

ravaged up to the gates of Athens; and when a century afterwards a daring citizen urged them to abandon the theatre and attend to their navy and fleet, their only answer was to make terms with Philip the invader. And all this happened before there was any other obvious sign of decay than the appearance of art, an omen which happily has not yet lifted itself up upon the horizon of these two American democracies. In New England the worst retort which Governor Winthrop could hurl at those who desired to share in the government was that their proposals amounted to a declaration of democracy.

The truth is that democracy is a new thing in the world and we are making trial of it for the first time. Up to the present it pretended to govern itself, but that was only a pretence, and was so understood by those who made it. No respectable citizen of New York or of Philadelphia, at least up to five years ago, was so simple-minded as to believe that he had anything whatever to do with the municipal regulations, state enactments, or national laws under which he lived. All public business was transacted by a band of aliens who were willing to undertake the troublesome business in return for such compensation as they might choose to assign to themselves.

For government is a troublesome business and brings less reward, and certainly less gratitude, than any other form of human activity. Few politicians die rich, and many end up in gaol. The fact is that there is nothing which people dislike so much as governing themselves. They must be excited before they will take any interest whatever. The memories of old warfare must be invoked. Electors must be arrayed in "camps," and they would forget which camp they belong to if it were not for the "party banners." Candidates are "standard-bearers," an election is a "campaign," the district is the "field," the head man is a "leader," and there are "battle cries," "slogans," "issues," and "manifestos." The electors swear "allegiance," and the leaders "nail their colours" to the weather-cock.