduct was impeached- you were silent. But in a case where all the laws pronounce me innocent, where the procedure hath been regular, where numberless precedents are in my favor, where my conduct, far from discovering anything of a criminal tendency, appears, in every instance, to have reflected a degree of honor on my country; in such a case, I say, hast thou chosen to attack me. Beware, then, that while I am the pretended object of thy enmity, thou prove not really the enemy of Athens.

Well, then; *(9) since you are all determined on the truly religious and equitable sentence, the virulence this man hath uttered obliges me (I think), though not naturally fond of invective, to retort his numerous and false assertions, by some necessary remarks on his character; by showing who he is, and of what family, who so readily begins the hateful work of personal abuse; who presumes to censure some of my expressions, though he himself hath uttered what no man of modest merit could have ventured to

pronounce. No! had one of the awful judges of the shades impeached me- an Aecus, or a Rhadamanthus, or a Minos, and not this babbling sycophant, this wretched, hackneyed scrivener- he could have used no such language- he could have searched for no such insolent expressions, no such theatrical exclamations as you have now heard from this man. "O Earth! and thou Sun! O Virtue!" And again, those pompous invocations- "Prudence! Erudition! that teacheth us the just distinction between good and evil!"- Virtue! thou miscreant! what communion can Virtue hold with thee or thine? What acquaintance hast thou with such things? How didst thou acquire it? By what right canst thou assume it? And what pretensions hast thou to speak of erudition? Not a man of those who really possess it could thus presume to speak of his own accomplishments. Nay, were they mentioned by another, he would blush. But they who, like you, are strangers to it, and yet so stupid as to affect it, do but wound our ears when they utter their presumption; never acquire the character for which they labor. And here I hesitate, not for want of matter to urge against you and your family, but because I am in doubt where to begin. Shall I first say how your father Troles was loaded with his chain and log, when a slave to Elpias, who taught grammar at the temple of Theseus? Or how your mother, by those marriages daily repeated, in her cell near the hero Calamites, *(10) maintained this noble figure, this accomplished actor of third characters? Or how Phormio, the piper in our navy, the slave of Dion, raised her up from this honorable employment? No! I call the gods to witness, that I fear to mention what is suited to your character, lest I should be betrayed into a language unbecoming of my own. Let these things be then buried in silence; and let me proceed directly to the actions of his own life; for the person now before you is not of ordinary rank, but eminent- yes, as an object of public execration. It is but lately- lately I say, but yesterday, that he commenced at once a citizen and a speaker. By the help of two additional syllables he transformed his father from Troles to Atrometus, and dignified his mother with the stately name of Glaucothea *(11) And now observe the ingratitude and malignity of his nature. Though raised by your favor from slavery to freedom, from beggary to affluence, far from retaining the least affection to his country, he hath hired himself to oppose our interests. As to those parts of his conduct where his disaffection may be at all disputable, I pass them over: but what he evidently and incontestably committed, as an agent to our enemies, this I must recall to view.

Who knows not the banished Antipho? he who promised Philip to set fire to our arsenal, and for this purpose came back to Athens? And when I had seized him in his concealment at the Piraeus, when I produced him to the assembly, so effectual was the violence of this railer, so prevalent were his clamors- that "my actions were not to be tolerated in a free government"- "I insulted the misfortunes of my fellow-citizens"- "I forced into their houses without authority"- that this man was suffered to escape unsentenced! And had not the court of Areopagus been informed of the transaction; had they not perceived your error, an error so dangerous on so critical an occasion; had they not pursued this man; had they not once more seized, and brought him before you, criminal as he was, he must have been snatched from justice, and instead of meeting the punishment due to his offences (thanks to this pompous speaker), retired in security. But, happily, you gave him the torture, and you punished him with death; a punishment which this his advocate should have suffered. And so justly did the council of Areopagus conceive of his conduct on this occasion, that, when influenced by the same error which so often proved fatal to your interests, you had appointed him a pleader for your privileges in the temple of Delos, this council to whom your appointment was referred, and who were to ratify the nomination, instantly rejected this man as a traitor, and appointed Hyperides to plead. On this occasion were their suffrages given solemnly at the altar; and not one suffrage could this miscreant obtain. To prove this, call the witnesses. -

THE WITNESSES

“Callias, Zeno, Cleon, and Demonicus, in the name of all the Areopagites, testify in behalf of Demosthenes, that at the time when the people had chosen Aeschines as advocate for the rights of Athens in the temple of Delos, before the Amphictyons, we in full council determined that Hyperides was more worthy to speak for the state. And Hyperides was accordingly commissioned.” Thus, by rejecting this man, when on the point of proceeding on his commission, and by substituting another, the council did in effect declare him a traitor and an enemy to Athens. Here, then, we have a fact which clearly marks the public conduct of this noble personage; such a fact as differs widely from those he hath urged against me. One more there is, not to be forgotten. When Python the Byzantine came on his embassy from Philip, and came attended by commissioners from all the several powers in league with Macedon, as if to expose us as if to bring witnesses of our injustice; then did I stand forth; and instead of submitting to the insolence of Python- instead of yielding to the torrent of his abuse against the state, I retorted the charge; I supported the rights of Athens. And with such powerful evidence did I demonstrate the injurious conduct of our enemy, that his own confederates were themselves forced to rise, and to confess it. But Aeschines was the great coadjutor of this man. He gave testimony against his country; and falsely too. Nor did he stop here. In some time after this transaction he held, and was detected in his intercourse with Anaxinus the spy, at the house of Thraso.

And surely the man who holds his private interviews, who confers with an agent of our enemies, is himself a spy and an enemy to his country. To prove my allegations, call the witnesses. -

THE WITNESSES

“Celedemus, Cleon, and Hyperides, being duly sworn, testify in behalf of Demosthenes, that, to their knowledge, Aeschines repaired to the house of Thraso, at an unseasonable hour of the night, and there held conference with Anaxinus, legally convicted of being Philip’s spy. This deposition was signed in the archonship of Nicias, the third day of the month Hecatombaeon.” -

Numberless other articles I could urge against him; but I suppress them. For the fact is this: I might display the many instances in which his conduct during these periods was equally calculated to serve our enemies, and to indulge his malice against me. But so slight are the impressions which such things make on your minds, that they are not even remembered, much less received with due resentment. Nay, so dangerous a custom hath prevailed, that you have granted full liberty to every man who pleased to supplant and to malign your faithful counsellor; thus exchanging the real welfare of your country for the pleasure of listening to personal abuse. Hence is it ever easier and less dangerous for the servile tool of our enemies to earn his bribes, than for him to serve the state who hath attached himself to your interests. That he manifestly supported the cause of Philip, previous to the commencement of hostilities, shocking as it is (yes! I call Heaven and earth to witness! for it was an opposition to his country), yet forgive him, if you please—forgive him this. But when this prince avowedly made prizes of our ships; when the Chersonesus was plundered by his troops; when he marched in person into Attica; when affairs were no longer doubtful, but the war raged at our very gates; then was this slanderer entirely inactive; no instance of his zeal can this theatrical ranter show; not one decree of any import, great or small, was ever framed by Aeschines in defence of your interests. If he denies this, let him break in on the time allowed for my defence, and let him produce such decree. No; he cannot! He is, therefore, necessarily reduced to this alternative. He must acknowledge, either that the measures I proposed on that occasion were not liable to censure, as he himself never offered to suggest any other measures; or that his attachment to our enemies prevented him from directing us to some better course. But was he thus silent, was he thus inactive, when there was an opportunity of injuring his country? On this occasion no man could be heard but Aeschines.

And yet the indulgence of the state may possibly endure the other instances of his clandestine conduct; but one there is, my countrymen— one act of his, that crowns all his former treasons; a subject on which he hath exhausted his whole artifice, in a tedious narrative of decrees about the Locrians of Amphissa, as if to pervert the truth. But this cannot be: impossible! No; nor shall this profusion of words ever wash away the stain of guilt from thy conduct on this occasion. And here, and in your presence, ye Athenians, I invoke all the deities of Heaven, all the divine guardians of our country, and, above all, the Pythian Apollo, tutelary god of Athens! I beseech these powers to grant me safety and prosperity as I now speak the truth, as I at first publicly spake the truth, from the moment that I found the miscreant engaging in this transaction, for he could not escape my notice: no; I instantly detected him. But, if to indulge my spleen, if from personal animosity, I produce a false charge against him, may these gods blast my hopes of happiness! But why this solemnity of imprecation? Why all this vehemence? The reason is this. We have the authentic records in our archives, which prove my charge: you yourselves remember the transactions clearly: and yet I have my fears that he may be deemed an instrument too mean for such great mischiefs as he hath really effected. This was the case when he brought down ruin on the wretched Phocians, by the false assurances which he gave in our assembly: for, as to the Amphissaean War, which gave him the command of the Amphictyonic army, and at once overturned the fortune of

Greece; here stand the great agent in this black design, the sole cause of all the previous calamities we endured. When I attested this in the assembly; when I exclaimed with all my powers, "You are bringing an enemy to our gates; yes, Aeschines, the whole Amphictyonic body to fall on us;" his coadjutors at once silenced me; while others stood confounded at the assertion, and regarded it as a groundless charge, the effect of personal animosity. But, since you were at that time prevented from receiving the important information, attend now, my countrymen; hear the true nature of this whole transaction; the secret motives which produced, and the contrivance which effected it. So shall you discover a scheme well concerted, receive new and useful lights into the history of public affairs, and see what deep designs the heart of Philip could conceive.

This prince saw no means of terminating his war with Athens; no resource, unless he were to arm the Thebans and Thessalians against us. No resource, I say; for although the conduct of your generals had been scandalous and unsuccessful, yet the war itself, and the vigilance of our cruisers, had involved him in numberless distresses; as he found it equally impracticable to export the produce of his kingdom and to supply his own demands by importation. He was not at that time superior to us at sea: nor could he penetrate into Attica by land, while the Thessalians refused to follow him, and the Thebans denied him a passage through their territory. Victorious, therefore, as he proved against your generals (such as you employed; of that I shall not speak); yet still the situation of his kingdom, and the circumstances on each side, reduced him in the event to great distress. He knew that his private interest could not obtain the least regard, either from Thebes or Thessaly, as a motive for engaging in hostilities against us; but could he once be admitted to lead their forces in some common cause of theirs, he trusted to the united power of fraud and flattery, and was confident of success. His scheme, then, was this; and observe how well it was concerted: to embroil the Amphictyons in a war, by raising dissensions in their general assembly: for in such a war he presumed that he should soon be wanted. And now, were he to choose the instrument of this design, either from his own deputies or from those of his confederates, this must awaken suspicion: the Thebans and Thessalians, and all the states, must be roused to the strictest vigilance. But could he obtain an Athenian for his agent, a citizen of that state which avowedly opposed him, this must secure him from detection. Thus he reasoned; and thus was the event. How, then, was this point gained? By bribing Aeschines. Here stands the man who seized the advantage of that inattention, that unsuspecting confidence, which you too frequently discover on such occasions; was proposed as one of our representatives, and by the few voices of a faction confirmed in this commission. Thus invested with the august authority of his state, he repairs to the general council; and, regardless of all other concerns, applies himself directly to the service for which he had received his wages. He frames his specious harangues; he delivers his legendary tale of the Cyrrean plain and its consecration; and prevails on the hieromnemons (men unexperienced in the artifices of a speaker- men whose views never were extended beyond the present moment) to decree that a survey should be had of this district, which the people of Amphissa claimed and occupied as their own, but which this man now asserted to be sacred ground: not provoked by any insolence of the Locrians, by any fine which they imposed on our state, as he now pretends, but falsely, as I shall convince you by one undoubted proof. Unless citation had been regularly issued, it was impossible for the Locrians to have commenced any suit against our state. Who then cited you? Produce the record of this citation.

Name the man who can inform us of it: let him appear. No; you cannot: your pretence, therefore, is false and groundless.

The Amphictyons, then, having proceeded to the survey of this district, agreeably to his direction, were assaulted by the Locrians with a violence which had well-nigh proved

fatal to them all. Some of the hieromnemons were even made prisoners: and when the ferment became general, and war was denounced against the Amphissaeans, Cottyphus was at first chosen to lead the Amphictyonic army.

But when some states refused to obey his summons, and those who did obey refused to act, in the next general council Philip was appointed to the command; so effectual was the influence of his agents, the old traitors of Thessaly, and those of other states: nor did their allegations want a fair and specious color. "Either we must raise a subsidy," said they, "maintain a mercenary army, and fine those people who refuse their quota, or we must choose him general." Need I say more? He was chosen: his forces were collected with the utmost diligence: he marched as if toward Cyrrha. But now, farewell at once to all regard either to the Cyrreans or the Locrians! He seizes Elatea. *(12) Had not the Thebans then instantly repented, and united with our state, the whole force of this invasion must have fallen like a thunderstorm on Athens: but in this critical conjuncture they started up and stopped his progress; a blessing which you owe to some gracious divinity, who then defended us; and, under him, to me, as far as one man could be the instrument of such a blessing. Give me the decrees: produce the date of each transaction. Thus shall you see what infinite confusion this abandoned wretch could raise, and yet escape unpunished. Read the decrees. -

THE DECREE OF THE AMPHICTYONS

“In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the general assembly of Amphictyons, held in the spring, it is resolved by the pylagorae and the assessors in the said assembly, that whereas the people of Amphissa continue to profane the consecrated lands, and do at this time actually occupy them by tillage and pasture- the pylagorae and assessors shall repair to the said lands, and determine the boundaries by pillars; strictly enjoining the people of Amphissa to cease from such violation for the future.” -

ANOTHER DECREE

“In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the general assembly held in the spring:

Whereas the people of Amphissa have cantoned out the consecrated lands, have occupied them by tillage and pasture, and when summoned to desist from such profanation, rose up in arms, and forcibly repelled the general council of Greece, wounding some of the members, and particularly Cottyphus, the Arcadian general of the Amphictyons; It is therefore resolved by the pylagorae, the assessors, and the general assembly, that a deputation shall be sent to Philip, king of Macedon, inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrage of the wretched Amphissaeans; and further, to declare that he is constituted by all the Greeks a member of the council of Amphictyons, general and commander of their forces with full and unlimited powers.” Read now the date of these transactions; for they correspond exactly with the time in which he acted as our representative. -

THE DATE

“In the archonship of Mnesithides, the sixteenth day of the month Anthesterion.” Give me the letter which, when the Thebans had refused to concur with him, Philip sent to his confederates in Peloponnesus. This will fully prove that the real motive of this enterprise was studiously concealed; I mean his design against Greece, his schemes against Thebes and Athens; while he affected but to execute the orders of the Amphictyonic council: a pretence for which he was indebted to this man. Read. -

THE LETTER

“Philip, king of Macedon, to the magistrates and counsellors of the confederated people of Peloponnesus, health:

“Whereas, the Locri, called Ozolae, inhabitants of Amphissa, profanely commit outrages on the temple of Apollo in Delphi, and in a hostile manner invade and make depredations in the sacred territory; know ye, that we have resolved, in conjunction with you, to assert the rights of the god, and to oppose those impious wretches who have thus presumed to violate all that is accounted sacred among men. Do you, therefore, meet me in arms at Phocis, with provisions for forty days, within this present month, called by us Lous; by the Athenians, Boedromion; and by the Corinthians, Panemus. Such as attend us shall be duly consulted, and all measures pursued with their concurrence; they who refuse obedience to these orders shall be punished. Farewell!” You see with what caution he keeps his real purpose concealed; how he flies for shelter to the acts of the Amphictyons. And who was the man that procured him this subterfuge? Who gave him such plausible pretences? Who was the great author of all our calamities? Was it not this man? Yet, mistake me not, Athenians; when our public calamities are the subject of your conversation, say not that we owe them entirely to a single person. No; not to one, let Heaven and earth bear witness! but to many abandoned traitors in the several states, in which number he stands distinguished: he, whom, if no regards controlled me, I should not scruple to pronounce the accursed destroyer of persons, places, cities, all that were involved in the general overthrow: for the sower of the seed is surely author of the whole harvest of mischief. Astonishing indeed it is, that you can behold him, and not instantly turn away with horror from an object so detestable. But this is the effect of that thick cloud in which the truth has lain concealed.

And thus, from touching slightly on the designs which he pursued against his country, I am led naturally to those measures in which I was myself engaged in opposition to such traitorous designs. These demand your attention for various reasons; chiefly, because it would be shameful, when I have labored in your service with indefatigable zeal, to refuse to hear my services recounted. No sooner then, did I perceive the Thebans- I might have said the Athenians also- deceived so effectually by those agents which Philip’s gold had secured in each state, as to look with indifference on an object equally formidable to both- I mean the increasing power of this prince; no sooner did I see them resign all thoughts of guarding against his progress, and, in defiance of their common danger, ready to encounter each other in mutual enmity, than I roused all my vigilance, exerted my incessant efforts, to prevent such rupture. This I considered as a real service to my country; and not on my own judgment only: I had the authority of Aristophon and Eubulus to confirm me; men who had ever labored to effect this scheme of union between the two states (however violent their opposition on other points, in this they ever were agreed): men who, when living, were persecuted by thy abject flattery; yet now, when they are no more, thou presumest to arraign their conduct; so lost art thou to shame! Yes, thou scandal to humanity! for whatever is urged against me with respect to Thebes affects their characters much more than mine. They had declared loudly for this alliance long before it was proposed by me. But I have digressed too far. When Aeschines had effected this Amphissaean War; when his traitorous coadjutors had possessed our minds with animosity against the Thebans, the great secret of that confusion raised among the states was now discovered. Philip marched directly to attack us: and had we not been suddenly awakened to a vigorous exertion of our powers, the danger must have overwhelmed us; so far had these men carried on their desperate design. But to form a perfect judgment of the terms on which we then stood with

Thebes, consult your own decrees, and the answers received on this occasion. Take them. Read. -

A DECREE

“In the archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebolion, the Erechthian tribe presiding, the Senate and generals came to the following resolution:

“Whereas, Philip hath possessed himself of some adjacent cities, and demolished others, and is actually preparing to make an inroad into Attica, in manifest contempt of his engagements, and to rescind all his late treaties and obligations, without the least regard to public faith: It is resolved, that ambassadors shall be sent to confer with him, and to exhort him to preserve that harmony and to adhere to those engagements which have hitherto subsisted between us; at least, that he may grant the state time to deliberate and make a truce till the month Thargelion.

Simus, Euthydemus, and Bulagoras are elected from the Senate for this commission.” -

ANOTHER DECREE

“In the archonship of Heropythus, the last day of the month Munichion; at the motion of the polemarch“Whereas, Philip is exerting his most strenuous efforts to alienate the Thebans from us, and prepares to march with all his army to the frontiers of Attica, in direct violation of the treaty now subsisting between us: It is resolved by the Senate and people of Athens that a herald and ambassadors be sent to him, who shall require and demand a cessation of hostilities, that the people may have an opportunity of deliberating on this exigency; as at present they are inclined to judge that the honor of the state cannot be supported but by an extraordinary and vigorous opposition. Nearchus and Polycrates are chosen for this commission from the Senate, and Eunomus from the people in quality of herald.” Now read the answers. -

PHILIP'S ANSWER TO THE ATHENIANS

“Philip, king of Macedon, to the Senate and people of Athens, health:

“How you have been affected towards us from the beginning we are by no means ignorant; nor of that assiduity with which you have labored to bring over to your party the Thessalians, the Thebans, and even the Boeotians. As these people had just ideas of their real interests, and have refused to submit to your direction, when you find yourselves disappointed you send heralds and ambassadors to us to put us in mind of former treaties; and you demand a truce, although you have in no one instance felt the force of our arms. I, on my part, have admitted your ambassadors to an audience. I agree to your demands, and am ready to grant the cessation which you require, provided that you remove your evil counsellors, and brand them with the infamy which they so justly merit. Farewell!” -

THE ANSWER TO THE THEBANS

“Philip, king of Macedon, to the Senate and people of Thebes, health:

“I have received your letter, wherein you take notice of the harmony and peace subsisting between us. I am informed that the Athenians have been assiduous in their solicitations to prevail on you to comply with them in those demands which they have lately made. I must confess I formerly imagined that I had discovered some disposition in your state to be influenced by their promises, and to acquiesce in their measures; but now I have received full assurances of your attachment to us, and of your resolutions to live in peace rather than to submit to the guidance of foreign counsels. I feel the sincerest satisfaction, and highly applaud your conduct; and more particularly as, by your adherence to us, you have in the most effectual manner provided for your interests and safety. Persevere in the same sentiments, and in a short time I hope you will experience their good effects. Farewell!” Thus successful in confirming the mutual separation of our states, and elevated by these decrees and these replies, Philip now leads his forces forward and seizes Elataea; presuming, that at all events Athens and Thebes never could unite.

You are no strangers to the confusion which this event raised within these walls.

Yet permit me to relate some few striking circumstances of our own consternation. It was evening. A courier arrived, and repairing to the presidents of the Senate, informed them that Elataea was taken. In a moment some started from supper, *(13) ran to the public place, drove the traders from their stations, and set fire to their sheds; *(14) some sent round to call the generals; others clamored for the trumpeter. *(15) Thus was the city one scene of tumult. The next morning, by dawn of day, the presidents summoned the Senate. The people were instantly collected; and before any regular authority could convene their assembly, the whole body of citizens had taken their places above. Then the Senate entered: the presidents reported their advices, and produced the courier. He repeated his intelligence. The herald then asked in form, “Who chooses to speak?” All was silence.

The invitation was frequently repeated: still no man rose; though the generals, though the ordinary speakers were all present; though the voice of Athens then called on some man to speak and save her: for surely the regular and legal proclamation of the herald may be fairly deemed the voice of Athens. If an honest solicitude for the preservation of the state had on this occasion been sufficient to call forth a speaker, then, my countrymen, ye must have all risen and crowded to the gallery; for well I know this honest solicitude had full possession of your hearts.

If wealth had obliged a man to speak, the Three Hundred *(16) must have risen.

If patriotic zeal and wealth united were the qualification necessary for the speaker, then should we have heard those generous citizens, whose beneficence was afterward displayed so nobly in the service of the state; for their beneficence proceeded from this union of wealth and patriotic zeal. But the occasion, the great day, it seems, called, not only for a well-affected and an affluent citizen, but for the man who had traced these affairs to their very source; who had formed the exactest judgment of Philip’s motives, of his secret intentions in this his conduct. He who was not perfectly informed of these; he who had not watched the whole progress of his actions with consummate vigilance; however zealously affected to the state, however blessed with wealth, was in no wise better qualified to conceive or to propose the measures which your interests demanded on an occasion so critical. On that day, then, I was the man who stood forth. And the

counsels I then proposed may now merit your attention on a double account: first, to convince you that, of all your leaders and ministers, I was the only one who maintained the post of a zealous patriot in your extremity, whose words and actions were devoted to your service, in the midst of public consternation: and, secondly, to enable you to judge more clearly of my other actions, by granting a little time to this. My speech then was thus: "They who are thrown into all this confusion, from an opinion that the Thebans are gained over to the interests of Philip, seem to me entirely ignorant of the present state of affairs. Were this the case, I am convinced you would now hear, not that he was at Elataea, but on our very frontier. His intent (I clearly see it) in seizing this post is to facilitate his schemes in Thebes. Attend, and I shall now explain the circumstances of that state. Those of its citizens whom his gold could corrupt or his artifice deceive are all at his devotion; those who at first opposed and continue to oppose him he finds incapable of being wrought on. What then is his design? Why hath he seized Elataea? That by drawing up his forces and displaying his powers on the borders of Thebes he may inspire his adherents with confidence and elevation, and strike such terror into his adversaries that fear or force may drive them into those measures they have hitherto opposed. If, then, we are resolved in this conjuncture to cherish the remembrance of every unkindness we may have received from the Thebans- if we regard them with suspicion, as men who have ranged themselves on the side of our enemy- we shall, in the first place, act agreeably to Philip's warmest wishes; and then I am apprehensive that the party who now oppose him may be brought over to his interest, the whole city declare unanimously in his favor, and Thebes and Macedon fall with their united force on Attica. Grant the due attention to what I shall propose; let it be calmly weighed, without dispute or cavil, and I doubt not but that my counsels may direct you to the best and most salutary measures, and dispel the dangers now impending over the state. What then do I propose? First shake off that terror which hath possessed your minds, and, instead of fearing for yourselves, fear for the Thebans; they are more immediately exposed, and must be the first to feel the danger. In the next place, let all those of the age for military service, both infantry and cavalry, march instantly to Eleusis, that Greece may see that you too are assembled in arms; and your friends in Thebes be emboldened to assert their rights, when they are assured, that as they who have sold their country to the Macedonian have a force at Elataea to support them, you too stand prepared to support their antagonists. I recommend it, in the last place, that you nominate ten ambassadors, who, with the generals, shall have full authority to determine the time and all other circumstances of this march. When these ambassadors shall arrive at Thebes, how are they to conduct this great affair? This is a point worthy your most serious attention. Make no demands at all of the Thebans: at this juncture it would be dishonorable. Assure them that your forces are ready, and but wait their orders to march to their support; as you are deeply affected by their danger, and have been so happy as to foresee and to guard against it. If they are prevailed on to embrace these overtures, we shall effectuate our great purpose, and act with a dignity worthy of our state; but should it happen that we are not so successful, whatever misfortunes they may suffer, to themselves they shall be imputed; while your conduct shall appear in no one instance inconsistent with the honor and renown of Athens." These and other like particulars did I suggest. I came down amid the universal applause of the assembly, without one word of opposition or dissent. Nor did I thus speak without proposing my decree in form; nor did I propose my decree without proceeding on the embassy; nor did I proceed on the embassy without prevailing on the Thebans. From first to last my conduct was uniform, my perseverance invariable, my whole powers entirely devoted to repel the dangers then encompassing the state. Produce the decree made on this occasion. Say, Aeschines, what character are we to ascribe to you on that great day? and in what light am I to be considered? As a Batalus, the odious name your scorn and malice have given me? and

you, a hero of no ordinary rank, a dramatic hero, a Cresphontes, a Creon, or an Oenomaus, the character in which your vile performance was punished with such heavy stripes? On that day our country had full proof that I, the Batalus, could perform more worthy services than you, the Oenomaus. You per-

formed no services at all; I discharged the duty of a faithful citizen in the amplest manner. -

THE DECREE

“In the archonship of Nausicles, the Aiantidian tribe presiding, on the sixteenth day of the month Scirophorion, Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Paeanean tribe, proposed this decree: “Whereas, Philip, king of the Macedonians, hath in various times past violated the treaty of peace subsisting between him and the state of Athens, in open contempt of his most solemn engagements, and of all that is esteemed sacred in Greece; possessing himself of cities to which he had no claim or pretensions; reducing some to slavery that were under the Athenian jurisdiction; and this without any previous injury committed on the part of Athens: And whereas, he at this time perseveres in his outrages and cruelty, imposing his garrisons on the cities of Greece, subverting their constitutions, enslaving their inhabitants, and razing their walls; in some, dispossessing the Greeks and establishing barbarians; abandoning the temples and sepulchres to their inhuman rage (actions agreeable to his country and his manners); insolent in his present fortune, and forgetful of that mean origin from whence he hath arisen to this unexpected power: And whereas, while the Athenian people beheld him extending his dominion over states and countries like his own, barbarous, and detached from Greece, they deemed themselves little affected or injured by such conquests; but now, when Grecian cities are insulted by his arms, or totally subverted, they justly conceive it would be unwarrantable and unworthy of the glory of their illustrious ancestors to look on with indifference, while the Greeks are thus reduced to slavery. For these reasons, the Senate and people of Athens (with due veneration to the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore; and with due attention to the virtue of their ancestors, to whom the general liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the particular interest of their own state) have resolved, “That a fleet of two hundred vessels shall be sent to sea (the admiral to cruise within the straits of Thermopylae). That the generals and commanders, both of horse and foot, shall march with their respective forces to Eleusis. That ambassadors shall be sent to the states of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, as the present situation of Philip threatens their confines more immediately. That these ambassadors shall be instructed to exhort them not to be terrified by Philip, but to exert themselves in defence of their own liberty and that of Greece; to assure them that the people of Athens, far from harboring the least resentment on account of any former differences which might have alienated their states from each other, are ready to support them with all their powers, their treasures, their forces, and their arms; well knowing, that to contend for sovereignty among themselves is an honor to the Greeks; but to be commanded by a foreigner, or to suffer him to wrest from them their superiority, is unworthy of the Grecian dignity and the glorious actions of their ancestors. To assure them that the Athenian people do not look on those of Thebes as aliens, but as kinsmen and countrymen; that the good offices conferred on Thebes by their progenitors are ever fresh in their memory, who restored the descendants of Hercules to their hereditary dominions, from which they had been expelled by the Peloponnesians, and by force of arms subdued all those who opposed themselves to that illustrious family; who kindly entertained Oedipus and his adherents in the time of their calamity; and who have transmitted many other monuments of their affection and respect to Thebes; that the people of Athens, therefore, will not at this conjuncture desert the cause of Thebes and Greece, but are ready to enter into engagements defensive and offensive with the Thebans, cemented and confirmed by a mutual liberty of intermarriage, and by the oaths of each party tendered and accepted with all due solemnity. The ambassadors chosen on this occasion are Demosthenes, Hyperides, Mnesithides, Democrates, and Callaeschrus.” Here was the foundation laid; here was the first establishment of our interest in Thebes. Hitherto the traitors had been too

successful, and all was animosity, aversion, and suspicion between the cities. But by this decree that danger which hung lowering over our state was in an instant dissipated like a vapor. And surely it was the duty of an honest citizen, if he had any better measures to propose, to have declared them publicly, not to have cavilled now. For the counsellor and the sycophant are characters entirely different in every particular; but in this are they more especially distinguished from each other- that the one fairly declares his opinion previous to the event, and makes himself accountable to those he hath influenced, to fortune, to the times, to the world; while the other is silent when he ought to speak, but when some melancholy accident hath happened he dwells on this with the most invidious censure. That was the time (I repeat it) for a man sincerely attached to his country and to truth. Yet, such is my confidence in the abundant merits of my cause, that if any man can now point out a better course, nay, if there be any course at all but that which I pursued, I shall confess myself criminal; for if any more expedient conduct hath been now discovered, I allow that it ought not to have escaped me. But if there neither is, nor was, nor can be such a conduct pointed out, no, not at this day, what was the part of your minister? Was it not to choose the best of such measures as occurred, of such as were really in his power? And this I did, Aeschines, when the herald asked in due form, "Who chooses to address the people?" not "Who will inveigh against things past?" not "Who will answer for things to come?" In this juncture you kept your seat in the assembly without uttering one word. I rose up and spoke. Well! though you were then silent, yet now explain your sentiments. Say, what expedient was there which I should have devised? What favorable juncture was lost to the state by my means? What alliance, what scheme of conduct was there to which I should have rather led my fellow-citizens? Not that the time once elapsed is ever made the subject of debate; for that time no man ever suggests expedients. It is the coming or the present juncture which demands the offices of a counsellor. And in that juncture, when some of our misfortunes, it seems, were coming on, some were already present, consider my intention; do not point your malice at the event; the final issue of all human actions depends on God. Do not then impute it as my offence that Philip was victorious in the battle. This is an event determined by God, not by me. Let it be proved that I did not take every precaution which human prudence could suggest; that I did not exert myself with integrity, with assiduity, with toil even greater than my strength; that the conduct I pursued was not noble, was not worthy of the state, was not necessary; let this be proved, and then accuse me.

But if a sudden clap of thunder, if a furious tempest burst at once on us, and laid prostrate, not our state alone, but every state in Greece- what then? Am I to be accused? With equal justice might the trader, who sends out his vessel equipped and furnished for a voyage, be deemed guilty of her wreck when she had encountered a storm so violent as to endamage, nay, to tear down her tackle. He might plead thus, "I was not pilot in the voyage." Nor was I commander of your army, nor I master of Fortune: she it is who commands the world. And let this be duly weighed: if when the Thebans engaged on our side we were yet fated to this calamity, what were we to expect if they had not only been detached from us, but united with our enemy, in compliance with all his urgent solicitations? If when the armies fought at a distance of three days' march from Attica such danger and consternation fell on this city, what if the defeat had happened in our own territory? Think you that we could have stood? that we could have assembled here? that we could have breathed? The respite of one day (at least of two or three) is oftentimes of signal moment to the preservation of a people. In the other case- but I cannot bear to mention what we must have suffered if this state had not been protected by the favor of some god, and the interposition of this alliance, the perpetual subject (Aeschines) of your clamorous malice.

All this particular discussion is addressed to you, ye judges, and to those auditors who stand round the tribunal. As to this miscreant, he needs but one short and plain reply. If you, Aeschines, were the only man among us who foresaw the issue, it was your duty to have foretold it to your countrymen; if you did not foresee it, you are as accountable for such ignorance as any other citizen. What better right, then, have you to urge this as a crime against me than I to accuse you on the same occasion? When at this juncture, not to mention others, I approved myself so far a better citizen than you, as I was entirely devoted to what appeared the true interest of my country, not nicely weighing, not once considering my private danger: while you never proposed any better measures, else we had not adopted these; nor in the prosecution of these were we assisted by any services of yours.

No; the event discovered that your conduct had been such as the basest, the most inveterate enemy to this state must have pursued. And, observable indeed it is, that at the very time when Aristratus at Naxos and Aristolaus at Thassus, equally the avowed foes of Athens, are harassing the Athenian partisans by prosecutions, here Aeschines hath brought his accusations against Demosthenes. But the man who derives his consequence from the calamities of Greece should rather meet his own just punishment than stand up to prosecute another: the man whose interests are advanced by the conjunctures most favorable to those of our public enemies can never, surely, be a friend to our country. And that this is your case, your life, your actions, the measures you have pursued, the measures you have declined, all demonstrate. Is there anything effected which promises advantage to the state? Aeschines is mute. Are we crossed by an untoward accident? Aeschines rises.

Just as our old sprains and fractures again become sensible when any malady hath attacked our bodies.

But since he hath insisted so much on the event, I shall hazard a bold assertion: but, in the name of Heaven! let it not be deemed extravagant; let it be weighed with candor. I say, then, that had we all known what fortune was to attend our efforts; had we all foreseen the final issue; had you foretold it, Aeschines; had you bellowed out your terrible denunciations (you, whose voice was never heard); yet, even in such a case, must this city have pursued the very same conduct if she had retained a thought of glory, of her ancestors, or of future times: for thus she could only have been deemed unfortunate in her attempts; and misfortunes are the lot of all men whenever it may please Heaven to inflict them. But if that state which once claimed the first rank in Greece had resigned this rank in time of danger, she had incurred the censure of betraying the whole nation to the enemy. If we had indeed given up those points without one blow, for which our fathers encountered every peril, who would not have spurned you with scorn?— you, the author of such conduct, not the state, or me? In the name of Heaven! say, with what face could we have met those foreigners who sometimes visit us if such scandalous supineness on our part had brought affairs to their present situation? if Philip had been chosen general of the Grecian army, and some other state had drawn the sword against this insidious nomination, and fought the battle unassisted by the Athenians— that people who in ancient times never preferred inglorious security to honorable danger? What part of Greece, what part of the barbarian world has not heard that the Thebans in their period of success, that the Lacedaemonians whose power was older and more extensive, that the king of Persia would have cheerfully and joyfully consented that this state should enjoy her own dominions, together with an accession of territory ample as her wishes, on this condition— that she should receive law, and suffer another state to preside in Greece? But to Athenians this was a condition unbecoming their descent, intolerable to their spirit, repugnant to their nature. Athens never was once known to live in a slavish, though a secure obedience to unjust and arbitrary power. No;

our whole history is one series of noble contests for pre-eminence, the whole period of our existence hath been spent in braving dangers for the sake of glory and renown. And so highly do you esteem such conduct, so consonant to the Athenian character, that those of your ancestors who were most distinguished in the pursuit of it are ever the most favorite objects of your praise. And with reason: for who can reflect without astonishment on the magnanimity of those men who resigned their lands, gave up their city, and embarked in their ships, to avoid the odious state of subjection? who chose Themistocles, the adviser of this conduct, to command their forces; and when Cyncillus proposed that they should yield to the terms prescribed, stoned him to death? Nay, the public indignation was not yet allayed.

Your very wives inflicted the same vengeance on his wife; for the Athenians of that day looked out for no speaker, no general to procure them a state of prosperous slavery. They had the spirit to reject even life, unless they were allowed to enjoy that life in freedom. For it was a principle fixed deeply in every breast, that man was not born to his parents only, but to his country. And mark the distinction: he who regards himself as born only to his parents waits in passive submission for the hour of his natural dissolution; he who considers that he is the child of his country also is prepared to meet his fate freely rather than behold that country reduced to vassalage, and thinks those insults and disgraces which he must meet in a state enslaved much more terrible than death. Should I then attempt to assert that it was I who inspired you with sentiments worthy of your ancestors, I should meet the just resentment of every hearer. No; it is my point to show that such sentiments are properly your own; that they were the sentiments of my country long before my days. I claim but my share of merit in having acted on such principles in every part of my administration. He, then, who condemns every part of my administration; he who directs you to treat me with severity, as one who hath involved the state in terrors and dangers, while he labors to deprive me of present honor, robs you of the applause of all posterity. For if you now pronounce, that as my public conduct hath not been right, Ctesiphon must stand condemned, it must be thought that you yourselves have acted wrong, not that you owe your present state to the caprice of fortune. But it cannot be! No, my countrymen, it cannot be that you have acted wrong in encountering danger bravely for the liberty and the safety of all Greece. No! by those generous souls of ancient times who were exposed at Marathon! by those who stood arrayed at Plataea! by those who encountered the Persian fleet at Salamis, who fought at Artemisium! by all those illustrious sons of Athens whose remains lie deposited in the public monuments! all of whom received the same honorable interment from their country- not those only who prevailed, not those only who were victorious: and with reason. What was the part of gallant men they all performed: their success was such as the Supreme Director of the world dispensed to each.

Well, then, thou miscreant! thou abject scrivener! thou, who, to rob me of the honors and the affections of these my countrymen, talkest of battles, of trophies, of brave deeds of old. And what are these, or any of these to the present cause? Say, thou vile player! when I assumed the character of a public counsellor, and on an object so important as the natural preeminence of my country, with what principles should I have arisen to speak? Those of suggesting measures unworthy of my countrymen? Then must I have met that death I merited. And when the interests of the state come before you, your minds, my fellow-citizens, should be possessed with an extraordinary degree of elevation, beyond what is necessary in private causes. When these are to be decided, you have only to consider the ordinary transactions of the world, the tenor of your laws, and the nature of private facts.

But, in questions of state, you are to look up to your illustrious ancestors; and every judge is to suppose, that with the symbols of his authority, he is also invested with the

high character of his country. Thus, and thus only, shall he determine on such questions in a manner worthy of these his ancestors.

But I have been so transported by mentioning the acts of your predecessors, that there are some decrees and some transactions that have escaped me. I return, then, to the points from whence I thus digressed. On our arrival at Thebes, we there found the ambassadors of Philip, those of the Thessalians and the other confederates, all assembled: our friends in terror, his party elevated. That this is not asserted merely to serve my present purpose, I appeal to that letter which we the ambassadors instantly despatched on this occasion. Yet, so transcendent is the virulence of this man, that if in any instance our designs have been effectual, he ascribes it to the juncture of affairs, not to me; in every instance where they have been defeated, he charges all to me and to my evil genius. It seems, then, that I, the speaker and counsellor, can claim no share of merit in such advantages as have been gained by speaking and by counsel; but where our arms have been unsuccessful, where the conduct of a war hath been unfortunate, I am loaded with the whole blame. Can we conceive a temper more cruel, more execrable in its malice? Read the letter. [The letter is here read.] The assembly was now convened. The deputies of Macedon were first admitted to an audience, as they appeared in the character of allies. They rose up and addressed themselves to the people; lavishing their praises on Philip, urging many articles of accusation against you, and dwelling on every act of opposition which you had ever made to Thebes. This was the sum of all. They called on the Thebans to make the due return to the benefits conferred by Philip, and to inflict due vengeance for the injuries received from you. And for this they had their option, either to allow the Macedonian a free passage through their territory, or to unite with him in the invasion of Attica. It was clearly proved, as they affected to suppose, that if their counsels were embraced, the cattle, slaves, and all the wealth of Attica must be transferred to Boeotia; but that our overtures tended to expose Boeotia to all the havoc of the war. To these they added many other particulars, all tending to the same purpose. And now, I should esteem it my greatest happiness to lay before you the whole detail of what we urged in reply. But you, I fear, are too sensible that these things are past, that the torrent hath since broken in, and, as it were, overwhelmed all our affairs; and therefore must think it useless and odious to speak of these things at all. I shall therefore confine myself to the resolutions we obtained, and the answer returned to you. Take them: read. [The answer of the Thebans is here read.] In consequence of these their resolutions they called you forth; they invited you in due form. You marched; you came to their support: and with such affectionate confidence were you received (for I pass over the intermediate transactions), that while their army, both infantry and cavalry, were stationed without the walls, your forces were admitted into their city, were received into their houses, amid their children, their wives- all that they held most dear. And thus, in one day, did the Thebans give three of the most public and most honorable testimonies to your merit: one to your valor, another to your justice, and a third to your continence: for by determining to unite their arms with yours, rather than to fight against you, they declared their sense of your superior valor, as well as the superior justice of your cause; and by intrusting to your disposal what they and all mankind are most solicitous to protect, their children and their wives, they demonstrated an absolute reliance on your strict continence. And your conduct confirmed these their sentiments in every particular; for, from the moment that our army appeared within their walls, no man ever could complain of any one instance of your injurious demeanor; such purity of manners did you display. And in the first two engagements, *(17) that of the river, and that fought in winter, you approved yourselves not blameless only, but worthy of admiration- in discipline, in judgment, in alacrity. Hence, other states were engaged in praises of your conduct, ours in sacrifices and religious processions. And here I would gladly ask Aeschines this question- whether, in the course of these events, when the city

was one scene of unbounded joy and acclamation, he took his part in our religious rites, and shared in the general festivity, or shut himself in his chamber, grieved, afflicted, and provoked at the successes of his country? If he appeared, if he was then found among his fellow-citizens, what injustice- nay, what impiety is this, when he had solemnly called Heaven to witness that he approved these measures, to desire that you should condemn them by your present sentence; you, who by your oath have made as solemn an appeal to Heaven? If he did not appear, is not that man worthy of a thousand deaths who looks with grief on those events which fill his countrymen with joy? Read these decrees. [The decrees relative to the sacrifices are here read.] Thus were we, then, engaged in sacrificing to the gods; the Thebans in acknowledging that we had been their deliverers. Thus, the people who had been reduced by the machinations of my adversary and his faction to the condition of seeking assistance, were raised by my counsels to that of granting it to others: and what the style was which Philip then adopted, what his confusion at these events, you may learn from his own letters sent to Peloponnesus. Take them: read: thus shall you see that my perseverance, by journeys, my fatigues, as well as my various decrees, now the object of his malice, were by no means ineffectual. And permit me to observe that this state afforded numbers of able and illustrious speakers before my time. Such were Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, and a thousand others: and yet, of all these, not one ever devoted his whole powers on all occasions to the service of his country. He who moved the decree did not charge himself with the embassy; he who went ambassador was not author of the decree. Each reserved to himself a respite from business; and, in case of accident, a resource. But I may be asked, "What! are you so superior to other men in powers and confidence that you can do all yourself?" I say not so. But such and so alarming was my sense of the danger then impending over us, that I thought it no time for private considerations, for entertaining any thought of personal security, for conceiving any better hopes than that all the powers of every citizen might possibly effect the necessary service. As to myself, I was persuaded, not perhaps on solid grounds, yet I was persuaded that no mover of decrees could frame more useful decrees than I; no agent, in the execution of them, could execute them more effectually; no ambassador could proceed on his embassy with greater vigor and integrity. And hence did I assume all these functions. Read Philip's letters. -

[The letters are read.] To such condescension did I reduce this prince. Yes, Aeschines, by me was he obliged to use such language; he who on all former occasions treated this state with so much insolence and arrogance. And my fellow-citizens repaid these my services with the honor of a crown. You were present, yet acquiesced. Diondas, who traversed this grant, could not obtain a fifth of the suffrages. Read the decrees. [The decrees are read.] Here are decrees framed literally in the same terms with those which Aristonicus had before proposed, and that which Ctesiphon hath now moved; decrees, which Aeschines hath neither impeached, nor united in the impeachment brought against their author. And, surely if this his present accusation be justly founded, he might have prosecuted Demomeles who proposed them, and Hyperides, with much more reason than Ctesiphon. And why? Because Ctesiphon can appeal to these men, and the decisions of your courts in their case. He can plead that Aeschines never attempted to accuse them, though their decrees were conceived in the same terms with his. He can urge the illegality of commencing a prosecution on a case already decided; not to mention other reasons. Whereas, in the former suit, the cause was to be supported only by its merits, without any previous considerations in its favor. But he could not then have pursued his present method. He could not have searched old chronicles to support his malicious charge; he could not have ransacked our archives for scraps of obsolete decrees never once thought of, never once conceived as in any degree applicable to the present case; he could not have made up a plausible harangue, by confounding dates and

disguising facts with all the arts of falsehood, instead of stating them fairly. No; he must have deduced all his arguments from truths recent, from facts well remembered; all lying, as it were, before you. Hence did he decline the immediate discussion of these transactions; but brings his charge now, after so long an interval; as if this were a contest in a school of rhetoric, not a real inquiry into public affairs. Yes; he must suppose that you are now to judge of speeches, not of political transactions. Then observe his sophistical craft. He tells you that whatever opinions you had formed of us both on coming hither, they must be forgotten; that you are to judge of what appears on this examination, like men settling an account of money. You may have conceived that a balance is yet due; but when you find the accounts cleared, and that nothing remains, you must acquiesce. And here you may observe how dangerous it is to rely on any argument not founded in truth; for by this subtle similitude he hath confessed that you came hither firmly persuaded that I have ever spoken for my country; he, for Philip: for he could not have attempted to alter your persuasion unless you had been thus persuaded, with respect to each. And that he is not justly warranted to demand such alteration, I shall now demonstrate, not by the help of figures (for we are not counting money); but by a short summary of my services, which I shall submit to you, my hearers, both as examiners and as vouchers of my account.

By my conduct, then, which he treats with such severity, the Thebans, instead of joining with the Macedonian in an invasion of our territory, as we all expected, united with us, and prevented that invasion. The war, instead of raging here in Attica, was confined to the district of Boeotia, at a distance of seventy stadia from the city. Our coast, instead of being exposed to all the rapine of the Euboean corsairs, was preserved in tranquillity during the whole war. Instead of Philip's becoming master of the Hellespont by the possession of Byzantium, the Byzantines joined with us, and turned their arms against him. Are we, then, to use figures and accounts in examining transactions, and shall these articles be erased from the account? Shall we not rather labor to perpetuate their remembrance? I do not set it down as an additional article, that the cruelty which Philip was known to exercise towards those he had reduced was all felt by other states; while we happily reaped all the fruit of that humaneness which he well knew how to assume when some future schemes were to be advanced. I do not insist on this.

But one thing I shall assert with less reserve: that he who enters on a fair inquiry into the conduct of any minister, without descending to a malicious prosecution, must scorn the mean arts which you have practised of inventing metaphors, and mimicking phrases and gestures. It essentially concerns the interests of Greece, no doubt, that I should use this, and reject that phrase; that I should move my arm this way, and not to that side. No; the fair inquirer would consider the state of facts; would examine what resources, what powers we possessed, when I first entered on affairs; what accessions I procured to these; and what were the circumstances of our enemies. If I had really weakened the powers of my country, such iniquitous conduct should be detected; if I had considerably increased them, your malice should not have pursued me. But as you have avoided this method, I shall adopt it. And to you, my hearers, I appeal for the truth of what I now deliver.

First, then, as to our powers at this juncture: we commanded but the islands; and not all of these; only the weakest of them. Neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra were then ours. Of our finances, the amount was forty-five talents; and even this sum had been anticipated. Of infantry and cavalry, except those within our walls, we had not any; and, what was the circumstance most alarming, and most favorable to our enemies, their artifices had been so effectual, that the adjacent states, Megara, Thebes, Euboea, were all inclined to hostilities rather than an alliance with us. Such was the situation of our affairs. It cannot be denied; it cannot be at all controverted. And now consider those of

Philip our antagonist. In the first place, his power over all his followers was absolute and uncontrolled; the first great necessary article in war. Then, their arms were ever in their hands.

Again, his finances were in the most flourishing condition. In all his motions he consulted only with himself; he did not announce them by decrees; he did not concert them in a public assembly; he was not exposed to false accusers; he was not to guard against impeachments; he was not to submit his conduct to examination; but was in all things absolutely lord, leader, and governor. To this man was I opposed. It is but just that you consider my circumstances. What did I command? Nothing. I had but the right of audience in our assemblies; a right which you granted to his hirelings equally with me; and as often as they prevailed against my remonstrances (and oftentimes did they thus prevail, on various pretences) were you driven to resolutions highly favorable to the enemy. Loaded with all these difficulties, I yet brought over to your alliance the Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megareans, Leucadians, Corcyreans. And thus did we collect fifteen hundred foot, and two thousand horse, exclusive of our own citizens. And thus were our finances enlarged by as ample subsidies as I could raise.

If you insist on what contingents should strictly have been required from the Thebans, or from the Byzantines, or from the Euboeans; if you talk of dividing the burden of the war in exact proportion; I must, in the first place, inform you, that when the united fleet was drawn out to defend the interests of Greece the whole number of ships amounted to three hundred; and of these two hundred were supplied by Athens. Nor did we think ourselves aggrieved; nor did we prosecute those who had advised it; nor did we discover any marks of discontent. That would have been shameful. No; we thanked the gods, that when all Greece was threatened with imminent danger, we were enabled to give twice as much assistance to the common cause as any other state. And then- little is the public favor which your malicious invectives against me can gain. For why do you now tell us what we should have done? Were you not then in the city? Were you not in the assembly? Why did you not propose your scheme, if it suited the circumstances of affairs? For here was the point to be considered; what these circumstances admitted, not what our wishes might suggest. Had we once rejected the alliance of any people, there was one ready to purchase them- to bid much higher for them- to receive them with open arms. And, if my conduct is now questioned, what if, by any exact and scrupulous demands, in my stipulations with the several states, they had withdrawn their forces, and united with our enemy; and thus Philip had been master of Euboea, Thebes, and Byzantium?- how busy would these impious men have then been- how violent in their clamors! Must they not have cried out, that we had rejected these states? That we had driven them from us, when they were courting our alliance? That Philip was confirmed sovereign of the Hellespont by the Byzantines? That the whole corn trade of Greece was at his disposal? That Thebes had enabled him to push the war to our very confines? That it had fallen with all its weight on Attica? That the sea was impassable: for that corsairs were perpetually issuing from Euboea? Should we not have heard all this and more? A false accuser, my countrymen, is a monster, a dangerous monster, querulous, and industrious in seeking pretences of complaint. And such is the very nature of this fox in human shape, a stranger to everything good and liberal; this theatrical ape, this strolling player, this blundering haranguer! For of what use is this your vehemence to the public? do you waste it on transactions long since past? Just as if a physician should visit his infirm and distempered patients, should never speak, never prescribe the means of expelling their disorders; but when one of them had died, and the last offices were performing to his remains, to march after to the grave, and there pronounce with all solemnity, "if this man had proceeded thus and thus, he would not have died." Infatuated wretch! and dost thou vouchsafe to speak at last?

As to the defeat, that incident in which you so exult! (accursed wretch! who should rather mourn for it!) Look through my whole conduct, and you shall find nothing there that brought down this calamity on my country. Let it be considered that there is no one instance in which the ambassadors of Macedon ever prevailed against me, in any of those states where I appeared as the ambassador of Athens; not in Thessaly, nor in Ambracia, nor in Illyria, nor among the Thracian princes, nor in Byzantium; in no one place; no, nor in the last debate at Thebes. But whatever was thus acquired by my superiority over the ambassadors of Philip, their master soon recovered by force of arms. And this is urged as my offence. My adversary, even at the very time that he affects to ridicule my weakness, is so shameless as to require, that I in my single person should conquer all the powers of the Macedonian, and conquer them by words. What else could I command? I had no power over the life of any one citizen, over the fortune of our soldiers, or the conduct of our armies, for which thou art so absurd as to call me to account. In every particular where a minister is accountable, there let your scrutiny be strict and severe. I never shall decline it. And what are the duties of a minister? To watch the first rise of every incident; to foresee, to forewarn his fellow-citizens. And this did I perform. To confine those evils within the narrowest bounds, which are natural and necessary to be encountered in every state; to restrain the fatal influence of irresolution, supineness, prejudice, and animosity; and, on the other hand, to dispose the minds of men to concord and unanimity, to rouse them to a vigorous defence of their just rights. All this did I perform; nor can an instance be produced in which I proved deficient. If a man were asked what were the means by which Philip effected most of his designs; the answer is obvious: It was by his armies, by his bribes, by corrupting those who were at the head of affairs. As to his armies, I neither commanded nor directed them. I am not, therefore, to account for any of their motions. As to his bribes, I rejected them. And in this I conquered Philip; for, as the purchaser conquers when a man accepts his price, and sells himself; so, the man who will not be sold, who disdains to be corrupted, conquers the purchaser. Well, then, with respect to me, this state remains still unconquered.

Thus have I produced such instances of my conduct as (not to mention many others) justly authorize this decree of Ctesiphon in my favor. And now I proceed to facts well known to all who hear me. No sooner had the battle been decided, than the people (and they had known and seen all my actions), in the midst of public consternation and distress, when it could not be surprising if the multitude had made me feel some marks of their resentment, were directed by my counsels in every measure taken for the defence of the city. Whatever was done to guard against a siege, the disposition of our garrison, our works, the repair of our walls, the money to be raised for this purpose, all was determined by decrees framed by me. Then, when they were to appoint a commissioner for providing corn, the people elected me from their whole body. Again, when persons bent on my destruction had conspired against me, when they had commenced prosecutions, inquiries, impeachments, and I know not what, at first not in their own names, but by such agents as they thought best fitted to conceal the real authors; yes, you all know, you all remember that at the beginning of this period I was every day exposed to some judicial process; nor was the despair of Sosicles, nor the malice of Philocrates, nor the madness of Diondas and Melanus, nor any other engine left untried for my destruction. I say, then, that at the time when I was thus exposed to various assaults, next to the gods, my first and great defenders, I owed my deliverance to you and all my countrymen. And justice required that you should support my cause; for it was the cause of truth, a cause which could never fail of due regard from judges bound by solemn oaths, and sensible of their sacred obligation.

As you then gave sentence in my favor on all occasions where I had been impeached, as

my prosecutor could not obtain a fifth part of the voices, you, in effect, pronounced that my actions had been excellent; as I was acquitted on every trial for an infringement of the laws, it was evident that my counsels and decrees had ever been consonant to law; and as you ever passed and approved my accounts, you declared authentically that I had transacted all your affairs with strict and uncorrupted integrity. In what terms, then, could Ctesiphon have described my conduct agreeably to decency and justice? Was he not to use those which he found his country had employed- which the sworn judges had employed- which truth itself had warranted on all occasions? Yes! but I am told that it is the glory of Cephalus that he never had occasion to be acquitted on a public trial. True! and it is his good fortune also. But where is the justice of regarding that man as a more exceptionable character who was oftentimes brought to trial, and as often was acquitted; never once condemned? Yet, let it be observed, Athenians, that with respect to Aeschines, I stand in the very same point of glory with Cephalus; for he never accused, never prosecuted me. Here, then, is a confession of your own, that I am a citizen of no less worth than Cephalus.

Among the various instances in which he hath displayed his absurdity and malice, that part of his harangue which contains his sentiments on fortune is not the least glaring. That a mortal should insult his fellow-mortal on account of fortune is, in my opinion, an absurdity the most extravagant. He whose condition is most prosperous, whose fortune seems most favorable, knows not whether it is to remain unchanged even for a day. How, then, can he mention this subject? How can he urge it against any man as his reproach? But since my adversary hath on this occasion, as on many others, given a free scope to his insolence, hear what I shall offer on the same subject, and judge whether it be not more consonant to truth, as well as to that moderation which becomes humanity.

As to the fortune of this state, I must pronounce it good. And this, I find, hath been the sentence both of the Dodonean Jove and of the Pythian Apollo. As to that of individuals, such as all experience at this day, it is grievous and distressful.

Look through all Greece, through all the barbarian world; and where can we find the man who doth not feel many calamities in this present juncture? But this I take to be the happiness of our fortune as a state, that we have pursued such measures as are most honorable; that we have been more prosperous than those states of Greece who vainly hoped to secure their own happiness by deserting us. That we have encountered difficulties, that events have not always corresponded with our wishes, in this we have but shared that common lot which other mortals have equally experienced. As to the fortune of an individual, mine and that of any other must be determined, I presume, by the particular incidents of our lives. Such are my sentiments on this subject; and I think you must agree with me that they are founded on truth and equity. But my adversary declares that my fortune hath been greater than that of the whole community. What! a poor and humble fortune superior to one of excellence and elevation! How can this be? No, Aeschines, if you are determined to examine into my fortune, compare it with your own; and if you find mine superior, let it be no longer the subject of your reproach. Let us trace this matter fully. And here, in the name of all the gods! let me not be censured as betraying any indication of a low mind. No man can be more sensible than I that he who insults poverty, and he who, because he hath been bred in affluence, assumes an air of pride and consequence, are equally devoid of understanding. But the virulence and restless malice of an inveterate adversary hath forced me on this topic, where I shall study to confine myself within as strict bounds as the case can possibly admit.

Know, then, Aeschines, it was my fortune, when a youth, to be trained up in a liberal course of education, supplied in such a manner as to place me above the base temptations of poverty; when a man, to act suitably to such an education, to contribute

in my full proportion to all the exigencies of the state; never to be wanting in any honorable conduct, either in private or in public life, but on all occasions to approve myself useful to my country and to my friends. When I came into the administration of public affairs, I determined on such a course of conduct as frequently gained me the honor of a crown, both from this and other states of Greece. Nor could you, my enemies, attempt to say that I had determined on a dishonorable course. Such hath been the fortune of my life- a subject on which I might enlarge; but I must restrain myself, lest I should give offence by an affectation of importance.

Come, then, thou man of dignity, thou who spurnest at all others with contempt; examine thy own life; say, of what kind hath thy fortune been? She placed thee when a youth in a state of abject poverty, an assistant to thy father in his school, employed in the menial services of preparing his ink, washing down his benches, and sweeping his room, like a slave, rather than the child of a citizen.

When arrived at manhood, we find thee dictating the forms of initiation to thy mother, assisting in her trade, every night employed with thy fawn-skin and lustral bowls, purifying the novitiates, modelling their little figures of clay and bran, then rousing them, and teaching them to pronounce, "I have escaped the bad; I have found the better;" *(18) glorying in this noble accomplishment of howling out such jargon louder than the rest. And it is an honor we must allow him; for, as he pleads with so much vehemence, you may conclude that in his howlings he was equally piercing and clamorous. In the daytime he led his noble Bacchanals through the highways, crowned with fennel and poplar, grasping the serpents, and waving them above his head, with his yell of Evoe! Saboe! then bounding, and roaring out Hyes! Attes! Attes! Hyes!- Leader!- Conductor!- Ivy-bearer!- Vanbearer! these were his felicitations from the old women; and his wages were tart, biscuit, and new-baked crusts. In such circumstances, surely we must congratulate him on his fortune.

When you had obtained your enrolment among our citizens- by what means I shall not mention- but when you had obtained it, you instantly chose out the most honorable of employments, that of under-scrivener, and assistant to the lowest of our public officers. And when you retired from this station, where you had been guilty of all those practices you charge on others, you were careful not to disgrace any of the past actions of your life. No, by the powers!- You hired yourself to Simylus and Socrates, those deep-groaning tragedies, as they were called, and acted third characters. You pillaged the grounds of other men for figs, grapes, and olives, like a fruiterer; which cost you more blows than even your playing- which was in effect playing for your life; for there was an implacable, irreconcilable war declared between you and the spectators, whose stripes you felt so often and so severely, that you may well deride those as cowards who are unexperienced in such perils. But I shall not dwell on such particulars as may be imputed to his poverty.

My objections shall be confined to his principles. Such were the measures you adopted in your public conduct (for you at last conceived the bold design of engaging in affairs of state), that while your country prospered, you led a life of trepidation and dismay, expecting every moment the stroke due to those iniquities which stung your conscience; when your fellow-citizens were unfortunate, then were you distinguished by a peculiar confidence. And the man who assumes this confidence when thousands of his countrymen have perished- what should he justly suffer from those who are left alive? And here I might produce many other particulars of his character. But I suppress them: for I am not to exhaust the odious subject of his scandalous actions. I am confined to those which it may not be indecent to repeat.

Take, then, the whole course of your life, Aeschines, and of mine; compare them without heat or acrimony. You attended on your scholars; I was myself a scholar. You served in the initiations; I was initiated. You were a performer in our public entertainments; I was the director, You took notes of speeches; I was a speaker. You were an under-player; I was spectator. You failed in your part; I hissed you. Your public conduct was devoted to our enemies; mine to my country.

I shall only add, that on this day I appear to be approved worthy of a crown; the question is not whether I have been merely blameless; this is a point confessed.

You appear as a false accuser; and the question is, whether you are ever to appear again in such a character. You are in danger of being effectually prevented, by feeling the consequences of a malicious prosecution. The fortune of your life, then, hath been truly excellent; you see it. Mine hath been mean; and you have reason to reproach it. Come, then; hear me while I read the several attestations of those public offices which I have discharged; and, in return, do you repeat those verses which you spoiled in the delivery: "Forth from the deep abyss, behold, I come! And the dread portal of the dusky gloom." And, -

"Know, then, howe'er reluctant, I must speak Those evils-" Oh, may the gods inflict "those evils" on thee! may these thy countrymen inflict them to thy utter destruction!- thou enemy to Athens! thou traitor! thou vile player! Read the attestations. [The attestations are read.] Such hath been my public character. As to my private conduct, if you be not all satisfied that I have approved myself benevolent and humane; ever ready to assist those who needed; I shall be silent; I shall not plead; I shall not produce testimony of these points: no, nor of the numbers of my fellow-citizens I have redeemed from captivity; nor the sums I have contributed to portioning their daughters; nor of any like actions. For my principles are such as lead me naturally to suppose, that he who receives a benefit must remember it forever, if he would approve his honesty; but that he who confers the benefit should instantly forget it, unless he would betray a sordid and illiberal spirit. To remind men of his bounty, to make it the subject of his discourse, is very little different from a direct reproach; a fault which I am studious to avoid, and therefore shall proceed no farther, content to acquiesce in your opinion of my actions, whatever this may be.

But while I practise this reverse with respect to my private life, indulge me in enlarging somewhat farther on my public conduct.

Of all the men beneath the sun, point out the single person, Aeschines, Greek or barbarian, who hath not fallen under the power, first of Philip, and now of Alexander, and I submit; let everything be imputed to my fortune (shall I call it?), or, if you please, my evil genius. But if numbers who never saw me, who never heard my voice, have labored under a variety of the most afflicting calamities, I mean not only individuals, but whole states and nations; how much more consonant to truth and justice must it be to ascribe the whole to that common fate of mankind, that torrent of unhappy events which bore down on us with an irresistible violence? But you turn your eyes from the real cause, and lay the entire blame on my administration; although you know that, if not the whole, a part at least of your virulent abuse must thus fall on your country, and chiefly on yourself. Had I, when speaking in the assembly, been absolute and independent master of affairs, then your other speakers might call me to account. But if ye were ever present; if ye were all in general invited to propose your sentiments; if ye were all agreed that the measures then suggested were really the best; if you, Aeschines, in particular, were thus persuaded (and it was no partial affection for me that prompted you to give me up the hopes, the applause, the honors which attended the course I then advised, but the superior force of truth, and your own utter inability to point out any more eligible

course); if this was the case, I say, is it not highly cruel and unjust to arraign those measures now, when you could not then propose any better? In all other cases we find mankind in general perfectly agreed, and determining in every particular with exact precision. Hath a wilful injury been committed? It is followed with resentment and punishment. Hath a man erred unwillingly? He meets with pardon instead of punishment. Is there a man who hath neither willingly nor inadvertently offended? who hath devoted himself to what appeared the true interest of his country, but in some instances hath shared in the general disappointment? Justice requires that, instead of reproaching and reviling such a man, we should condole with him. These points are all manifest: they need not the decision of laws; they are determined by nature, by the unwritten precepts of humanity. Mark, then, the extravagance of that cruelty and malice which Aeschines hath discovered. The very events which he himself quotes as so many instances of unhappy fortune he would impute to me as crimes.

Add to all this, that, as if he himself had ever spoken the plain dictates of an honest and ingenuous mind, he directs you to guard against me; to be careful that I may not deceive you, that I may not practise my arts with too much success. The vehement declaimer, the subtle impostor, the artful manager; these are the appellations he bestows on me. Thus hath he persuaded himself that the man who is first to charge his own qualities on others must effectually impose on his hearers, and that they can never once discover who he is that urges this charge. But you are no strangers to his character, and must be sensible, I presume, that all this is much more applicable to him than me. As to my own abilities in speaking (for I shall admit this charge, although experience hath convinced me that what is called the power of eloquence depends for the most part on the hearers, and that the characters of public speakers are determined by that degree of favor and attention which you vouchsafe to each)- if long practice, I say, hath given me any proficiency in speaking, you have ever found it devoted to my country; not to her enemies; not to my private interest. His abilities, on the contrary, have not only been employed in pleading for our adversaries, but in malicious attacks on those his fellow-citizens who have ever in any degree offended or obstructed him. The cause of justice, the cause of Athens he hath never once supported. And surely the ingenuous and honest citizen never could expect that his private quarrels, his particular animosities, should be gratified by judges who are to determine for the public; never could be prompted by such motives to commence his prosecution. No; they are passions which, if possible, never should find a place in his nature, at least should be restrained within the strictest bounds. On what occasions, then, is the minister and public speaker to exert his vehemence? When the general welfare of the state is in danger; when his fellow-citizens are engaged in some contest with a foreign enemy. These are the proper occasions, for these are the proper subjects of a truly generous and faithful zeal. But never to have demanded justice against me, either in the name of his country or in his own never to have impeached any part of my public or even of my private conduct; yet now, when I am to be crowned, when I am to receive public honors, to commence a prosecution, to exhaust his whole fund of virulence in the attack- this surely is an indication of private pique- of an envious soul- of a depraved spirit; not of generous and honest principles. And to point this attack not directly against me, but Ctesiphon, to make him the culprit, is surely the very consummation of all baseness.

When I consider that profusion of words which you have lavished on this prosecution, I am tempted to believe that you engaged in it to display the skilful management of your voice, not to bring me to justice. But it is not language, Aeschines, it is not the tone of voice which reflects honor on a public speaker; but such a conformity with his fellow-citizens in sentiment and interest, that both his enemies and friends are the same with

those of his country. He who is thus affected, he it is who must ever speak the genuine dictates of a truly patriotic zeal.

But the man who pays his adulation to those who threaten danger to the state is not embarked in the same bottom with his countrymen; and therefore hath a different dependence for his security. Mark me, Aeschines; I ever determined to share the same fate with these our fellow-citizens. I had no separate interest, no private resource. And has this been your case? Impossible!- Yours! who, when the battle was once decided, instantly repaired as ambassador to Philip, the author of all the calamities your country at that time experienced; and this, when on former occasions you had declared loudly against engaging in any such commission, as all these citizens can testify.

Whom are we to charge as the deceiver of the state? Is it not the man whose words are inconsistent with his actions? On whom do the maledictions fall usually pronounced in our assemblies? Is it not on this man? Can we point out a more enormous instance of iniquity in any speaker than this inconsistency between his words and actions? And in this have you been detected. Can you, then, presume to speak; to meet the looks of these citizens? Can you persuade yourself that they are strangers to your character?- all so profoundly sunk in sleep and oblivion as to forget those harangues in which, with horrid oaths and imprecations, you disclaimed all connection with Philip? You called it an imputation forged by me, and urged from private pique, without the least regard to truth. And yet no sooner was the advice received of that fatal battle than your declarations were forgotten, your connection publicly avowed. You affected to declare that you were engaged to this prince in the strictest bonds of friendship. Such was the title by which you sought to dignify your prostitution. Was the son of Glaucothea the minstrel, the intimate, or friend, or acquaintance of Philip? I profess myself unable to discover any just and reasonable ground for such pretensions. No; you were his hireling indeed, bribed to betray the interests of Athens. And although you have been so clearly detected in this traitorous correspondence; although you have not scrupled, when the battle was once decided, to give evidence of it against yourself; yet have you presumed to attack me with all your virulence; to reproach me with crimes for which of all mankind I am least to be reproached.

Many noble and important schemes hath my country formed, and happily effected by my means. And that these are retained in memory, take this proof, Aeschines. When the people came to elect a person to make the funeral oration over the slain, immediately after the battle, they would not elect you, although you were proposed- although you are so eminent in speaking; they would not elect Demades, who had just concluded the peace; nor Hegemon; no, nor any other of your faction. They elected me. And when you and Pythocles rose up- (let Heaven bear witness with what abandoned impudence!)- when you charged me with the same crimes as now- when you pursued me with the same virulence and scurrility- all this served but to confirm the people in their resolution of electing me. You know too well the reason of this preference; yet hear it from me. They were perfectly convinced both of that faithful zeal and alacrity with which I had conducted their affairs; and of that iniquity which you and your party had discovered, by publicly avowing, at a time when your country was unfortunate, what you had denied with solemn oaths while her interests flourished. And it was a natural conclusion, that the men whom our public calamities emboldened to disclose their sentiments had ever been our enemies, and now were our declared enemies. Besides, they rightly judged, that he who was to speak in praise of the deceased, to grace their noble actions, could not, in decency, be the man who had lived and conversed in strict connection with those who had fought against them; that they who, at Macedon, had shared in the feast and joined in the triumph over the misfortunes of Greece, with those by whose hands the slaughter had been committed, should not receive a mark of honor on their return to Athens. Nor

did our fellow-citizens look for men who could act the part of mourners, but for one deeply and sincerely affected. And such sincerity they found in themselves and me; not the least degree of it in you. I was then appointed; you and your associates were rejected. Nor was this the determination of the people only; those parents also, and brethren of the deceased, who were appointed to attend the funeral rites, expressed the same sentiments; for as they were to give the banquet which, agreeably to ancient usage, was to be held at his house who had been most strictly connected with the deceased, they gave it at my house; and with reason; for, in point of kindred, each had his connections with some among the slain much nearer than mine; but with the whole body none was more intimately connected; for he who was most concerned in their safety and success must surely feel the deepest sorrow at their unhappy and unmerited misfortune. Read the epitaph inscribed on their monument by public authority. In this, Aeschines, you will find a proof of your absurdity, your malice, your abandoned baseness! Read. *(19) -

THE EPITAPH

“These, for their country’s sacred cause, array’d In arms tremendous, sought the fatal plain; Braved the proud foe with courage undismay’d, And greatly scorn’d dishonor’s abject stain. “Fair virtue led them to the arduous strife; Avenging terror menaced in their eyes:

For freedom nobly prodigal of life, Death they proposed their common glorious prize. “For never to tyrannic vile domain Could they their generous necks ignobly bend, Nor see Greece drag the odious servile chain, And mourn her ancient glories at an end. “In the kind bosom of their parent-land, Ceased are their toils, and peaceful is their grave:

So Jove decreed (and Jove’s supreme command Acts unresisted, to destroy, or save). “Chance to despise, and fortune to control, Doth to the immortal gods alone pertain:

Their joys, unchanged, in endless currents roll; But mortals combat with their fate in vain.” Aeschines! hearest thou this? It pertains only to the gods to control fortune and to command success. Here the power of assuring victory is ascribed, not to the minister, but to Heaven. Why, then, accursed wretch! hast thou so licentiously reproached me on this head? Why hast thou denounced against me what I entreat the just gods to discharge on thee and thy vile associates? Of all the various instances of falsehood in this his prosecution, one there is which most surprises me. In recalling the misfortunes of that fatal period to our minds, he hath felt no part of that sensibility which bespeaks a zealous or an honest citizen. He never dropped one tear; never discovered the least tender emotion.

No; his voice was elevated; he exulted; he strained and swelled with all the triumph of a man who had convicted me of some notorious offence. But in this he hath given evidence against himself, that he is not affected by our public calamities in the same manner with his fellow-citizens. And surely the man who, like Aeschines, affects an attachment to the laws and constitution should approve his sincerity, if by no other means, at least by this- by feeling joy and sorrow on the same occasions with his countrymen; not take part with their enemies in his public conduct. And this part you have most evidently taken; you, who point at me as the cause of all; me, as the author of all our present difficulties. But was it my administration- were they my instances which first taught my country to rise in defence of Greece? If you grant me this- if you make me the author of our vigorous opposition to that power which threatened the liberties of our nation, you do me greater honor than ever was conferred on an Athenian. But it is an honor I cannot claim: I should injure my country: it is an honor I well know you would not resign. And surely, if he had the least regard to justice, his private enmity to me never could have driven him to this base attempt to disgrace- to deny you the most illustrious part of your character.

But why should I dwell on this, when there are so many more enormous instances of his baseness and falsehood?- he, who accuses me of favoring Philip!Heavens and earth! what would not this man assert? But let us, in the name of all the gods! attend to truth-to fact; let us lay aside all private animosity; and who are really the men on whom we can fairly and justly lay the guilt of all misfortunes? The men who, in their several states, pursued his course (it is easy to point them out); not those who acted like me. The men who, while the power of Philip was yet in its weak and infant state; when we frequently warned them; when we alarmed them with the danger; when we pointed out their best and safest course; yet sacrificed the interest of their country to their own

infamous gain; deceived and corrupted the leading citizens in each state, until they had enslaved them all.

Thus were the Thessalians treated by Daochus, Cineas, and Thrasydaeus; the Arcadians, by Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucalpidas; the Argians, by Myrtes, Telademus, Mnaseas; Elis, by Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristaechnus; Messene, by the sons of Philiades, that abomination of the gods, by Neon and Thrasylochus; Sicyon, by Aristratus and Epichares; Corinth, by Dinarchus, Demaratus; Megara, by Elixus, Ptedorus, Perilaus; Thebes, by Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemaetas; Euboea, by Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosicrates. The whole day would be too short for the names only of the traitors. And these were the men who in their several states adopted the same measures which this man pursued at Athens. Wretches! flatterers! miscreants! tearing the vitals of their country, and tendering its liberties with a wanton indifference, first to Philip, now to Alexander! confined to the objects of a sordid and infamous sensuality, as their only blessings! subverters of that freedom and independence which the Greeks of old regarded as the test and standard of true happiness! Amid all this shamefully avowed corruption, this confederacy, or (shall I call it by its true name?) this traitorous conspiracy against the liberty of Greece, my conduct preserved the reputation of this state unimpeached by the world; while my character, Athenians, stood equally unimpeached by you. Do you ask me, then, on what merits I claim this honor? Hear my answer. When all the popular leaders through Greece had been taught by your example, and accepted the wages of corruption, from Philip first, and now from Alexander, no favorable moment was found to conquer my integrity; no insinuation of address, no magnificence of promises, no hopes, no fears, no favor- nothing could prevail on me to resign the least part of what I deemed the just rights and interests of my country: nor, when my counsels were demanded, was I ever known, like you and your associates, to lean to that side where a bribe had been, as it were, cast into the scale. No; my whole conduct was influenced by a spirit of rectitude, a spirit of justice and integrity; and, engaged as I was in affairs of greater moment than any statesman of my time, I administered them all with a most exact and uncorrupted faith. These are the merits on which I claim this honor.

As to those public works so much the object of your ridicule, they undoubtedly demand a due share of honor and applause: but I rate them far beneath the great merits of my administration. It is not with stones nor bricks that I have fortified the city. It is not from works like these that I derive my reputation. Would you know my methods of fortifying? Examine, and you will find them in the arms, the towns, the territories, the harbors I have secured; the navies, the troops, the armies I have raised. These are the works by which I defended Attica, as far as human foresight could defend it: these are the fortifications I drew round our whole territory, and not the circuit of our harbor or of our city only. In these acts of policy, in these provisions for a war I never yielded to Philip. No; it was our generals and our confederate forces who yielded to fortune. Would you know the proofs of this? They are plain and evident. Consider: what was the part of a faithful citizen? of a prudent, an active, and an honest minister? Was he not to secure Euboea as our defence against all attacks by sea? Was he not to make Boeotia our barrier on the midland side? the cities bordering on Peloponnesus our bulwark on that quarter? Was he not to attend with due precaution the importation of corn, that this trade might be protected through all its progress up to our own harbor? Was he not to cover those districts which we commanded by seasonable detachments- as the Proconesus, the Chersonesus, and Tenedos? To exert himself in the assembly for this purpose? while with equal zeal he labored to gain others to our interest and alliance- as Byzantium, Abydus, and Euboea? Was he not to cut off the best and most important resources of our enemies, and to supply those in which our country was defective? And

all this you gained by my counsels and my administration- such counsels and such an administration as must appear, upon a fair and equitable view, the result of strict integrity; such as left no favorable juncture unimproved through ignorance or treachery; such as ever had their due effect, as far as the judgment and abilities of one man could prove effectual. But if some superior being; if the power of fortune; if the misconduct of generals; if the iniquity of our traitors; or if all these together broke in on us, and at length involved us in one general devastation, how is Demosthenes to be blamed? Had there been a single man in each Grecian state to act the same part which I supported in this city- nay, had but one such man been found in Thessaly and one in Arcadia, actuated by my principles, not a single Greek, either beyond or on this side Thermopylae, could have experienced the misfortunes of this day. All had then been free and independent, in perfect tranquillity, security, and happiness, uncontrolled in their several communities by any foreign power, and filled with gratitude to you and to your state, the authors of these blessings so extensive and so precious. And all this by my means. To convince you that I have spoken much less than I could justify by facts, that in this detail I have studiously guarded against envy, take read the lists of our confederates, as they were procured by my decrees. [The lists- the decrees- are here read.] These, and such as these, Aeschines, are the actions which become a noble-minded, honest citizen. Had they succeeded, heavens and earth! to what a pitch of glory must they have raised you- and with justice raised you! yet, unsuccessful as they proved, still they were attended with applause, and prevented the least impeachment of this state or of her conduct. The whole blame was charged on fortune, which determined the event with such fatal cruelty. Thus, I say, is the faithful citizen to act; not to desert his country; not to hire himself to her enemies, and labor to improve their favorable exigencies, instead of those of his own state; not to malign his fellow-citizens, who, with a steady and persevering zeal, recommends and supports such measures as are worthy of his country; not to cherish malice and private animosity against him; not to live in that dishonest and insidious retirement which you have often chosen. For there is- yes, there is a state of retirement, honest and advantageous to the public. Such have you, my countrymen, frequently enjoyed in artless integrity. But his retirement is not of this kind.

Far from it! He retires that he may desert the public service when he pleases (and he too often pleases to desert it). Thus he lies watching the moment when you grow tired of a constant speaker, or when fortune hath traversed your designs, and involved you in some of those various misfortunes incident to humanity. This is his time. He at once becomes a speaker in the assembly; he rushes, like a sudden gust of wind, from his retreat: his voice is already exercised; his words and periods are prepared; he delivers them with force and volubility; but to no useful purpose- with no effect of any real importance. They serve but to involve some fellow-citizen in distress; and to his country they are a disgrace. But all this preparation, Aeschines, all this anxiety of attention, if the genuine dictates of patriotic zeal, of true patriotic principles, must have produced fruits of real worth and excellence- of general emolument; alliances, subsidies, extension of commerce, useful laws for our internal security, effectual defence against our foreign enemies.

Such were the services which the late times required; such the services which a man of real worth and excellence had various opportunities of performing. But in all these you never took a part: not the first; not the second; not the third; not the fourth; not the fifth nor sixth; no, not any part whatever; for it would have served your country. Say, what alliance did the state gain by your management? What additional forces? What regard of reverence? What embassy of yours? What instance of your ministerial conduct ever exalted the reputation of your country? What domestic interests; what national affairs;

what concerns of foreigners have prospered under your direction? What arms; what arsenals; what fortifications; what forces; what advantages of any kind have we received from you? What generous and public-spirited effects have either rich or poor experienced from your fortune? None.

But, here he replies, "Though I have not performed those services, I have been well disposed and ready to perform them." How? When? Abandoned wretch! who, when the being of his country was at stake- when every speaker who had ever appeared in the assembly made some voluntary contribution to the state- when even Aristonicus gave up that money which he had saved, to qualify him for public offices, *(20) never appeared, never once contributed the smallest sum: and not from poverty: no; he had just received a bequest of five talents from his kinsman Philon; besides the two talents collected for his services in traversing the law relative to trierarchs. But I am in danger of being led off from one point to another, so as to forget my subject. I say, then, that it was not from poverty that you refused your contribution, but from the fear of opposing their interests who influenced all your public conduct. On what occasion, then, are you spirited and shining? When you are to speak against your country. Then are we struck with the brilliancy of your eloquence, the power of your memory, the excellence with which you act your part; the excellence of a true dramatic Theocrines. *(21) We have heard his encomiums on the great characters of former times: and they are worthy of them. Yet it is by no means just, Athenians, to take advantage of your predilection to the deceased, and to draw the parallel between them and me, who live among you. Who knows not that all men, while they yet live, must endure some share of envy, more or less? But the dead are not hated even by their enemies. And, if this be the usual and natural course of things, shall I be tried shall I be judged by a comparison with my predecessors? No, Aeschines; this

would be neither just nor equitable. Compare me with yourself- with any, the very best of your party, and our contemporaries. Consider, whether it be nobler and better for the state to make the benefits received from our ancestors, great and exalted as they are, beyond all expression great, a pretence for treating present benefactors with ingratitude and contempt; or to grant a due share of honor and regard to every man who, at any time, approves his attachment to the public. And yet, if I may hazard the assertion, the whole tenor of my conduct must appear, on a fair inquiry, similar to that which the famed characters of old times pursued, and founded on the same principles; while you have as exactly imitated the malicious accusers of these great men: for it is well known, that in those times men were found to malign all living excellence, and to lavish their insidious praises on the dead, with the same base artifice which you have practised. You say, then, that I do not in the least resemble those great characters. And do you resemble them? or your brother? Do any of the present speakers? I name none among them: I urge but this: let the living, thou man of candor, be compared with the living, and with those of the same department. Thus we judge in every case- of poets, of dancers, of wrestlers. Philammon doth not depart from the Olympian games uncrowned, because he hath not equal powers with Glaucus, or Karistius, or any other wrestler of former times. No; as he approves himself superior to those who enter the lists with him, he receives his crown and is proclaimed victor. So do you oppose me to the speakers of these times, to yourself, to any- take your most favorite character: still I assert my superiority. At that period when the state was free to choose the measures best approved, when we were all invited to engage in the great contest of patriotism, then did I display the superior excellence of my counsels, then were affairs all conducted by my decrees, my laws, my embassies; while not a man of your party ever appeared, unless to vent his insolence. But when we had once experienced this unmerited reverse of fortune; when this became the place, not for patriot ministers, but for the slaves of power, for those who stood

prepared to sell their country for a bribe, for those who could descend to certain prostituted compliments; *(22) then, indeed, were you and your associates exalted; then did you display your magnificence, your state, your splendor, your equipage: while I was depressed, I confess it: yet still superior to you all in an affectionate attachment to my country.

There are two distinguished qualities, Athenians, which the virtuous citizen should ever possess- (I speak in general terms, as the least invidious method of doing justice to myself)- a zeal for the honor and pre-eminence of the state in his official conduct; on all occasions, and in all transactions, an affection for his country. This nature can bestow. Abilities and success depend on another power.

And in this affection you find me firm and invariable. Not the solemn demand of my person; not the vengeance of the Amphictyonic council, which they denounced against me; not the terror of their threatenings; not the flattery of their promises; no, nor the fury of those accursed wretches whom they aroused like wild beasts against me could ever tear this affection from my breast. From first to last, I have uniformly pursued the just and virtuous course of conduct; assertor of the honors, of the prerogatives, of the glory of my country; studious to support them, zealous to advance them, my whole being is devoted to this glorious cause.

I was never known to march through the city with a face of joy and exultation at the success of a foreign power; embracing and announcing the joyful tidings to those who, I supposed would transmit it to the proper place. I was never known to receive the successes of my own country with tremblings, with sighings, with eyes bending to the earth, like those impious men who are the defamers of the state, as if by such conduct they were not defamers of themselves: who look abroad, and, when a foreign potentate hath established his power on the calamities of Greece, applaud the event, and tell us we should take every means to perpetuate his power.

Hear me, ye immortal gods! and let not these their desires be ratified in heaven! Infuse a better spirit into these men! Inspire even their minds with purer sentiments! This is my first prayer. Or, if their natures are not to be reformed; on them, on them only discharge your vengeance! Pursue them both by land and sea! Pursue them even to destruction! But to us display your goodness in a speedy deliverance from impending evils, and all the blessings of protection and tranquillity! *(23)

NOTES

To the Oration on the Crown

*(1) This is a liberty the orator hath accordingly assumed, and most artfully and happily. Under the pretence of guarding against all prepossessions, he first enters into a full detail of public affairs, and sets his own services in the fairest point of view. Having thus gained the hearts of his hearers, then he ventures on the points of law relative to his accounts: and these he soon dismisses, with an affected contempt of his adversary, and a perfect confidence in the merits of his own cause. Then come his objections to the character of the prosecutor, which naturally led him round again to the history of his own administration, the point on which he chiefly relied; and where he had the finest occasions of displaying his own merits, and of loading Aeschines and his adherents with the heaviest imputations, as traitors to the state, and malicious enemies to those who were distinguished by their zeal in support of her rights and dignity. *(2) In the common editions of the original this whole passage is embarrassed and confused. The translator has followed the arrangement of Dr. Taylor. *(3) Commentators seem surprised at the boldness and the success of this appeal. Some tell us that the speaker was hurried into the hazardous question by his impetuosity. Some, that his friend Menander was the only person who returned the answer he desired. Others again, that he pronounced falsely on purpose, and that the assembly intended but to correct his pronunciation, when they echoed back the word *misthotos*, hireling. But the truth is, he was too much interested in the present contest to suffer himself to be really transported beyond the strictest bounds of prudence and caution; he was too well supported to rely on a single voice, if such could be at all heard in the assembly; and he had too much good sense to recur to a ridiculous and childish artifice. The assembly to which he addressed himself was of a quite different kind from one of our modern courts of law, where order and decorum are maintained. The audience were not at all concerned to suppress the emotions raised in them by the speaker; and Demosthenes had a large party present, who, he was well assured, would return the proper answer loudly. *(4) The damages, if we may so call them, were laid at such a vast sum as Ctesiphon, if condemned, could by no means discharge; in which case he must have been banished or branded with infamy; and Demosthenes must probably have shared the same fate; against whom, no doubt, Aeschines would have immediately commenced a second prosecution, with the fairest prospect of success. *(5) These were usually some friends of the contending party, who were employed in summoning the accused, citing witnesses, and other matters of form and legal procedure. *(6) To the weakest of all people. The proverb is said to have arisen from the distresses of the Mysians in the absence of their king, Telephus, and their helpless state of oppression, when all their neighbors fell on them and pillaged the miserable and defenceless people without mercy. *(7) There is indeed no express specification of any person in this letter. But those alluded to were well known; and probably they were the persons who had been most active in moving the assembly to exert themselves on this occasion Eubulus, Aristophon, Philocrates, and Cephisophon. *(8) In the original, *osper ex amaxes*, as from a cart. Some derive this proverbial expression from the first rude state of ancient comedy, and find a particular spirit in the allusion, as containing a reflection on the theatrical character of Aeschines. But the scholiasts on Aristophanes and Suidas explain the proverb in another manner. They tell us that the Athenian women, when they went in their carriages to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, usually took great liberties in their abuse of each other, and hence the Greek expression, *ta ek ton amaxon skommata*, to signify licentious and indecent

ribaldry. It is true the French translator is extremely shocked at this interpretation, and cannot persuade himself that the Athenian ladies could so far forget the modesty and reserve peculiar to their sex. But it is well if this was the worst part of their conduct, or if they were guilty of no greater transgression of modesty in the course of their attendance on these famous rites. *(9) Here the speaker evidently takes advantage of some acclamations in the assembly, which he affects in regard as the general voice of his judges. *(10) That is, near the chapel dedicated to this hero, or near the place where his statue was erected. *(11) The original adds, "who, everyone knows, was called Empusa" (i.e., hag or spectre). This, with the cause assigned, has been purposely omitted in the translation. -

*(12) Which by its situation commanded the territory of Attica and Boeotia, so as to awe both Thebes and Athens. But we shall immediately learn the policy of this step from Demosthenes himself, and the cause of that dreadful consternation it raised in Athens, which the speaker is just now to paint in such lively colors. *(13) That is, from the table provided at the expense of the public for such citizens as had been distinguished by their services and merits. *(14) Wolfius asks why? and for what purpose? The answer is obvious. To clear the place for an assembly; and in their confusion and impatience they took the speediest and most violent method. *(15) Possibly to summon the assembly on this extraordinary occasion, when there was no leisure nor opportunity for the regular and usual method of convening the citizens. *(16) That is, the body of richer citizens who were to advance money for the exigencies of the state. *(17) These, wherever fought, have been considered by historians as of too little consequence to be recorded. And the extravagance of joy with which the accounts of them were received strongly mark the levity of the Athenian character. *(18) This part of the ceremonial alluded either to the improvements made in human life by husbandry and arts, which were commemorated in the mystic rites, or to the hopes of enjoying greater happiness in another world in consequence of initiation, with which the novitiates were flattered. *(19) Oide patras eneka spheteras eis derin ethento 'Opla, kai antipalon ubrin apeskedasan.

Marnamenoi d' aretes kai deimatos ouk esaosan Psuchas, all' Aiden koinon ethento braben, Ounekon 'Ellenon, os me sugon aucheni thentes Doulosunes stugeran amphis echosin ubrin.

Gaia de patris echei kolpois ton pleista kamonton Somat', epei thnetois ek Dios ede krisis.

Meden amartein esti Theon, kai panta katorthoun En biote moiraned' outi phugein eporen. *(20) Such as that of general, trierarch, ambassador, and director of the theatre, which could not be discharged without advancing considerable sums. *(21) A man notorious for calumny. He had composed some pieces for the theatre, but soon exchanged this profession for that of an informer; in which his virulence and malice rendered his name proverbial. We learn from St. Jerome, that the pagans frequently gave this name to the first Christians. Demosthenes adds an epithet to it calculated to keep the original profession of his rival in view, to which he is indeed particularly attentive through his whole speech. -

*(22) He alludes to the complimentary addresses sent to Alexander, which he insinuates were procured by Aeschines and his party. *(23) The event of this contest was such as might be expected from the superior abilities of Demosthenes. His rival was condemned, and involved in the consequences of a groundless and malicious prosecution. Unable to pay the penalty, he was obliged to submit to exile, and determined to take up his residence at Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence. Here he read to his hearers these two orations. His was received with approbation, that

of Demosthenes with an extravagance of applause. "And how must you have been affected," said Aeschines, with a generous acknowledgment of his rival's merit, "had you heard him deliver it!" It is said, that as Aeschines was retiring from the city, Demosthenes followed him, and obliged him to accept of a large present of money in his distress. - -

THE END OF THE ORATION ON THE CROWN