A MORAL FROM ATHENIAN HISTORY.

There are two problems of human life in communities which have eternal interest. The first of these is how far the higher achievements of life are determined by material conditions; the problem, in short, which, though by no means new, has been forced upon the world afresh through what is known as the economic or materialist view of history. And the second is how far the truest greatness of man is bound up with national self-assertion involving the forcible maintenance of unity in societies against disruption within and hostility without. The problems are, perhaps, the same problem repeated at two different levels. The first, it might be said, asks how far the forces of nature control the destinies of man; the second, how far the relatively natural force of society, its ability to threaten and to exercise physical compulsion, is an agency essential to its highest functions.

On these two problems, it has always appeared to me, very important suggestions may be drawn from the history of Greece. The schism which has hitherto existed between modern sociology and classical studies has had the effect of depriving the theory of society of a set of examples which display, in the clearest and simplest shape, the connection between determinate physical conditions and a singularly lofty social achievement.

In general, and with reference to both problems, we are to note the very high individuality of the Greek race, and the greatness of the results which it achieved within narrow boundaries of space and time. Thus on the one hand the effects are highly determinate, and on the other hand the conditions, both material and political, are tolerably simple and limited; so that both conditions and effects are capable of a fuller correlation than is usually possible in sociological inquiry. And the subject of the present lecture has been suggested by
the fact that both as regards material and economic conditions, and as regards the type and degree of political cohesion, the minds of Greek statesmen and thinkers reflect the circumstances of their world with extraordinary directness and precision. We seem to see the policy of this and that great mind growing out of the soil and the geographical relations, and completing and emphasizing their suggestions, just as wild plants or cultivated crops, or even the dwelling-places of man, follow and mark the lines and surfaces of a favorable habitat.

I. As regards the connection of Hellenic life and character with soil, climate, and geography, we may start from an interesting antithesis which makes itself felt in the simplest economic interpretation of history. Is a very fertile country, or one which demands much care and labor for its returns, more favorable to civilization? Neither side of the alternative, of course, cuts off the connection between conditions and character; but at the same time a certain bias as to the relative importance of factors in the problem reveals itself in the answer which we give. Buckle is inclined to insist upon the fact that the oldest civilizations belong to countries of extreme natural fertility,—India, Babylonia, Egypt. But it seems also important to point out that progressive civilization, in the modern European sense, has as yet only been found within the temperate zone. A nature that affords occasions for struggle, producing definite achievements by success, does more for man in the end than one that seems to do all. Professor Geddes has pointed out how the conditions which induce parasitic degeneration are "freedom from danger, abundant alimentation and complete repose, etc.; in short, the conditions commonly considered those of complete material well-being." *

The sides of the above antithesis correspond with the marked feeling of the Greeks as to the material basis of their own life when contrasted with that of the Asiatics with whom they came in contact. From the Homeric description of Ithaca, "a rugged country, but a good breeder of men," to the saying of the Spartan in Herodotus, "Poverty is always at

home in Greece," *a whole series of anecdotes and observations—brought to a climax in the splendidly imagined interview of Solon and Cresus—show a deep-rooted sense of the sparingness of nature in Greece as compared with her bounteouness in Asia. More particularly, no doubt, the Greek mind was influenced by the immediate contrast between the territory of Greece proper and that of the Greek cities of the Levant, which in the age of mature political experience were always tributary either to Greece proper on the one hand or to Persia on the other. The real reason for their defencelessness was rather their position on the coast line of a continent than the mildness of their climate or the wealth of their territory; but it is remarkable to find an agreement between the historian and the physician that an energetic and spirited disposition could not be expected in a climate so pleasantly tempered. †

Not that the Greeks of Greece proper were discontented with their own country. On the contrary, they believed it to be the best in the world as a breeder of men, whose type was equally remote from the untamable rudeness of Northern Europe and from the cringing trickiness which they ascribed to the Asiatic.

And it is true that their territory had an extraordinary aptness, of which its inhabitants were partly aware, to suggest and respond to definitely specialized forms of civilized achievement.

The maritime character of Greece proper, the ethical and intellectual importance of which was first, I believe, pointed out by Winckelmann, the great student of Greek plastic art, is too familiar to be enlarged upon. It is enough to note how it is suggested by the character of Greek territory,—a coast line of bays and peninsulas, the latter carried on in lines of islands; much like portions of the Scotch coast, where you

* Hdt., 7, 102. The whole passage illustrates the Greek feeling in question. "In Greece poverty is native and virtue is artificial, being achieved by wisdom and the strength of law; and by its help Greece defends herself against both poverty and despotism."

† Hdt., 1, 142. Stein's note, quoting Hippocrates.
send a boat if you need the doctor or minister as naturally as elsewhere you might send a carriage. Look at the peninsula of which Salonika stands at the northwest and Mount Athos at the southeast angle; note how it reproduces on a small scale the outline of the Morea; and then read its history during the lifetime of Demosthenes, how, as an isolated bit of Hellenic ground, it was the first to fall under the dominion of the non-Hellenic * powers.

Consider again the cantonal character of the Greek territory; how the greatness of the several states followed from the size of the plains which were enclosed within their respective mountain walls; and how the structure of the Achæan league, the earliest Federal Government, was prefigured by the row of valleys, attached to each other side by side and not rounded into a centralized unity, which made up the state of Achaia. A classical example of this kind of study has been given by the historian Curtius in his great work on the Peloponnese; and those who desire an object lesson in the correlation of character and circumstance might do worse, if prepared to familiarize themselves with Greek history, than take him as their guide.

The position of Greece proper in the Mediterranean, and in relation to the Levant and the islands of the Ægean, is no less significant for history than its internal structure. The whole country is, so to speak, turned towards the East. The bays and natural harbors of Greece proper, and the lines of islands which guide and encourage the voyages of early mariners, lie to the East; and the basin of the Ægean, as the well-known opening sentences of Curtius’s history point out, is rather a bond † than a division between Europe and Asia. Here in this predetermined focus of life, commerce, and ideas, continuous with the Euxine, with Asia Minor, and with Syria, Egypt, and Cyrene, we have the central area of the Greek

* This illustration, as all in these remarks that is worth anything, I owe to my teacher, Mr. W. L. Newman, of Balliol, the editor of Aristotle’s Politics.
† Cf. the relation of the Hanse towns to the North Sea, pointed out by Professor Geddes in lectures.
dispersion, the basis of leagues and empires under Athens, Sparta, Alexander, and Rome, forming a homogeneous world of civilization, the field of Hellenistic and of Greco-Roman culture, and ultimately the seed-plot of Christianity.

Turning to our immediate problem, the natural endowments of Attica in particular, in relation to the conceptions of Athenian statesmen, we note in them simply an intensification of the characteristics belonging to Hellenic ground as a whole.

First of all we have to observe the central position of Athens in the world of maritime commerce of the fifth century B.C. She lay in the centre of the water-ways of the Mediterranean much as England lies in the centre of the maritime world to-day; and her natural harbors, of ample extent according to ancient standards, though not comparable with the vast harbor spaces of London, of New York, or of modern Marseilles, made it possible for her to use her position to the full.

In the next place, the internal resources of Attica point in the same way to an artificial—a commercial or industrial—type of life. The soil was not first-rate cornland, and no large population could have been maintained upon it by agriculture. The home corn-supply was probably enough for half to two-thirds* of the year, when the population was at its maximum; in the United Kingdom the supply of foreign wheat began to exceed the home product about 1870. What Attica did possess was a good soil for olive, vine, and fig culture;† an inexhaustible store of the choicest marble, a supply of clay adapted for pottery, a sea well stocked with fish, a flora which gave the choicest honey, and above all, silver mines, from which a considerable revenue was drawn, and owing to which the Attic silver coinage had a general currency like that of English gold, and Athens could always pay for her

* It is interesting to see Socrates putting this question to the young would-be statesman as one of the first things he ought to know. But the young man has not given it his attention. Xen. Mem., 3, 6, 13.
† The soil of Greece requires irrigation, and it is interesting to see the process going on to-day just as it is described by Homer.
imports in specie if commodities suitable for export were not forthcoming.

Now, the instructive point is that we observe, from the beginning of recorded history, a perfectly definite grasp of these conditions in the minds of Athenian statesmen. It would lead us too far to furnish details of the legislation and government of the sixth century B.C. But it may be taken as well known that the great legislator and the great prince who are the prominent figures of that century at Athens felt themselves to be dealing with a community whose future lay in industry, commerce, art, and letters. The admission to citizenship of foreigners exercising a trade, which is ascribed to Solon's legislation, stands out as an act of far-sighted liberality against the policy advocated in many quarters even to-day.

By the end of the sixth century, then, what we may call the suggestions of nature had already found their response in the Athenian mind. Athenian sculpture and building were fast rising into fame; Athens was becoming noted for pottery and for other products depending for their value upon skill in manufacture, such, for example, as olive oil; and the silver mines were producing a revenue to the state and to individuals, though the later and fateful application of that revenue had not yet been devised. Further, the city had already stations and factories over-sea, and more particularly had laid on the region of the Hellespont the grasp which it afterwards tightened with economic results of the highest importance.

Thus the mind of Athens is from the beginning a mind racy of the native ground and the native sea; and when we look at the cutting and setting of the marble blocks and drums on the sacred hill of Athene, we feel that above all things we have to do with a people to whom the working of marble and the building of walls and columns came as naturally as farming to an Englishman or horse-breaking to an Australian.

Omitting many things which would illustrate our point of view if it was possible to go into them,—for example, the decisive democratic reforms which closed the century in question,—let us look for one moment at the inherent logic of the
Athenian mind as its world shaped itself further in the two great fifth century statesmen, Themistocles and Pericles.

In the first thirty years of the fifth century, or thereabouts, the attempt of the Persian empire to extend itself over European Greece was defeated, very greatly by the services of those poorer classes at Athens who formed the crews of the Athenian war-galleys.

Now, according to the story, which there is no reason to doubt, the existence of this powerful fleet of galleys was first made possible by the success of Themistocles in persuading the people to abandon the annual distribution per head of the silver revenue and apply it to building year by year a certain quota of ships. And the creation of this powerful fleet involved three closely connected results: first, the defeat of Xerxes and the liberation of the Levantine cities from his power; secondly, the maritime supremacy of Athens among the Greeks, and consequently her leadership and ultimately her empire; and, thirdly, the intimate and inherent connection of the democracy at home and the empire abroad, inasmuch as the latter rested on the skill and energy of the maritime populace who rowed the galleys.

But such a war fleet, not to speak of the commerce which it was to support, needed a defensible harbor. Here, again, the mind of the statesman revealed itself at the critical moment as penetrated with the individual and determinate capacities of his native territory. The selection and fortification of the headland of Peiræus with its three natural harbors, one of them a bay three-quarters of a mile in its greatest length, may seem no very gigantic conception to us who reckon our wharf frontages by miles and miles. But it was enough to secure a sea-power to Athens adequate to deal with anything that could be brought against it within the Greek and Phoenician world, and it presented itself with extraordinary felicity as the complement of the other capacities of Attica and the condition of their being effectively realized. The harbor town which grew up round the new harbors was the favorite work of Themistocles. It was to Athens what the East End is to London, because of its including the harbors and docks,
the commercial and democratic centre. Themistocles, we are explicitly told, thought the Peiræus more valuable than Athens itself, and constantly advised the Athenians, if they should ever be overborne in a war on land, to take refuge in its fortifications and hold the sea.

In this there was something of the peculiar stamp of Themistocles's mind: a want of balance, of completeness, characteristic of one who it is said was not of full citizen birth, and reminding us of his answer, when invited to join in the music at a party,—this being an ordinary social accomplishment of an Athenian gentleman,—that "he could not fiddle, but he could make a petty town into a great city."

However this may be, if we summon before our mind's eye the appearance of Attica, say, ten years after the repulse of Xerxes, with Athens and Peiræus both successfully fortified by Themistocles's suggestion and contrivance, and the growing energies of the city making their mark triumphantly in art and industry, in war and external politics, we shall perceive in every characteristic of the busy scene at once a gift of nature and the stamp of great intelligences, working, through the logic of events, as a single intelligence.

And now, bearing in mind that we are only selecting a point here and there out of a mass of material, let us turn to Pericles.

Comparing his characteristic policy with that of Themistocles, we find it written on the face of the country by the famous Long Walls, impregnable fortifications extending a distance of five miles from the fortified city to the fortified harbor. Pericles, then, was resolute to sacrifice neither element of Athenian life, neither power nor splendor, neither democracy nor the pride of culture. He was determined, as it seems, to give a national value to his ancient city, which had such capacities for magnificence and refinement; and to do this he was aware that he must weld it into inseparable unity with the instruments of its maritime supremacy.

And in the great works by which he gave this imperishable value to the life of his city we may trace once more a wonderful continuity between the gifts of nature and the creations
of genius. Pericles, of course, was not the first to deal with that rocky elevation in the centre of the Athens of his day, which became under his direction the most glorious sanctuary of art in the whole world. From time immemorial its surface had been used as a fort or palace or both; it had, indeed, been the ancient city. And in the course of centuries, by the work of kings and statesmen, the sloping rock had been built up and levelled into a spacious surface, bounded by sweeping curves, supported upon huge retaining walls, whose varied workmanship indicates the succession of generations occupied upon the construction.

So, then, when we see to-day the vast marble floors, the walls and columns, with their blocks and drums fitted to a hair’s-breadth, standing on a spacious and grandly outlined surface, we should call to mind that while part of this surface is the living rock, part of it again is the work of man.* And we may say without a paradox that if the greatness of Athens is in one sense a gift of nature, yet the central endowment of its nature, the very ground in which its glory is rooted, is a creation of the national mind.

Thus the life of Greece and of Athens is an emphatic object-lesson in the relation of natural data to genius and character. A great life is, as it were, the flowering of nature in the medium of great intelligence. The highest genius does not make the least but the most of the nature which is its world. Aspects and characteristics of material things, which are silent to others, tell their secret to the gifted race or to the great statesman. But in making the most of nature, we must not forget that genius transforms nature. Nature, we may say, ceases to be mere nature when it becomes “a world” for mind. Its rough circuitous selection is replaced by an ideal selection which is rapid and direct. Its imperfect forms of unity are replaced by the forms of intelligence, making possible, for instance, such a transformation as that of the animal brood into the human family. The very surface

* The Parthenon, with its thousands of tons of marble, showing no trace of settlement, stands at one side on the living rock, at the other on thirty to forty feet of made earth and foundations.
of the earth becomes, as we have seen, not, indeed, something which is other than nature, but a larger nature charged with mind.

The error of commonplace materialist views of history seems to lie in the old blunder of separating two inseparable factors and then trying to substitute the one for the other. Mind and its world are inseparable correlatives; the wealth of its world is the wealth of mind, is its very substance, and the driving force of its logical or ethical operation. Mind, it might be said, is the world taken as alive and focussed. "Circumstances" are "what stand around;" they stand around a centre; the centre is the unity of consciousness, and when we speak of "circumstances" we are already within a sphere which is not merely "natural," but transformed by presentation to intelligence. Cut the correlatives apart at a line which must be arbitrary, and the world or circumstances are dead, and the mind is nothing. And then it is natural to exclaim that here is nothing left but dead circumstances, material data, conditions; and they must be the essence of life, for we can find nothing but them in life. This is because at some arbitrary level of their unity you have killed them by dissociating them from mind, and now you say that they "really" are what they happened to be when you killed them. But in truth they are not a dead structure, prior to mind; they are a living fabric whose variety, as penetrated with a conation towards unity, is the mainspring of mind itself. Such an economic factor as the "standard of life" shows in a moment how futile is the attempt to represent economic conditions as mechanical or material, in the sense in which material or mechanical means external to intelligence.

The Greek thinkers knew better. They knew that the function of the statesman is to elicit the idea that lies in the conditions, as the artist finds the statue in the marble. They knew that the matter of life is not alien to the aims of mind, nor a fetter upon it, but rather is the individual form or idea in its less explicit phases, pressing forward and springing up into higher shapes of unity. And they knew that economic structure is not a sort of iron framework or foundation,
affecting life but unaffected by it; but is simply one way in which the characteristic unity of any system of life expresses itself, partaking of the nature and degree of completeness of the unity attained.

The idea to be got rid of is the idea that specialized circumstances are a fetter upon individuality and genius. Homer and Shakespeare, for instance, are characteristic individual voices each of his country, race, and climate. Do we wish that it were not so? Do we think that they would be more themselves if they were not? What is the world there for if it is not, with all its rich individuality, to come to utterance in mind?

2. With the Periclean works on the Acropolis we pass naturally to our second problem, the place of force in the maintenance of a national unity. For all this splendor of Athens, all the culture and comfort of the democracy, meant imperialism; the position of a national capital maintained by force.

I will try to summarize the familiar story in a few lines. After the repulse of the Persian invasion by the services of the rowers and at the cost of a retirement which left the property of the wealthy classes a prey to the enemy, Athens had become, by the force of events, head of a naval alliance, offensive and defensive, against Persia. In time, as the object of the alliance was attained, a tendency grew in the allied cities to commute their personal services for money payments. This commutation Athens accepted, following, it is said, a far-sighted policy. But she would permit no further relaxation of obligations; and, in short, within a lapse of twenty years the alliance was transformed into an empire of some five or six hundred tributary cities, held together by overwhelming force, the fleet of the alliance being now simply the Athenian fleet maintained in part at the cost of the allies, the treasury being at Athens and under Athenian officials, and the Diet or Congress having ceased to exist. The splendor and comfort of Athenian life was greatly dependent on this relation. Athenian commerce "followed the flag." The corn trade was concentrated at Peiræus. Athens became
the judicial and political centre of a large part of Greece, and was necessarily, therefore, a place of constant resort, besides being, in consequence of the Periclean works, partly paid for by the "tribute," a centre of artistic industry.

Undoubtedly there was a serious risk of selfishness in this state of things. Every Athenian citizen might be the better in purse and was the better in prestige because of the empire. A few sentences from a contemporary pamphlet, obviously written by a shrewd anti-democrat, and not the work of Xenophon, among whose writings it has come down to us, will tell us more than pages of inference and discussion: *

"Some people think that the Athenian democracy is ill-advised in forcing the allies to come to Athens for their lawsuits; but others reckon up the advantages which this brings to the democracy; first, they get their fees as jurors throughout the year out of the costs; then, again, they can sit at home and control the allied cities without sending out ships; for they favor the democrats and ruin the other side in their law courts; now, if the allies had kept their law work at home, as they dislike the Athenians, they would have ruined those of their own people who favor the Athenian democracy. In addition to this, the Athenian democracy profits by the system in the following ways. The percentage (harbor dues) at Peiræus is increased; every one who has lodgings to let is advantaged; so is every one who has a horse or a workman (slave) to hire out; the public attendants are profited by the allies coming to town." . . . "The shortage of the corn crops, which depends on the weather, matters less to a sea power than to a land power. For the shortage is not all over the world at once; and the corn from the districts where there is a full crop comes to those who have the sea power." . . . "Whatever desirable product there is in Sicily, in Italy, in Cyprus, or in Egypt, in Lydia, or in Pontus, or in Peloponnese, or anywhere else, it is all concentrated into one spot by the operation of the Athenian sea power." . . . "So, too, as regards sacrifices and temples and festivals and consecrated

* De Republ. Athen., C. i, 16.
grounds; the democracy understands that it is impossible for each individual of the poorer classes to have sacrifices and banquets and temples of his own and to live the life of a great and beautiful city; and it has devised how this difficulty may be overcome. For they conduct their sacrifices on the method that great numbers of victims are provided by the city at the public expense; and it is the common people that banquets and has the breaking up of the victims. And so with gymnasia and dressing-rooms and baths. Some of the wealthy have these of their own; but the democracy itself builds on its own account many gymnasia and dressing-rooms and baths, and is better off in these respects than the few and the wealthy." Then follows a passage pointing out that all the various requisites for ship-building—metals, timber, flax, etc.—are not produced in any one country, and that consequently the city which has sea power is the only one which can make sure of having them all at its disposal, and can hinder any other country from acquiring them, and so from creating a fleet. We should note in addition that the free entrance to the theatre for those who chose to claim it was a characteristic point of Pericles's policy towards the democracy.

His idea evidently was that the citizens of Athens should accept the great position which was open to them, and should make themselves worthy of it by energy, justice, culture, and bravery. He would tread on the dangerous path of profit from dependencies, partly direct but especially indirect, so far as to secure the realization of conditions which would make these qualities possible for all Athenians. There are signs that if he could have found political forms adequate to the creation of a citizenship of the empire he would have tried to make use of them. But the thing, whether attempted or not, was impossible, and he turned to the other pole of government; not to be representative, or based upon consent, but to be worthy and efficient. That the immediate objects of the alliance were carried out under the Athenian empire is certain. No hostile ship nor any pirate showed its beak in the eastern Mediterranean while Athens retained her power. No account
was rendered of the tribute, but the work was done. And if the artificial pre-eminence of Athens in trade was oppressive to the greater powers among the subject states, it was probably advantageous to the lesser. The trader from a small island would do better for himself at Piraeus, than if there had been no such central market, and might also obtain better justice in the Athenian courts against a member of a powerful state than he could have done apart from such a system.

Probably the position of Athens, attained at the cost of a certain aspect of selfishness, was far more deeply connected with her services to the world than has generally been admitted. The question is not merely whether the works on the Acropolis were paid for by the tribute of the allies. It affects the whole concentration of experience, the whole brilliance of life and variety of intercourse, and sense of political headship, which gave its peculiar note to the Athenian mind. Plato belonged to the Athens which had been imperial as characteristically as Ruskin to imperial England. The work of Athens was national, not merely in the cost and style of her buildings—the Parthenon was a Doric temple—but in the varied and representative quality of her thought. Even Sparta, the silent sister, bequeaths her spirit to us through Athenian writings. Athens, said Pericles, was the school of Greece; and it is worth observing that the four great cultured nations of the world—France, Germany, the United States, and Great Britain—are to-day maintaining schools at Athens. It is a great thing that men and women who mean to play their part in modern life should think it worth while to-day to put themselves in contact for a time with the spirit and memories of the Greeks.

"I have lengthened out my account of the city" because it is important to approach our problem in no half-hearted spirit. It is easy to pretend, of course, that the services rendered by Athens to the world might equally well have been achieved without the aspect of force, absolutism, and selfishness, which by universal consent attached to her empire. To me this seems quite incredible, and the suggestion savors of running away from the difficulty. Her services rested on a basis of national unity; and when men's minds were wedded to the
politics of the city-state, it was inconceivable that national unity should find a genuine political expression. It was a choice between such a unity—brief and fragile—as could be realized by force, and the privation of those achievements which Athens has given to the world. And we must say, I think, that Pericles was right, and that, if the choice was what it seems to have been, it would have been wrong and cowardly to take any other part.

But are we, then, subscribing to the gospel of "blood and iron"? What is the theoretical justification of the judgment I have suggested if it is not that for a laudable end you need stop at no oppression? And as all ends are laudable to those who desire them, it would be held to follow simply and absolutely that might is right.

I venture to put forward an explanation which at least would give room for applying criticism to such an evangel. Force, it may be suggested, is necessary and permissible in inverse ratio to political maturity. The substantive capacity of a race or people for unity and achievement may be much in advance of the formal development of their political consciousness. Then, if force is applied to break through to the latent unity and realize the full powers of the group, its members will not be more aggrieved than somebody always is under the most reasonable self-government. The force is justified or not, and on the whole is justified or not even for those subjected to it, according as it breaks through to a life worth living—a substantive unity of will—or fails to do so. For example, it can hardly be said that the subjects of Athens resented a strong ruling hand when her rule was at its best. The errors and weaknesses incident to absolute rule brought the system to an end, and it is well that this should generally happen, and that absolutism should be incapable of permanence.

But what is justifiable when the political consciousness is immature, is monstrous in face of a developed political capacity. Force, indeed, I believe that there will always be in a state, as the mere fly-wheel of the machine, to insure regularity and carry out what has become automatic in the general mind.
But absolute government becomes irrational in as far as self-government becomes possible. Self-government, however, depends on the permeation of men's minds by forms of political co-operation adequate to the task imposed upon the community. Minds which are not thus permeated are as solid a barrier against unity as a range of mountains. What was a statesman to do with five hundred towns, united for common defence and possessed of a markedly national mind,* which had no conception of representative government, and would have rebelled if a common citizenship had been imposed upon them?

If men cannot work out the obvious problems of the time for themselves, owing to the inadequateness of their mental machinery, some one else must and will do it for them. But they learn, in time, to deal with their own affairs, and I trust that our conclusion, therefore, is not so bad as it might seem. We accept, indeed, the priceless gift which Athenian statesmen gave us, without turning up our eyes and regretting that they won it by force; but we understand for ourselves that the alternative to violence is education, and that absolutism becomes progressively less justifiable as men's minds become capable of expressing themselves effectively in the forms which constitute true political unity.

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* When the dependencies of the imperial democracy are of a different race, and on a different level of political capacity, from the democracy, we have a complication which did not exist in the case of Athens.