

always found to provide bad government. Democracies have always governed themselves badly, and when they appear not to have done so it has turned out that they were not democracies at all.

Democracy demands equality, but none can be found to work for it on those terms, because they run counter to that deep instinct which is the motive of all human endeavour, namely, the desire for immortality. Men are immortal so long as they are remembered, and they are not content to remain in the forgetfulness which equality imposes. They strive for preëminence by standing on the shoulders of the crowd so that for a little time they may be spared from the waters of oblivion. This desire to escape the common fate, to preserve the personality, lies at the back of all human performance, whether it be the futility of the child who writes his name on the sand, the author who pesters a publisher to publish a book, or the conqueror who founds a dynasty. This remembrance can only be achieved by domination, and the desire to domineer is shared equally by good and bad alike. In democracy bad men get to the surface plentifully and easily, because their methods are ruthless and their natures coarse, whilst the good are forgotten or turn from public life to seek renown in private enterprise or in personal pleasure. Hopeless of the future they become indifferent to the present.

It is the custom to say that there is nothing fantastic in the idea of democracy, since a company of heathen Hellenes who occupied the shores of Attica really did accomplish something under that form of government, and a company of Englishmen, amongst whom Christianity had been pushed to its logical extreme of Puritanism, who found themselves on the shores of New England, eventually grew into a community known as the United States. But Athens at its best contained a dozen frank slaves to each freeman, and was ruled by a child. "For," said Themistocles, "I rule Athens; my wife rules me; and our child rules its mother." These Athenians sat with Greek cheerfulness behind their ramparts for three years and watched their territories being