GREAT FOUNDERS

Regimes, Cities, States and Firms

Fall 2025

Introduction

Since the mid-twentieth century, the "Great Man Theory of History" has fallen out of favor as the principal means of explaining the past. Instead of understanding human affairs through the deeds and speeches of preeminent figures, today's historians and social scientists look to the impersonal forces of commerce, trade, disease, food, colonialism, sex, etc.

Much of this democratizing in the social sciences and humanities is motivated by a legitimate impulse to tell a more complete story about our world. There are, however, at least three problems that attend this move—problems which require us to turn back to traditional modes as the appropriate corrective.

First, much of human history is shaped by elite players. To understand Athens and Sparta, you must study Solon and Lycurgus; Rome—Cicero, Caesar, and Augustus; France—Charlemagne and Napoleon; The United States of America—Washington, Lincoln, the Founding Fathers; and so on. And what is true in political history is often true in other domains. Each one has a pantheon of *live players* who shape and re-shape our sense of what is possible. To understand the history of science, religion, or the arts you need to study its greatest teachers, innovators, and practitioners.

Second, the democratizing tendency leads us to underestimate the significance of elite influence on the world. As Machiavelli argues, great founders establish the "modes and orders" that structure and inform civilization. This isn't to say that all social phenomena are created on purpose. There is a role for emergence, local influence, change, and drift. The point is, rather, that all of the highest orders of complex social organization are the products of intentional design. Great founders don't create their working materials, but they do shape their "clay" into forms that it otherwise wouldn't take. Too often we forget, or take for granted, the purpose of the institutions we live within. But when we try to fully understand our social world, we are compelled to tell the story of these structures from the moment of their design.

Third, the study of great foundings helps us to better appreciate the nature and limits of collective enterprise. Great foundings allow us to see the "matter" in the light of the various "forms" that it takes. Any well-articulated social entity has its own order and principles—what we can call its "regime." The regime is shaped decisively by the mind and will of its founder. It is then transmitted to his leadership corps, to be piloted and successively transmitted for as long as it continues to work effectively.

Our democratizing culture wants to do justice to the parts of history that it feels have been unduly neglected. Again, there is a legitimate motive here that we must respect. But when we steer away from understanding human life in light of the peaks of leadership, vision, and achievement, we cut ourselves off from a most useful window into human phenomena. **To understand our world—to take stock of the promise and potential of our institutions—we need to climb to the higher altitudes of the great founders.**

In this series, we will study examples of great founders from antiquity to the present. Our main concern will be to make sense of what it means to create a regime—an *order* of rules that instantiates a *mode* of life—and how regimes inform collective enterprise, including cities, nation states, companies, and firms.

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Samo Burja, *Great Founder Theory*

Introduction

A theory of history

Where are we, how did we get here, and where are we going? If we knew, could we change course? And what would it take to succeed? Many disciplines have sought to answer these proverbial big questions, with answers ranging from the philosophical to the biological and everything in between. But often overlooked is the value of history. The recorded history of human civilization over the last 10,000 years, with the stories and sagas of empires, religions, and great individuals, has left us with a tremendous corpus of raw material to read and analyze. Should we?

Perhaps history is overlooked because it feels superficially irrelevant to contemporary problems and issues. Much of it may be. Alternately, we might take the view of the ancient Biblical book of Ecclesiastes that there is "nothing new under the sun". Already, we must make an important epistemological decision. Our beliefs concerning large-scale patterns of the present world carry predictions for the future and explanations of the past. Yet, when we think about society as a greater whole and the humans in it, it seems all too natural to consider these kinds of models separately.

We change explanations of social phenomena to fit time periods, without principled reasons for doing so, for why some factors come to dominate. This divide is an artifact of our lived experience and limited knowledge, not of reality itself. Whether we like it or not, attempting to evaluate reality on the scale of society is to implicitly claim an overall theory of history.

In order to create such a theory, it is necessary to explore the functioning of institutions, the transmission of knowledge, and the landscape of power, among a number of other key dynamics. These phenomena substantially overlap and interact. I will summarize and illuminate this overlap, and try to make the common driving factor of their dynamics explicit in what I call "Great Founder Theory."

On institutions

What is an institution? This term conjures associations with organizations such as governments, courts, corporations, and universities. For our purposes, an institution is a zone of close coordination maintained by automated systems.

There is a spectrum of automation, however, and the more automated something becomes, the more useful it is to call it an institution. The most automated of institutions can be understood as bureaucracies.

We can understand the world as a landscape of functional and non-functional institutions. Functional institutions are the exception. Creating functional institutions requires a founder who knows how to coordinate people to achieve the institution's purpose, and who uses this knowledge to build new institutions or dismantle and rebuild existing ones.

Non-functional institutions are not simply institutions where, say, the buildings are on fire or mass layoffs have started. We might call those failed institutions, at the extreme end of non-functionality. Rather, the vast majority of non-functional institutions merely inadequately imitate functional institutions. In the institutional landscape, those are the norm, rather than the exception. They attempt to copy the relevant social technology from one or several functional institutions. Such non-functional institutions can still easily generate narratives of being goal-oriented and functional, both for internal consumption by functionaries and external consumption by observers and competitors.

The internal narrative helps non-functional institutions achieve modest effects locally, but these are side effects of socializing. Its members might individually pursue actions towards the organization's goal, perhaps even believing they are pursuing them effectively; however, the social interface rewards appearance rather than reality, hence close cooperation towards the organization's goals cannot materialize. The narrative is not only maintained internally, but broadcast to external society as well in order to invite participation in the appearance of functionality. Everybody has to keep their story straight.

One sign and symptom of this simple optimization for appearance is that everyone in the organization is trying to perform the same kind of task—the one that is most socially rewarded—rather than them being specialized according to their function.

The body of the institution becomes a social club gathered under pretense. We shouldn't disparage the value of socializing itself. Anomie, the rift between individual and community, has only grown since the sociologist Emile Durkheim introduced the concept in his diagnosis of 19th century society. Given our predicament, it is perhaps wise to try and build community by any means available, so our society should tolerate some false pretense for socializing. Perhaps that is the very reason we have even more non-functional institutions today than the historical average.

However, whatever the talent or intentions of individuals within such a non-functional institution, the main body of the institution, the communal fabric of socializing and even material incentive, stands in the way of fully realizing the institution's nominal function.

Ultimately, vital functions must be realized. To name only a few, imagine militaries that cannot win wars, churches that cannot maintain communities, governments that cannot guarantee security, universities that cannot maintain intellectual life, courts that don't uphold the rule of law, industries that don't produce goods, and R&D labs that fail to advance technology.

To fail at all of these functions would amount to a failed society.

Limits to knowledge and effects of limitation

A society can make do with having some functional institutions and some dysfunctional institutions. You could argue that the Roman Empire, for century after century,

succeeded in building armies that could win wars, but failed to maintain the intellectual life inherited from the Hellenic era, for example.

Even then, such a society pays a high and often invisible opportunity cost. They might believe their institutions are functional, because they have simply never seen the functions carried out well. There are no outliers that can be used to disprove the thesis that the status quo is the best that can be done.

The invisibility of dysfunction may follow from a lack of viable comparisons. Comparisons between often competing societies are difficult because of clashing politics and social narratives. How well would a French audience have received a treatment of the strategic merits of pan-Germanism in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War? Comparisons across time are difficult, because of confounding factors we cannot control for. Commentators and historians today draw all kinds of parallels between contemporary America and historical empires, yet there is no single comparison that seems notably more explanatory than the others. Comparisons against theoretical ideals are limited by the quality of theory. We might only be able to clearly compare functional and non-functional institutions when functional institutions still exist in the same domain of society. This illustrates what a crucial difference even one functional institution can make.

If an organization is clearly better, it is possible to imitate it. In a famous Caltech commencement address, Feynman explained the folly of simple-minded imitation, likening such imitation to the notion of the "cargo cult": just as a lucky hunter-gatherer tribe in the path of cargo airdrops during World War II built imitation airstrips and wooden control towers after the war under the expectation that such forms were the causes of cargo airdrops, so too do we copy the appearances of old functional institutions without understanding or replicating their true nature.[1] As long as the functional example is still around, however, you can keep returning to it, each time narrowing in on what steps actually make it work. You are only stuck building wooden airplanes or wearing turtlenecks if the original is no longer around.[2] Success through reverse engineering is much easier than blind trial and error, even after controlling for false starts and dead ends.

This kind of imitation can bring you to an increasingly better approximation of a given set of social technology. However, since the social technology behind functional institutions wasn't discovered through blind tinkering, it is ultimately grounded in an existing tradition of knowledge.

Once that tradition is lost, you are making photocopies of photocopies. Each subsequent copy loses information. A crucial difference between organisms and

[1] Richard Feynman, "Cargo Cult Science" (commencement address, CalTech, Pasadena, CA, 1974), http://calteches.library.caltech.edu/51/2/CargoCult.htm.

[2] Kate Storey, "Why the Black Turtleneck Was So Important to Elizabeth Holmes's Image," Esquire, March 18, 2019, https://www.esquire.com/style/mens-fashion/a26836670/elizabeth-holmes-steve-jobs-black-turtleneck/.

organizations is that organizations do not undergo natural selection.[3] Since the fidelity of transmitting intricate social technologies is so low, complex adaptations cannot arise.

There is no corporate equivalent to DNA. The positive copying errors do not propagate and overwhelm the negative copying errors as they would in millions of years of evolution in wasps or elephants. This means that institutions only arise through the process of imitation and invention carried out by human minds.

A single new functional institution that visibly and strongly outperforms others in its reference class offers an educational example that can be followed by many. Imitation of practice is much easier and faster than transfer of knowledge, especially when the tradition of knowledge is still alive to be imitated.

Some functional institutions shoulder the burden of their civilizational function entirely on their own. There was only one organization that sent human beings to the Moon: NASA under Wernher von Braun.

Whether because of the scale of the task they handled and consequently their solitary nature, or because other institutions learn from their crucial example, functional institutions are often irreplaceable. When a functional institution dies, the living tradition of knowledge disappears, followed only by ever fainter echoes.

Such institutions, when they arise, provide far more value to society than they can possibly capture for themselves or their founders.

A civilization is an ecosystem of institutions

In "Institutional Failure as Surprise," we explore how institutions rely on each other for handling many necessities. Examples include infrastructure, enforcement of contracts, security, intellectual culture, design—too many to exhaustively name.

No single institution is self-sufficient. Rather it is a part of an ecosystem, receiving and giving support in complex arrangements. Due to interdependency and the extreme differences in functionality among institutions, functional institutions subsidize all others. Consider, for example, how companies like Apple or Facebook, which provide hardware or software platforms of unprecedented scale, make it possible for ecosystems of apps and games—and the companies that develop them—to thrive. Facebook could survive without Zynga, but not vice versa.

Functional institutions solve and handle hard tasks not just for themselves but for many other organizations and communities. Thus, even mere social groups, being able to outsource to (not to mention imitate) functional institutions, can become quite productive. Functional institutions provide multipliers that make the non-functional institutions' modest linear efforts worthwhile.

In a civilization with several functional institutions, everything seems to work very well. The ubiquitous perception of functionality is then reflected in the culture and produces a very palpable mood of optimism. Nothing seems beyond the civilization's grasp.

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[3] Eliezer Yudkowsky, "No Evolutions for Corporations or Nanodevices," LessWrong (blog), November 16, 2007, https://www.lesswrong.com/posts/XC7Kry5q6CD9TyG4K/no-evolutions-for-corporations-or-nanodevices.

People impact the world through the institutions they build

The term institution is similar, but not synonymous, with the concept of an empire, though they can overlap in some cases. An empire is a region of coordination around a central power, where the central power is the cause of the region of coordination. An institution can be the entirety of a given person's empire, but empires can also include multiple institutions. Naturally, functional institutions can extend the reach of personal empires.

I argue in "Competition for Power" that people's impact on the world follows a Pareto-like distribution, with the most impactful people having a far greater impact than the rest. The creation of functional institutions is the means by which people are hugely impactful. People who build institutions are far more impactful than people who don't, and among those, people who build functional institutions are by far the most impactful.

The height of personal power amassed by creators of functional institutions can certainly dwarf the power held by those merely inheriting them. But power is a means, not an end. The big picture impact of such impressive personal empires doesn't lie in the power to right particular wrongs or achieve particular aims, but rather in how such empires lay the foundation for building further institutions.

A functional institution can outright solve a problem for a civilization. It might, for example, complete the construction of infrastructure so important it changes the course of economic development for centuries to come, such as ancient China's grand canal or a hypothetical space elevator.[4]

A functional institution can subsidize the working of many other ventures through providing services that other institutions and communities can rely on. One might consider Hammurabi or Muhammad's systems of law as examples, with many other revered lawgivers in history besides.

Those who build these functional institutions mold society, outperforming all others by orders of magnitude. This dynamic holds true even among the founders of functional institutions themselves: within this set, those who build the very most functional institutions are much more impactful than the rest of those founders who build functional institutions.

As a further consequence, the founders of these institutions are responsible for the vast majority of social technology that we see in society. Most social technologies, especially advanced ones, cannot be explained by evolutionary analogy, whether Darwinian or Lamarckian, although mutation and evolution may be helpful in explaining the ways in which social technology decays.

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[4] The canal system which would eventually become the Grand Canal was first constructed in the Warring States period, directed by officials known as hydraulic engineers (水工), powerful actors and often statesmen in their own right. Centuries later, the network of canals was connected and unified into the Grand Canal by the chief engineer of the Sui Dynasty, creating an aquatic highway stretching from Beijing to Hangzhou, the equivalent of the distance from New York to Florida—the chief artery of Chinese civilization. For more, see Joseph Needham, Lu Gwei-Djen, and Ling Wang, Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 4: Physics and Physical Technology, Part 3: Civil Engineering and Nautics, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 285, 307. On a space elevator, see "What Is a Space Elevator?" International Space Elevator Consortium, 2014, https://www.isec.org/faq.

Rather, social technologies appear in clear, discontinuous jumps, with several interlocking, interdependent institutional complexes put into place in a short time span. They did not evolve, but were designed and then implemented. The Founding Fathers of the United States, who created Congress, the Presidency, the Supreme Court, and much more, all at once, serve as a clear example.

I will call those who found the most functional institutions that contribute to the bedrock of their civilizations great founders. Through the creation of institutions, great founders become the primary force that shapes society.

To examine a society, then, we should first look for functioning institutions. A simple way to do this is to identify businesses, religions, governments, and so forth that are radically outperforming their competitors. We then seek out the founders of these institutions.

By looking at the distribution of founders across various domains, we can make predictions about the future of specific fields and industries. Even further, by investigating the plans and intentions of great founders, and evaluating how likely they are to succeed, we can make specific predictions about what the future holds.

The actions and capabilities of great founders determine the future social and material landscape of civilization, and thus the future of the world. Societies with many great founders will innovate and flourish, while societies with few will stagnate and deteriorate.

Samo Burja, "Live vs. Dead Players"

Whether you are examining past societies or living and acting within one today, it's important to distinguish between *live* and *dead* players. A live player is a person or well-coordinated group of people that is able to do things they have not done before. A dead player is a person or group of people that is working off a script, incapable of doing new things.

This distinction matters both for pragmatic and strategic reasons: it tells you how to act both offensively and defensively. Offensively, if you figure out whether a player is alive or dead, you can predict how they will respond to things and what that means you can do. If you find out that a player is dead, then you know that you can confront them in ways that are not known to them, and they will not be able to fight back. On the other hand, if you fail to figure out that a player has died, you might not realize that you can get away with replacing them. Defensively, paying attention to live players allows you to anticipate and prevent the grabbing of power, for instance.

The distinction between live and dead players also matters if you are trying to predict the future of society. You can predict what will happen in a society if you understand its landscape of live players. Societies with few live players will stagnate; societies with many live players will develop and adapt.

Whether a player is alive or dead is always relative to themselves. Thus, a live player is not necessarily exceptional in skill, although this is usually the case. If a player has already done X, doing X again does not make them a live player, even if other players can't do X yet or X is an impressive move. The player would have to make a move that is new for them in order to be a live player.

For example, Vladimir Putin is a live player, and by virtue of his piloting the institutional machinery of the Russian state, Russia is also a live player. The Russian state is doing things it hasn't done in a long time, things that were unthinkable a few years ago. Russia annexed Crimea, for example, and such a thing hasn't been done in Europe for decades. It also completed a successful military operation in Syria, notable in part because Syria is beyond Russia's geopolitical stronghold of peripheral former Soviet states in its "near abroad," and Putin managed to achieve his foreign policy objective of stabilizing Assad at considerably less cost than comparable American interventions in the Middle East.

Russia didn't have much time to develop plans for Syria—perhaps three years—which means it had to pull things together quickly. This is a very strong indicator that Russia can figure out new things, and quickly too. However, one country having this kind of influence over another country is nothing new—it's merely new for post-Soviet Russia, which is why we would deem Russia a live player. This same action taken by France in Mali would not indicate that France is a live player, for example, because France has routinely intervened in West Africa. A bureaucratized action, even if it is an impressive action, is not a sign that the player is alive.

It is possible then to describe the characteristics of live versus dead players in greater detail, which will help in distinguishing between them.

Live Players

It's worth restating the definition of a live player: a live player is a person or tightly coordinated group of people that is able to do things they have not done before. There are two attributes that are necessary for a player to be considered live: tight coordination and a living tradition of knowledge.

If not merely one individual, a live player that is a group of people must be tightly coordinated in order to be flexible and responsive enough to do things they have not done before. This allows them to make moves outside of the formal structure of the group, go off script, modify themselves, continue acting even if the outer form dies, and so forth. Imagine, for example, an engineering team that keeps working together successfully after the company they work for formally blows up, perhaps transitioning together to a new company or just coordinating as hobbyists on the side.

The generation of new tactics, strategies, coordination mechanisms, and so on entails the production of new, useful knowledge. Thus, a live player must have a living tradition of knowledge. For the tradition of knowledge to be living, it must have at least one theorist, among other things. An individual live player may fulfill multiple roles in themselves, including being one's own theorist.

Signs of Live Players

What are signs that a player is alive? One strong sign is a player doing things outside of their expected domain—in a new, unexpected domain—which indicates that they can figure out new things for themselves.

Take Steve Jobs. Not too long ago, we saw Apple fighting against compliance with government requests for backdoor access to its data. This means that Jobs had previously found a way around compliance, which also means that Jobs was able to figure out ways to deal with the intelligence world. This was outside of his expected domain of building technology companies. This is a strong sign that Apple, at least while piloted by Steve Jobs, was a live player.

Another sign of a live player is exceptional individuals gravitating towards them. Such individuals tend to be good at assessing others, and will tend to seek out others who are also exceptional. If they cluster around a person or group, there is something exceptional about that person or group. Successfully reverse-engineering an attack is another, albeit weak, sign of a live player. Those who can make novel moves will also tend to be able to reverse-engineer moves, but those who can reverse-engineer moves often lack the ability to create novel ones.

Spotting live players is made difficult by the live players themselves. Live players frequently conceal themselves to avoid opposition from other live players or to reduce the likelihood of attacks. By concealing themselves, they delay other people's responses to them. For example, Amazon branded itself as a book-selling company long

after it stopped being merely a book-selling company. This helped it avoid having Walmart think of it as a competitor. Nowadays, Amazon might prefer people think of it as a competitor to Walmart, to avoid people thinking of it as a competitor to SpaceX, Microsoft, or even the U.S. government.

Dead Players

We defined a dead player as a person or a group of people that is working off a script, incapable of doing new things.

What can cause a player to die? A player will die if their tradition of knowledge dies and they are unable to replace their thinkers or theorists. Perhaps an individual live player simply runs out of ideas. Even if tight coordination remains, the player is dead. They will compete in old areas, but have a hard time expanding into new areas.

A player will also die if their tight coordination is replaced by formal structures, which can happen as members of an organization change. If you're constrained by formal structures, it becomes harder to go off script, and this won't be adaptive enough. Remember, however, that tight coordination can be achieved by just one exceptional person.

Revival

How can you revive a dead player? It only takes one great person to revive a dead player. That said, reviving a dead player is challenging—more challenging than reviving a dead tradition of knowledge. In order to revive a dead player, you have to displace an existing power structure. It is frequently easier to do this by conquering the existing power structure with outside, owned power, than by trying to transform the player from dead to alive from the inside. This is because a dead player, if it is an organization, may contain mechanisms that preclude insiders from gaining enough power to restructure it into a live player.

Apple is an example of a dead player. It became much less interesting and powerful after Steve Jobs' death. Under him, it was a cultural and commercial force that was able to interface effectively with the U.S. government.[5] Now, it is a bureaucracy imitating his taste. It is incapable of adapting, building beautiful new things, and acquiring power.[6]

It's much easier to detect live players than it is to detect dead players. This is because seemingly dead players might actually be alive (and playing dead).

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[5] Alexia Tsotsis, "Why Was Apple Late To The PRISM Party?," TechCrunch, June 17, 2013, https://techcrunch.com/2013/06/17/apple-nsa/.

[6] Apple's main function now is to maintain a hold on previously amassed power. Apple has not developed a revolutionary product in years, and is instead focused on streamlining and integrating UI across its products. Apple's target market is not new users; it is only existing ones. See Dieter Bohn, "Apple and the End of the Genius," The Verge, June 28, 2019, https://www.theverge.com/2019/6/28/18870887/apple-jony-ive-design-genius-committee.

Machiavelli, *The Prince*

VI – Of New Principalities That Are Acquired through One's Own Arms and Virtue

No one should marvel if, in speaking as I will do of principalities that are altogether new both in prince and in state, I bring up the greatest examples. For since men almost always walk on paths beaten by others and proceed in their actions by imitation, unable either to stay on the paths of others altogether or to attain the virtue of those whom you imitate, a prudent man should always enter upon the paths beaten by great men, and imitate those who have been most excellent, so that if his own virtue does not reach that far, it is at least in the odor of it. He should do as prudent archers do when the place they plan to hit appears too distant, and knowing how far the strength[7] of their bow carries, they set their aim much higher than the place intended, not to reach such height with their arrow, but to be able with the aid of so high an aim to achieve their plan.

I say, then, that in altogether new principalities, where there is a new prince, one encounters more or less difficulty in maintaining them according to whether the one who acquires them is more or less virtuous. And because the result of becoming prince from private individual presupposes either virtue or fortune, it appears that one or the other of these two things relieves in part many difficulties; nonetheless, he who has relied less on fortune has maintained himself more. To have the prince compelled to come to live there in person, because he has no other states, makes it still easier. But, to come to those who have become princes by their own virtue and not by fortune, I say that the most excellent are Moses, Cyrus, Romulus, Theseus, and the like. And although one should not reason about Moses, as he was a mere executor of things that had been ordered for him by God, nonetheless he should be admired if only for that grace which made him deserving of speaking with God. But let us consider Cyrus and the others who have acquired or founded kingdoms: you[8] will find them all admirable; and if their particular actions and orders are considered, they will appear no different from those of Moses, who had so great a teacher. And as one examines their actions and lives, one does not see that they had anything else from fortune than the opportunity, which gave them the matter enabling them to introduce any form they pleased. Without that opportunity their virtue of spirit would have been eliminated, and without that virtue the opportunity would have come in vain.

It was necessary then for Moses to find the people of Israel in Egypt, enslaved and oppressed by the Egyptians, so that they would be disposed to follow him so as to get out of their servitude. It was fitting that Romulus not be received in Alba, that he should have been exposed at birth, if he was to become king of Rome and founder of that fatherland. Cyrus needed to find the Persians malcontent with the empire of the Medes, and the Medes soft and effeminate because of a long peace. Theseus could not have demonstrated his virtue if he had not found the Athenians dispersed. Such

[7] lit.: virtue
[8] The formal or plural you.

opportunities, therefore, made these men happy, and their excellent virtue enabled the opportunity to be recognized; hence their fatherlands were ennobled by it and became very happy.

Those like these men, who become princes by the paths of virtue, acquire their principality with difficulty but hold it with ease; and the difficulties they have in acquiring their principality arise in part from the new orders and modes that they are forced to introduce so as to found their state and their security. And it should be considered that nothing is more difficult to handle, more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to manage, than to put oneself at the head of introducing new orders. For the introducer has all those who benefit from the old orders as enemies, and he has lukewarm defenders in all those who might benefit from the new orders. This lukewarmness arises partly from fear of adversaries who have the laws on their side and partly from the incredulity of men, who do not truly believe in new things unless they come to have a firm experience of them. Consequently, whenever those who are enemies have opportunity to attack, they do so with partisan zeal, and the others defend lukewarmly so that one is in peril along with them. It is however necessary, if one wants to discuss this aspect well, to examine whether these innovators stand by themselves or depend on others; that is, whether to carry out their deed they must beg[9] or indeed can use force. In the first case they always come to ill and never accomplish anything; but when they depend on their own and are able to use force, then it is that they are rarely in peril. From this it arises that all the armed prophets conquered and the unarmed ones were ruined. For, besides the things that have been said, the nature of peoples is variable; and it is easy to persuade them of something, but difficult to keep them in that persuasion. And thus things must be ordered in such a mode that when they no longer believe, one can make them believe by force. Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus would not have been able to make their peoples observe their constitutions for long if they had been unarmed, as happened in our times to Brother Girolamo Savonarola. He was ruined in his new orders as soon as the multitude began not to believe in them, and he had no mode for holding firm those who had believed nor for making unbelievers believe.[10] Men such as these, therefore, find great difficulty in conducting their affairs; all their dangers are along the path, and they must overcome them with virtue. But once they have overcome them and they begin to be held in veneration, having eliminated those who had envied them for their quality, they remain powerful, secure, honored, and happy.

To such high examples I want to add a lesser example, but it will have some proportion with the others and I want it to suffice for all other similar cases: this is Hiero of Syracuse. From private individual he became prince of Syracuse, nor did he receive

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[9] Or pray.

[10] Savonarola (1452-98) was a Dominican friar who came to Florence to preach in 1481, and succeeded in convincing the Florentines, who thought themselves "neither rude nor ignorant," that "he spoke with God." Cf. *Discourses on Livy* I 11, where NM praises this accomplishment and does not refer, as he does here, to Savonarola's terrible end by burning at the stake.

anything more from fortune than the opportunity. For when the Syracusans were oppressed, they chose him as their captain, and from there he proved worthy of being made their prince. And he was of such virtue, even in private fortune, that he who wrote of him said "that he lacked nothing of being a king except a kingdom."[11] Hiero eliminated the old military and organized a new one; he left his old friendships and made new ones; and when he had friendships and soldiers that were his own, he could build any building on top of such a foundation; so he went through a great deal of trouble to acquire, and little to maintain.

[11] Possible sources: Polybius, I 8, 16; VII 8; Livy XXIV 4; Justin, XXIII 4; I Samuel 18:8. Cf. the Dedicatory Letter to the *Discourses on Livy*.

Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*

1 Concerning Lycurgus the lawgiver, in general, nothing can be said which is not disputed, since indeed there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and above all, of his work as lawmaker and statesman; and there is least agreement among historians as to the times in which the man lived. Some say that he flourished at the same time with Iphitus, and in concert with him established the Olympic truce. Among these is Aristotle the philosopher, and he alleges as proof the discus at Olympia on which an inscription preserves the name of Lycurgus.[12] But those who compute the time by the successions of kings at Sparta, like Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, prove that Lycurgus was many years earlier than the first Olympiad.[13] And Timaeus conjectures that there were two Lycurgus at Sparta, at different times, and that to one of them the achievements of both were ascribed, owing to his greater fame; he thinks also that the elder of the two lived not far from the times of Homer, and some assert that he actually met Homer face to face. Xenophon, also,[14] makes an impression of simplicity in the passage where he says that Lycurgus lived in the time of the Heracleidae. For in lineage, of course, the latest of the Spartan kings were also Heracleidae; but Xenophon apparently wishes to use the name Heracleidae of the first and more immediate descendants of Heracles, so famous in story.

However, although the history of these times is such a maze, I shall try, in presenting my narrative, to follow those authors who are least contradicted, or who have the most notable witnesses for what they have written about the man. For instance, Simonides the poet says that Lycurgus was not the son of Eunomus, but that both Lycurgus and Eunomus were sons of Prytanis; whereas most writers give a different genealogy, as follows: Aristodemus begat Procles, Procles begat Soüs, Soüs begat Eurypon, and he begat Prytanis, from whom sprang Eunomus, and from Eunomus Polydectes by a first wife, and Lycurgus, who was a younger son by a second wife, Dionassa, as Dieutychidas has written, making Lycurgus sixth from Procles, and eleventh from Heracles.[15]

2 Of these ancestors of Lycurgus, Soüs was most famous, under whom the Spartans made the Helots their slaves, and acquired by conquest from the Arcadians a large additional tract of land. It is also related of this Soüs that when he was besieged by the Cleitorians in a rough and waterless place, he agreed to surrender to them the land which he had conquered if he himself and all his men

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[12] As joining with Iphitus in founding, or reviving, the Olympic games, in 776 B.C., the date assigned to the first recorded victory. Cf. Pausanias, V.4.5 f.; 20.1. A stay of hostilities was observed all over Greece during the festival.

[13] 776-73 B.C.

[14] *Reip. Lac.* x.8. "Lycurgus is said to have lived in the times of the Heracleidae."

[15] Aristodemus, from whose twin sons Eurysthenes and Procles the elder and younger royal lines at Sparta (the Agids and Eurypontids) were descended, was the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. See Pausanias, III.1-10; Herodotus, VII.204 and VIII.131.

with him should drink from the adjacent spring. After the oaths to this agreement were taken, he assembled his men and offered his kingdom to the one who should not drink; no one of them, however, could forbear, but all of them drank, whereupon Soüs himself went down last of all to the water, sprinkled his face merely, while the enemy were still at hand to see, and then marched away and retained his territory, on the plea that all had not drunk.

But although on these grounds he was held in great admiration, his royal line was not named from him, but were called Eurypontids from his son, because Eurypon appears to have been the first king to relax the excessive absolutism of his sway, seeking favour and popularity with the multitude. But in consequence of such relaxation the people grew bold, and succeeding kings were some of them hated for trying to force their way with the multitude, and some were brought low by their desire for favour or through weakness, so that lawlessness and confusion prevailed at Sparta for a long time; and it was owing to this that the father of Lycurgus, a reigning king, lost his life. For as he was trying to separate some rioters, he was stabbed to death with a butcher's knife, leaving the kingdom to his elder son, Polydectes.

3 Polydectes also died soon afterwards, and then, as was generally thought, the kingdom devolved upon Lycurgus; and until his brother's wife was known to be with child, he was king. But as soon as he learned of this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her offspring, if it should be male, and himself administered the government only as guardian. Now the guardians of fatherless kings are called "prodikoi" by the Lacedaemonians. Presently, however, the woman made secret overtures to him, proposing to destroy her unborn babe on condition that he would marry her when he was a king of Sparta; and although he detested her character, he did not reject her proposition, but pretended to approve and accept it. He told her, however, that she need not use drugs to produce a miscarriage, thereby injuring her health and endangering her life, for he would see to it himself that as soon as her child was born it should be put out of the way. In this manner he managed to bring the woman to her full time, and when he learned that she was in labour, he sent attendants and watchers for her delivery, with orders, if a girl should be born, to hand it over to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, no matter what he was doing. And it came to pass that as he was at supper with the chief magistrates, a male child was born, and his servants brought the little boy to him. He took it in his arms, as we are told, and said to those who were at table with him, "A king is born unto you, O men of Sparta;" then he laid it down in the royal seat and named it Charilaüs, or People's Joy, because all present were filled with joy, admiring as they did his lofty spirit and his righteousness. And so he was king only eight months in all. But on other accounts also he was revered by his fellow-citizens, and more than those who obeyed him because he was guardian of the king and had royal power in his hands, were those who clave to him for his virtues and were ready and willing to do his bidding.

There was a party, however, which envied him and sought to impede the growing power of so young a man, especially the kinsmen and friends of the queen-mother, who thought she had been treated with insolence. Her brother, Leonidas, actually railed at Lycurgus once quite boldly, assuring him that he knew well that Lycurgus would one day be king, thereby promoting suspicion and paving the way for the accusation, in case any thing happened to the king, that he had plotted against his life. Some such talk was set in circulation by the queen-mother also, in consequence of which Lycurgus was sorely troubled and fearful of what might be in store for him. He therefore determined to avoid suspicion by travelling abroad, and to continue his wanderings until his nephew should come of age and beget a son to succeed him on the throne.

4 With this purpose, he set sail, and came first to Crete. Here he studied the various forms of government and made the acquaintance of their most distinguished men. Of some things he heartily approved, and adopted some of their laws, that he might carry them home with him and put them in use; for some things he had only contempt. One of the men regarded there as wise statesmen was Thales, whom Lycurgus persuaded, out of favour and friendship, to go on a mission to Sparta. Now Thales passed as a lyric poet, and screened himself behind this art, but in reality he did the work of one of the mightiest lawgivers. For his odes were so many exhortations to obedience and harmony, and their measured rhythms were permeated with ordered tranquillity, so that those who listened to them were insensibly softened in their dispositions, insomuch that they renounced the mutual hatreds which were so rife at that time, and dwelt together in a common pursuit of what was high and noble. Thales, therefore, after a fashion, was a forerunner in Sparta of Lycurgus and his discipline.

From Crete, Lycurgus sailed to Asia, with the desire, as we are told, of comparing with the Cretan civilization, which was simple and severe, that of the Ionians, which was extravagant and luxurious, just as a physician compares with healthy bodies those which are unsound and sickly; he could then study the difference in their modes of life and forms of government. There too, as it would appear, he made his first acquaintance with the poems of Homer, which were preserved among the posterity of Creophylus; and when he saw that the political and disciplinary lessons contained in them were worthy of no less serious attention than the incentives to pleasure and license which they supplied, he eagerly copied and compiled them in order to take them home with him. For these epics already had a certain faint reputation among the Greeks, and a few were in possession of certain portions of them, as the poems were carried here and there by chance; but Lycurgus was the very first to make them really known.

The Aegyptians think that Lycurgus visited them also, and so ardently admired their separation of the military from the other classes of society that he transferred it to Sparta, and by removing mechanics and artisans from participation in the government, made his civil polity really refined and pure. At

any rate, this assertion of the Aegyptians is confirmed by some Greek historians. But that Lycurgus visited Libya and Iberia also, and that he wandered over India and had conferences with the Gymnosophists, no one has stated, so far as I know, except Aristocrates the son of Hipparchus, the Spartan.

5 The Lacedaemonians missed Lycurgus sorely, and sent for him many times. They felt that their kings were such in name and station merely, but in everything else were nothing better than their subjects, while in him there was a nature fitted to lead, and a power to make men follow him. However, not even the kings were averse to having him at home, but hoped that in his presence their subjects would treat them with less insolence. Returning, then, to a people thus disposed, he at once undertook to revolutionize the civil polity. He was convinced that a partial change of the laws would be of no avail whatsoever, but that he must proceed as a physician would with a patient who was debilitated and full of all sorts of diseases; he must reduce and alter the existing temperament by means of drugs and purges, and introduce a new and different regimen. Full of this determination, he first made a journey to Delphi, and after sacrificing to the god and consulting the oracle, he returned with that famous response in which the Pythian priestess addressed him as "beloved of the gods, and rather god than man," and said that the god had granted his prayer for good laws, and promised him a constitution which should be the best in the world.

Thus encouraged, he tried to bring the chief men of Sparta over to his side, and exhorted them to put their hands to the work with him, explaining his designs secretly to his friends at first, then little by little engaging more and uniting them to attempt the task. And when the time for action came, he ordered thirty of the chief men to go armed into the market-place at break of day, to strike consternation and terror into those of the opposite party. The names of twenty of the most eminent among them have been recorded by Hermippus; but the man who had the largest share in all the undertakings of Lycurgus and co-operated with him in the enactment of his laws, bore the name of Arthmiadas. When the tumult began, King Charilaüs, fearing that the whole affair was a conspiracy against himself, fled for refuge to the Brazen House;[16] but he was soon convinced of his error, and having exacted oaths for his safety from the agitators, left his place of refuge, and even joined them in their enterprise, being of a gentle and yielding disposition, so much so, indeed, that Archelaüs, his royal colleague, is said to have remarked to those who were extolling the young king, "How can Charilaüs be a good man, when he has no severity even for the bad?"

Among the many innovations which Lycurgus made, the first and most important was his institution of a senate, or Council of Elders, which, as Plato says,[17] by being blended with the "feverish" government of the kings, and by having an equal vote with them in matters of the highest importance, brought

[16] A temple of Athena.
[17] *Laws*, p691E.

safety and due moderation into counsels of state. For before this the civil polity was veering and unsteady, inclining at one time to follow the kings towards tyranny, and at another to follow the multitude towards democracy; but now, by making the power of the senate a sort of ballast for the ship of state and putting her on a steady keel, it achieved the safest and the most orderly arrangement, since the twenty-eight senators always took the side of the kings when it was a question of curbing democracy, and, on the other hand, always strengthened the people to withstand the encroachments of tyranny. The number of the senators was fixed at twenty-eight because, according to Aristotle, two of the thirty original associates of Lycurgus abandoned the enterprise from lack of courage. But Sphaerus says that this was originally the number of those who shared the confidence of Lycurgus. Possibly there is some virtue in this number being made up of seven multiplied by four, apart from the fact that, being equal to the sum of its own factors, it is the next perfect number after six. But in my own opinion, Lycurgus made the senators of just that number in order that the total might be thirty when the two kings were added to the eight and twenty.

6 So eager was Lycurgus for the establishment of this form of government, that he obtained an oracle from Delphi about it, which they call a "rhetra." And this is the way it runs: "When thou hast built a temple to Zeus Syllanius and Athena Syllania, divided the people into 'phylai' and into 'obai,' and established a senate of thirty members, including the 'archagetai,' then from time to time 'appellazein' between Babyca and Cnacion[18], and there introduce and rescind measures; but the people must have the deciding voice and the power." In these clauses, the "phylai" and the "obai" refer to divisions and distributions of the people into clans and phratries, or brotherhoods; by "archagetai" the kings are designated, and "appellazein" means to assemble the people, with a reference to Apollo, the Pythian god, who was the source and author of the polity. The Babyca is now called Cheimarrus, and the Cnacion Oenus; but Aristotle says that Cnacion is a river, and Babyca a bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls nor any other kind of building for the purpose. For by such things Lycurgus thought good counsel was not promoted, but rather discouraged, since the serious purposes of an assembly were rendered foolish and futile by vain thoughts, as they gazed upon statues and paintings, or scenic embellishments, or extravagantly decorated roofs of council halls. When the multitude was thus assembled, no one of them was permitted to make a motion, but the motion laid before them by the senators and kings could be accepted or rejected by the people. Afterwards, however, when the people by additions and subtractions perverted and distorted the sense of motions laid before them, Kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted this clause into the rhetra: "But if the people should adopt a distorted motion, the senators and kings shall have power of adjournment"; that is, should not ratify the

[18] Probably names of small tributaries of the river Eurotas.

vote, but dismiss outright and dissolve the session, on the ground that it was perverting and changing the motion contrary to the best interests of the state. And they were actually able to persuade the city that the god authorized this addition to the rhetra, as Tyrtaeus reminds us in these verses:—

> "Phoebus Apollo's the mandate was which they brought from Pytho,
> Voicing the will of the god, nor were his words unfulfilled:
> Sway in the council and honours divine belong to the princes
> Under whose care has been set Sparta's city of charm;
> Second to them are the elders, and next come the men of the people
> Duly confirming by vote unperverted decrees."

7 Although Lycurgus thus tempered his civil polity, nevertheless the oligarchical element in it was still unmixed and dominant, and his successors, seeing it "swelling and foaming," as Plato says,[19] "imposed as it were a curb upon it, namely, the power of the ephors." It was about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus that the first ephors, Elatus and his colleagues, were appointed, in the reign of Theopompus. This king, they say, on being reviled by his wife because the royal power, when he handed it over to his sons, would be less than when he received it, said: "Nay, but greater, in that it will last longer." And in fact, by renouncing excessive claims and freeing itself from jealous hate, royalty at Sparta escaped its perils, so that the Spartan kings did not experience the fate which the Messenians and Argives inflicted upon their kings, who were unwilling to yield at all or remit their power in favour of the people. And this brings into the clearest light the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus, when we contrast the factions and misgovernment of the peoples and kings of Messenia and Argos, who were kinsmen and neighbours of the Spartans. They were on an equality with the Spartans in the beginning, and in the allotment of territory were thought to be even better off than they, and yet their prosperity did not last long, but what with the insolent temper of their kings and the unreasonableness of their peoples, their established institutions were confounded, and they made it clear that it was in very truth a divine blessing which the Spartans had enjoyed in the man who framed and tempered their civil polity for them. These events, however, were of later date.

8 A second, and a very bold political measure of Lycurgus, is his redistribution of the land. For there was a dreadful inequality in this regard, the city was heavily burdened with indigent and helpless people, and wealth was wholly concentrated in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to banish insolence and envy and crime and luxury, and those yet more deep-seated and afflictive diseases of the state, poverty and wealth, he persuaded his fellow-citizens to make one parcel of all their territory and divide it up anew, and to live with one another on a basis of entire uniformity and equality in the means of subsistence,

[19] *Laws*, p692A.

seeking preëminence through virtue alone, assured that there was no other difference or inequality between man and man than that which was established by blame for base actions and praise for good ones.

Suiting the deed to the word, he distributed the rest of the Laconian land among the "perioeci," or free provincials, in thirty thousand lots, and that which belonged to the city of Sparta, in nine thousand lots, to as many genuine Spartans. But some say that Lycurgus distributed only six thousand lots among the Spartans, and that three thousand were afterwards added by Polydorus; others still, that Polydorus added half of the nine thousand to the half distributed by Lycurgus. The lot of each was large enough to produce annually seventy bushels of barley for a man and twelve for his wife, with a proportionate amount of wine and oil. Lycurgus thought that a lot of this size would be sufficient for them, since they needed sustenance enough to promote vigour and health of body, and nothing else. And it is said that on returning from a journey some time afterwards, as he traversed the land just after the harvest, and saw the heaps of grain standing parallel and equal to one another, he smiled, and said to them that were by: "All Laconia looks like a family estate newly divided among many brothers."

9 Next, he undertook to divide up their movable property also, in order that every vestige of unevenness and inequality might be removed; and when he saw that they could not bear to have it taken from them directly, he took another course, and overcame their avarice by political devices. In the first place, he withdrew all gold and silver money from currency, and ordained the use of iron money only. Then to a great weight and mass of this he gave a trifling value, so that ten minas' worth[20] required a large store-room in the house, and a yoke of cattle to transport it. When this money obtained currency, many sorts of iniquity went into exile from Lacedaemon. For who would steal, or receive as a bribe, or rob, or plunder that which could neither be concealed, nor possessed with satisfaction, nay, nor even cut to pieces with any profit? For vinegar was used, as we are told, to quench the red-hot iron, robbing it of its temper and making it worthless for any other purpose, when once it had become brittle and hard to work.

In the next place, he banished the unnecessary and superfluous arts. And even without such banishment most of them would have departed with the old coinage, since there was no sale for their products. For the iron money could not be carried into the rest of Greece, nor had it any value there, but was rather held in ridicule. It was not possible, therefore, to buy any foreign wares or bric-à-brac; no merchant-seamen brought freight into their harbours; no rhetoric teacher set foot on Laconian soil, no vagabond soothsayer, no keeper of harlots, no gold- or silver-smith, since there was no money there. But luxury, thus gradually deprived of that which stimulated and supported it, died away of itself, and men of large

[20] About £40, or $200.

possessions had no advantage over the poor, because their wealth found no public outlet, but had to be stored up at home in idleness. In this way it came about that such common and necessary utensils as bedsteads, chairs, and tables were most excellently made among them, and the Laconian "kothon," or drinking-cup, was in very high repute for usefulness among soldiers in active service, as Critias tells us. For its colour concealed the disagreeable appearance of the water which they were often compelled to drink, and its curving lips caught the muddy sediment and held it inside, so that only the purer part reached the mouth of the drinker. For all this they had to thank their lawgiver; since their artisans were now freed from useless tasks, and displayed the beauty of their workmanship in objects of constant and necessary use.

10 With a view to attack luxury still more and remove the thirst for wealth, he introduced his third and most exquisite political device, namely, the institution of common messes, so that they might eat with one another in companies, of common and specified foods, and not take their meals at home, reclining on costly couches at costly tables, delivering themselves into the hands of servants and cooks to be fattened in the dark, like voracious animals, and ruining not only their characters but also their bodies, by surrendering them to every desire and all sorts of surfeit, which call for long sleeps, hot baths, abundant rest, and, as it were, daily nursing and tending. This was surely a great achievement, but it was a still greater one to make wealth "an object of no desire," as Theophrastus says, and even "unwealth,"[21] by this community of meals and simplicity of diet. For the rich man could neither use nor enjoy nor even see or display his abundant means, when he went to the same meal as the poor man; so that it was in Sparta alone, of all the cities under the sun, that men could have that far-famed sight, a Plutus blind, and lying as lifeless and motionless as a picture. For the rich could not even dine beforehand at home and then go to the common mess with full stomachs, but the rest kept careful watch of him who did not eat and drink with them, and reviled him as a weakling, and one too effeminate for the common diet.

11 It was due, therefore, to this last political device above all, that the wealthy citizens were incensed against Lycurgus, and banding together against him, denounced him publicly with angry shouts and cries; finally many pelted him with stones, so that he ran from the market-place. He succeeded in reaching sanctuary before the rest laid hands on him; but one young man, Alcander, otherwise no mean nature, but hasty and passionate, pressed hard upon him, and put out one of his eyes. Lycurgus, however, was far from yielding in consequence of this calamity, but confronted his countrymen, and showed them his face besmeared with blood and his eye destroyed. Whereupon they were so filled with shame and sorrow at the sight, that they placed Alcander in his hands, and conducted him to his house with sympathetic indignation. Lycurgus commended them for their conduct, and

[21] Cf. *Morals*, p527B.

dismissed them, but took Alcander into the house with him, where he did the youth no harm by word or deed, but after sending away his customary servants and attendants, ordered him to minister to his wants. The youth, who was of a noble disposition, did as he was commanded, without any words, and abiding thus with Lycurgus, and sharing his daily life, he came to know the gentleness of the man, the calmness of his spirit, the rigid simplicity of his habits, and his unwearied industry. He thus became a devoted follower of Lycurgus, and used to tell his intimates and friends that the man was not harsh nor self-willed, as he had supposed, but the mildest and gentlest of them all. Such, then, was the chastisement of this young man, and such the penalty laid upon him, namely, to become, instead of a wild and impetuous youth, a most decorous and discreet man. Lycurgus, moreover, in memory of his misfortune, built a temple to Athena Optilitis, so called from "optilus," which is the local Doric word for *eye*. Some writers, however, of whom one is Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise on the Spartan civil polity, say that although Lycurgus was struck in the eye, his eye was not blinded, but he built the temple to the goddess as a thank-offering for its healing. Be that as it may, the Spartan practice of carrying staves into their assemblies was abandoned after this unfortunate accident.

12 As for the public messes, the Cretans call them "andreia," but the Lacedaemonians, "phiditia," either because they are conducive to *friendship* and friendliness, "phiditia" being equivalent to "philitia"; or, because they accustom men to simplicity and *thrift*, for which their word is "pheido." But it is quite possible, as some say, that the first letter of the word "phiditia" has been added to it, making "phiditia" out of "editia," which refers merely to meals and *eating*. They met in companies of fifteen, a few more or less, and each one of the mess-mates contributed monthly a bushel of barley-meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and a half pounds of figs, and in addition to this, a very small sum of money for such relishes as flesh and fish. Besides this, whenever any one made a sacrifice of first fruits, or brought home game from the hunt, he sent a portion to his mess. For whenever any one was belated by a sacrifice or the chase, he was allowed to sup at home, but the rest had to be at the mess. For a long time this custom of eating at common mess-tables was rigidly observed. For instance, when King Agis, on returning from an expedition in which he had been victorious over the Athenians, wished to sup at home with his wife, and sent for his rations, the polemarchs[22] refused to send them to him; and when on the following day his anger led him to omit the customary sacrifice, they laid a fine upon him.

Boys also used to come to these public messes, as if they were attending schools of sobriety; there they would listen to political discussions and see instructive models of liberal breeding. There they themselves also became accustomed to sport and jest without scurrility, and to endure jesting without

[22] At Sparta, military commanders under the kings.

displeasure. Indeed, it seems to have been especially characteristic of a Spartan to endure jesting; but if any one could not bear up under it, he had only to ask it, and the jester ceased. As each one came in, the eldest of the company pointed to the door and said to him: "Through that door no word goes forth outside." And they say that a candidate for membership in one of these messes underwent the following ordeal. Each of the mess-mates took in his hand a bit of soft bread, and when a servant came along with a bowl upon his head, then they cast it into this without a word, like a ballot, leaving it just as it was if he approved of the candidate, but if he disapproved, squeezing it tight in his hand first. For the flattened piece of bread had the force of a perforated, or negative, ballot. And if one such is found in the bowl, the candidate is not admitted to the mess, because they wish all its members to be congenial. The candidate thus rejected is said to have been "caddished," for "caddichus"[23] is the name of the bowl into which they cast the pieces of bread. Of their dishes, the black broth is held in the highest esteem, so that the elderly men do not even ask for a bit of meat, but leave it for the young men, while they themselves have the broth poured out for their meals. And it is said that one of the kings of Pontus actually bought a Spartan cook for the sake of having this broth, and then, when he tasted it, disliked it; whereupon the cooks said: "O King, those who relish this broth must first have bathed in the river Eurotas." After drinking moderately, they go off home without a torch; for they are not allowed to walk with a light, either on this or any other occasion, that they may accustom themselves to marching boldly and without fear in the darkness of night. Such, then, is the fashion of their common messes.

13 None of his laws were put into writing by Lycurgus, indeed, one of the so-called "rhetras" forbids it. For he thought that if the most important and binding principles which conduce to the prosperity and virtue of a city were implanted in the habits and training of its citizens, they would remain unchanged and secure, having a stronger bond than compulsion in the fixed purposes imparted to the young by education, which performs the office of a law-giver for every one of them. And as for minor matters, such as business contracts, and cases where the needs vary from time to time, it was better, as he thought, not to hamper them by written constraints or fixed usages, but to suffer them, as occasion demanded, to receive such modifications as educated men should determine. Indeed, he assigned the function of law-making wholly and entirely to education.

One of his rhetras accordingly, as I have said, prohibited the use of written laws. Another was directed against extravagance, ordaining that every house should have its roof fashioned by the axe, and its doors by the saw only, and by no other tool. For, as in later times Epaminondas is reported to have said at his own table, that such a meal did not comport with treachery, so Lycurgus was the first to see clearly that such a house does not comport with luxury and extravagance. Nor

[23] Or "caddos," from which the verb in the Greek text is formed.

is any man so vulgar and senseless as to introduce into a simple and common house silver-footed couches, purple coverlets, gold drinking-cups, and all the extravagance which goes along with these, but one must of necessity adapt and proportion his couch to his house, his coverlets to the couch, and to this the rest of his supplies and equipment. It was because he was used to this simplicity that Leotychides the Elder, as we are told, when he was dining in Corinth, and saw the roof of the house adorned with costly panellings, asked his host if trees grew square in that country.

A third rhetra of Lycurgus is mentioned, which forbids making frequent expeditions against the same enemies, in order not to accustom such enemies to frequent defence of themselves, which would make them warlike. And this was the special grievance which they had against King Agesilaüs in later times, namely, that by his continual and frequent incursions and expeditions into Boeotia he rendered the Thebans a match for the Lacedaemonians. And therefore, when Antalcidas saw the king wounded, he said: "This is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to fight, when they did not wish to do it, and did not know how." Such ordinances as these were called "rhetras" by Lycurgus, implying that they came from the god and were oracles.

14 In the matter of education, which he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the law-giver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births. For it is not true that, as Aristotle says,[24] he tried to bring the women under proper restraint, but desisted, because he could not overcome the great licence and power which the women enjoyed on account of the many expeditions in which their husbands were engaged. During these the men were indeed obliged to leave their wives in sole control at home, and for this reason paid them greater deference than was their due, and gave them the title of Mistress. But even to the women Lycurgus paid all possible attention. He made the maidens exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin, in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity, and that they themselves might come with vigour to the fulness of their times, and struggle successfully and easily with the pangs of child-birth. He freed them from softness and delicacy and all effeminacy by accustoming the maidens no less than the youths to wear tunics only in processions, and at certain festivals to dance and sing when the young men were present as spectators. There they sometimes even mocked and railed good-naturedly at any youth who had misbehaved himself; and again they would sing the praises of those who had shown themselves worthy, and so inspire the young men with great ambition and ardour. For he who was thus extolled for his valour and held in honour among the maidens, went away exalted by their praises; while the sting of their playful raillery was no less sharp than that of serious

[24] *Pol.* II.6.8.

admonitions, especially as the kings and senators, together with the rest of the citizens, were all present at the spectacle.

Nor was there anything disgraceful in this scant clothing of the maidens, for modesty attended them, and wantonness was banished; nay, rather, it produced in them habits of simplicity and an ardent desire for health and beauty of body. It gave also to woman-kind a taste of lofty sentiment, for they felt that they too had a place in the arena of bravery and ambition. Wherefore they were led to think and speak as Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, is said to have done. When some foreign woman, as it would seem, said to her: "You Spartan women are the only ones who rule their men," she answered: "Yes, we are the only ones that give birth to men."

15 Moreover, there were incentives to marriage in these things,—I mean such things as the appearance of the maidens without much clothing in processions and athletic contests where young men were looking on, for these were drawn on by necessity, "not geometrical, but the sort of necessity which lovers know," as Plato says.[25] Nor was this all; Lycurgus also put a kind of public stigma upon confirmed bachelors. They were excluded from the sight of the young men and maidens at their exercises, and in winter the magistrates ordered them to march round the market-place in their tunics only, and as they marched, they sang a certain song about themselves, and its burden was that they were justly punished for disobeying the laws. Besides this, they were deprived of the honour and gracious attentions which the young men habitually paid to their elders. Therefore there was no one to find fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, reputable general though he was. As he entered a company, namely, one of the younger men would not offer him his seat, but said: "Indeed, thou hast begotten no son who will one day give his seat to me."

For their marriages the women were carried off by force, not when they were small and unfit for wedlock, but when they were in full bloom and wholly ripe. After the woman was thus carried off, the bride's-maid, so called, took her in charge, cut her hair off close to the head, put a man's cloak and sandals on her, and laid her down on a pallet, on the floor, alone, in the dark. Then the bride-groom, not flown with wine nor enfeebled by excesses, but composed and sober, after supping at his public mess-table as usual, slipped stealthily into the room where the bride lay, loosed her virgin's zone, and bore her in his arms to the marriage-bound. Then, after spending a short time with his bride, he went away composedly to his usual quarters, there to sleep with the other young men. And so he continued to do from that time on, spending his days with his comrades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by stealth and with every precaution, full of dread and fear lest any of her household should be aware of his visits, his bride also contriving and conspiring with him that they might have stolen interviews as occasion offered. And this they did not for a short time only,

[25] *Republic*, p458D.

but long enough for some of them to become fathers before they had looked upon their own wives by daylight. Such interviews not only brought into exercise self-restraint and moderation, but united husbands and wives when their bodies were full of creative energy and their affections new and fresh, not when they were sated and dulled by unrestricted intercourse; and there was always left behind in their hearts some residual spark of longing and delight.

After giving marriage such traits of reserve and decorum, he none the less freed men from the empty and womanish passion of jealous possession, by making it honourable for them, while keeping the marriage relation free from all wanton irregularities, to share with other worthy men in the begetting of children, laughing to scorn those who regard such common privileges as intolerable, and resort to murder and war rather than grant them. For example, an elderly man with a young wife, if he looked with favour and esteem on some fair and noble young man, might introduce him to her, and adopt her offspring by such a noble father as his own. And again, a worthy man who admired some woman for the fine children that she bore her husband and the modesty of her behaviour as a wife, might enjoy her favours, if her husband would consent, thus planting, as it were, in a soil of bountiful fruitage, and begetting for himself noble sons, who would have the blood of noble men in their veins. For in the first place, Lycurgus did not regard sons as the peculiar property of their fathers, but rather as the common property of the state, and therefore would not have his citizens spring from random parentage, but from the best there was. In the second place, he saw much folly and vanity in what other peoples enacted for the regulation of these matters; in the breeding of dogs and horses they insist on having the best sires which money or favour can secure, but they keep their wives under lock and key, demanding that they have children by none but themselves, even though they be foolish, or infirm, or diseased; as though children of bad stock did not show their badness to those first who possessed and reared them, and children of good stock, contrariwise, their goodness. The freedom which thus prevailed at that time in marriage relations was aimed at physical and political well-being, and was far removed from the licentiousness which was afterwards attributed to their women, so much so that adultery was wholly unknown among them. And a saying is reported of one Geradas,[26] a Spartan of very ancient type, who, on being asked by a stranger what the punishment for adulterers was among them, answered: "Stranger, there is no adulterer among us." "Suppose, then," replied the stranger, "there should be one." "A bull," said Geradas, "would be his forfeit, a bull so large that it could stretch over Mount Taÿgetus and drink from the river Eurotas." Then the stranger was astonished and said: "But how could there be a bull so large?" To which Geradas replied, with a smile: "But how could there be an adulterer in Sparta?" Such, then, are the accounts we find of their marriages.

[26] The name is Geradatas in *Morals*, p228C (Apophtheg. Lacon., 20).

16 Offspring was not reared at the will of the father, but was taken and carried by him to a place called Lesche, where the elders of the tribes officially examined the infant, and if it was well-built and sturdy, they ordered the father to rear it, and assigned it one of the nine thousand lots of land; but if it was ill-born and deformed, they sent it to the so-called Apothetae, a chasm-like place at the foot of Mount Taÿgetus, in the conviction that the life of that which nature had not well equipped at the very beginning for health and strength, was of no advantage either to itself or the state. On the same principle, the women used to bathe their new-born babes not with water, but with wine, thus making a sort of test of their constitutions. For it is said that epileptic and sickly infants are thrown into convulsions by the strong wine and loose their senses, while the healthy ones are rather tempered by it, like steel, and given a firm habit of body. Their nurses, too, exercised great care and skill; they reared infants without swaddling-bands, and thus left their limbs and figures free to develop; besides, they taught them to be contented and happy, not dainty about their food, nor fearful of the dark, nor afraid to be left alone, nor given to contemptible peevishness and whimpering. This is the reason why foreigners sometimes brought Spartan nurses for their children. Amycla, for instance, the nurse of the Athenian Alcibiades, is said to have been a Spartan.[27]

And yet Alcibiades, as Plato says,[28] had for a tutor, set over him by Pericles, one Zopyrus, who was just a common slave. But Lycurgus would not put the sons of Spartans in charge of purchased or hired tutors, nor was it lawful for every father to rear or train his son as he pleased, but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them all to be taken by the state and enrolled in companies, where they were put under the same discipline and nurture, and so became accustomed to share one another's sports and studies. The boy who excelled in judgement and was most courageous in fighting, was made captain of his company; on him the rest all kept their eyes, obeying his orders, and submitting to his punishments, so that their boyish training was a practice of obedience. Besides, the elderly men used to watch their sports, and by ever and anon egging them on to mimic battles and disputes, learned accurately how each one of them was naturally disposed when it was a question of boldness and aggressiveness in their struggles.

Of reading and writing, they learned only enough to serve their turn; all the rest of their training was calculated to make them obey commands well, endure hardships, and conquer in battle. Therefore, as they grew in age, their bodily exercise was increased; their heads were close-clipped, and they were accustomed to going bare-foot, and to playing for the most part without clothes. When they were twelve years old, they no longer had tunics to wear, received one cloak a year, had hard, dry flesh, and knew little of baths and ointments; only on certain days of

[27] Cf. *Alcibiades*, I.2.
[28] *Alcibiades* I p122B.

the year, and few at that, did they indulge in such amenities. They slept together, in troops and companies, on pallet-beds which they collected for themselves, breaking off with their hands—no knives allowed—the tops of the rushes which grew along the river Eurotas. In the winter-time, they added to the stuff of these pallets the so-called "lycophon," or *thistle-down*, which was thought to have warmth in it.

17 When the boys reached this age, they were favoured with the society of lovers from among the reputable young men. The elderly men also kept close watch of them, coming more frequently to their places of exercises, and observing their contests of strength and wit, not cursorily, but with the idea that they were all in a sense the fathers and tutors and governors of all the boys. In this way, at every fitting time and in every place, the boy who went wrong had someone to admonish and chastise him. Nor was this all; one of the noblest and best men of the city was appointed paedonome, or inspector of the boys, and under his directions the boys, in their several companies, put themselves under the command of the most prudent and warlike of the so-called Eirens. This was the name given to those who had been for two years out of the class of boys, and Melleirens, or *Would-be Eirens*, was the name for the oldest of the boys. This eiren, then, a youth of twenty years, commands his subordinates in their mimic battles, and in doors makes them serve him at his meals. He commissions the larger ones to fetch wood, and the smaller ones potherbs. And they steal what they fetch, some of them entering the gardens, and others creeping right slyly and cautiously into the public messes of the men; but if a boy is caught stealing, he is soundly flogged, as a careless and unskilful thief. They steal, too, whatever food they can, and learn to be adept in setting upon people when asleep or off their guard. But the boy who is caught gets a flogging and must go hungry. For the meals allowed them are scanty, in order that they may take into their own hands the fight against hunger, and so be forced into boldness and cunning.

This is the main object of their spare diet; a secondary one is to make them grow tall. For it contributes to height of stature when the vitality is not impeded and hindered by a mass of nourishment which forces it into thickness and width, but ascends of its own lightness, and when the body grows freely and easily. The same thing seems also to conduce to beauty of form; for lean and meagre habits yield more readily to the force of articulation, whereas the gross and over-fed are so heavy as to resist it. Just so, we may be sure, women who take physic while they are pregnant, bear children which are lean, it may be, but well-shaped and fine, because the lightness of the parent matter makes it more susceptible to moulding. However, the reason for this I must leave for others to investigate.

18 The boys make such a serious matter of their stealing, that one of them, as the story goes, who was carrying concealed under his cloak a young fox which he had stolen, suffered the animal to tear out his bowels with its teeth and claws, and died rather than have his theft detected. And even this story gains credence from

what their youths now endure, many of whom I have seen expiring under the lash at the altar of Artemis Orthia.

The eiren, as he reclined after supper, would order one of the boys to sing a song, and to another would put a question requiring a careful and deliberate answer, as, for instance, "Who is the best man in the city?" or, "What thinkest thou of this man's conduct?" In this way the boys were accustomed to pass right judgements and interest themselves at the very outset in the conduct of the citizens. For if one of them was asked who was a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and had no answer to make, he was judged to have a torpid spirit, and one that would not aspire to excellence. And the answer must not only have reasons and proof given for it, but also be couched in very brief and concise language, and the one who gave a faulty answer was punished with a bite in the thumb from the eiren. Often-times, too, the eiren punished the boys in the presence of the elders and magistrates, thus showing whether his punishments were reasonable and proper or not. While he was punishing them, he suffered no restraint, but after the boys were gone, he was brought to an account if his punishments were harsher than was necessary, or, on the other hand, too mild and gentle.

The boys' lovers also shared with them in their honour or disgrace; and it is said that one of them was once fined by the magistrates because his favourite boy had let an ungenerous cry escape him while he was fighting. Moreover, though this sort of love was so approved among them that even the maidens found lovers in good and noble women, still, there was no jealous rivalry in it, but those who fixed their attentions on the same boys made this rather a foundation for friendship with one another, and persevered in common efforts to make their loved one as noble as possible.

19 The boys were also taught to use a discourse which combined pungency with grace, and condensed much observation into a few words. His iron money, indeed, Lycurgus made of large weight and small value, as I have observed,[29] but the current coin of discourse he adapted to the expression of deep and abundant meaning with simple and brief diction, by contriving that the general habit of silence should make the boys sententious and correct in their answers. For as sexual incontinence generally produces unfruitfulness and sterility, so intemperance in talking makes discourse empty and vapid. King Agis, accordingly, when a certain Athenian decried the Spartan swords for being so short, and said that jugglers on the stage easily swallowed them, replied: "And yet we certainly reach our enemies with these daggers." And I observe that although the speech also of the Spartans seems short, yet it certainly reaches the point, and arrests the thought of the listener.

And indeed Lycurgus himself seems to have been short and sententious in his speech, if we may judge from his recorded sayings; that, for instance, on forms

[29] Chapter ix.1.

of self-government, to one who demanded the establishment of democracy in the city: "Go thou," said he, "and first establish democracy in thy household." That, again, to one who inquired why he ordained such small and inexpensive sacrifices: "That we may never omit," said he, "to honour the gods." Again, in the matter of athletic contests, he allowed the citizens to engage only in those where there was no stretching forth of hands.[30] There are also handed down similar answers which he made by letter to his fellow-citizens. When they asked how they could ward off an invasion of enemies, he answered: "By remaining poor, and by not desiring to be greater the one than the other." And when they asked about fortifying their city, he answered: "A city will be well fortified which is surrounded by brave men and not by bricks." Now regarding these and similar letters, belief and scepticism are alike difficult.

20 Of their aversion to long speeches, the following apophthegms are proof. King Leonidas, when a certain one discoursed with him out of all season on matters of great concern, said: "My friend, the matter urges, but not the time." Charilaüs, the nephew of Lycurgus, when asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered: "Men of few words need few laws." Archidamidas, when certain ones found fault with Hecataeus the Sophist for saying nothing after being admitted to their public mess, answered: "He who knows how, knows also when to speak." Instances of the pungent sayings not devoid of grace, of which I spoke,[31] are the following. Demaratus, when a troublesome fellow was pestering him with ill-timed questions, and especially with the oft repeated query who was the best of the Spartans, answered at last: "He who is least like thee." And Agis, when certain ones were praising the Eleians for their just and honourable conduct of the Olympic games, said: "And what great matter is it for the Eleians to practise righteousness one day in five years?" And Theopompus, when a stranger kept saying, as he showed him kindness, that in his own city he was called a lover of Sparta, remarked: "My good Sir, it were better for thee to be called a lover of thine own city." And Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, when an Athenian orator declared that the Lacedaemonians had no learning, said: "True, we are indeed the only Hellenes who have learned no evil from you." And Archidamus, when some one asked him how many Spartans there were, replied: "Enough, good Sir, to keep evil men away."

And even from their jests it is possible to judge of their character. For it was their wont never to talk at random, and to let slip no speech which did not have some thought or other worth serious attention. For instance, when one of them was invited to hear a man imitate the nightingale, he said: "I have heard the bird herself." And another, on reading the epitaph:

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[30] After the manner of men begging their conquerors to spare their lives.
[31] Chapter xix.1.

"Tyranny's fires they were trying to quench when panoplied Ares
Slew them; Selinus looked down from her gates on their death,"

said: "The men deserved to die; they should have let the fires burn out entirely." And a youth, when some one promised to give him game-cocks that would die fighting, said, "Don't do that, but give me some of the kind that kill fighting." Another, seeing men seated on stools in a privy, said: "May I never sit where I cannot give place to an elder." The character of their apophthegms, then, was such as to justify the remark that love of wisdom rather than love of bodily exercise was the special characteristic of a Spartan.

21 Nor was their training in music and poetry any less serious a concern than the emulous purity of their speech, nay, their very songs had a stimulus that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and effectual effort; the style of them was simple and unaffected, and their themes were serious and edifying. They were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy; censure of men who had played the coward, picturing their grievous and ill-starred life; and such promises and boasts of valour as befitted the different ages. Of the last, it may not be amiss to cite one, by way of illustration. They had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first:—

"We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men."

Then the choir of young men would respond:—

"We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see."

And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing:—

"We shall be sometime mightier men by far than both."

In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes, he will conclude that Terpander and Pindar were right in associating valour with music. The former writes thus of the Lacedaemonians:—

"Flourish there both the spear of the brave and the Muse's clear message,
Justice, too, walks the broad streets—."

And Pindar says:—[32]

[32] Fragment 199, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. I[4] p448.

"There are councils of Elders,
And young men's conquering spears,
And dances, the Muse, and joyousness."

The Spartans are thus shown to be at the same time most musical and most warlike;

"In equal poise to match the sword hangs the sweet art of the harpist,"

as their poet says. For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.[33]

22 In time of war, too, they relaxed the severity of the young men's discipline, and permitted them to beautify their hair and ornament their arms and clothing, rejoicing to see them, like horses, prance and neigh for the contest. Therefore they wore their hair long as soon as they ceased to be youths, and particularly in times of danger they took pains to have it glossy and well-combed, remembering a certain saying of Lycurgus, that a fine head of hair made the handsome more comely still, and the ugly more terrible. Their bodily exercises, too, were less rigorous during their campaigns, and in other ways their young warriors were allowed a regimen which was less curtailed and rigid, so that they were the only men in the world with whom war brought a respite in the training for war. And when at last they were drawn up in battle array and the enemy was at hand, the king sacrificed the customary she-goat, commanded all the warriors to set garlands upon their heads, and ordered the pipers to pipe the strains of the hymn to Castor; then he himself led off in a marching paean, and it was a sight equally grand and terrifying when they marched in step with the rhythm of the flute, without any gap in their line of battle, and with no confusion in their souls, but calmly and cheerfully moving with the strains of their hymn into the deadly fight. Neither fear nor excessive fury is likely to possess men so disposed, but rather a firm purpose full of hope and courage, believing as they do that Heaven is their ally.

The king marched against the enemy in close companionship with one who had been crowned victor in the great games. And they tell of a certain Spartan who refused to be bought off from a contest at Olympia by large sums of money, and after a long struggle outwrestled his antagonist. When some one said to him then: "What advantage, O Spartan, hast thou got from thy victory?" he answered, with a smile: "I shall stand in front of my king when I fight our enemies." When they had conquered and routed an enemy, they pursued him far enough to make their victory secure by his flight, and then at once retired, thinking it ignoble and unworthy of a Hellene to hew men to pieces who had given up the fight and

[33] The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and the translation doubtful.

abandoned the field. And this was not only a noble and magnanimous policy, but it was also useful. For their antagonists, knowing that they slew those who resisted them, but showed mercy to those who yielded to them, were apt to think flight more advantageous than resistance.

23 Hippias the Sophist says that Lycurgus himself was very well versed in war and took part in many campaigns, and Philostephanus attributes to him the arrangement of the Spartan cavalry by "oulamoi," explaining that the "oulamos," as constituted by him, was a troop of fifty horsemen in a square formation. But Demetrius the Phalerean says he engaged in no warlike undertakings, and established his constitution in a time of peace. And indeed the design of the Olympic truce would seem to bespeak a man of gentleness, and predisposed to peace. And yet there are some who say, as Hermippus reminds us, that at the outset Lycurgus had nothing whatever to do with Iphitus and his enterprise, but happened to come that way by chance, and be a spectator at the games; that he heard behind him, however, what seemed to be a human voice, chiding him and expressing amazement that he did not urge his fellow-citizens to take part in the great festival; and since, on turning round, he did not see the speaker anywhere, he concluded that the voice was from heaven, and therefore betook himself to Iphitus, and assisted him in giving the festival a more notable arrangement and a more enduring basis.

24 The training of the Spartans lasted into the years of full maturity. No man was allowed to live as he pleased, but in their city, as in a military encampment, they always had a prescribed regimen and employment in public service, considering that they belonged entirely to their country and not to themselves, watching over the boys, if no other duty was laid upon them, and either teaching them some useful thing, or learning it themselves from their elders. For one of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus provided for his fellow-citizens, was abundance of leisure, since he forbade their engaging in any mechanical art whatsoever, and as for money-making, with its laborious efforts to amass wealth, there was no need of it at all, since wealth awakened no envy and brought no honour. Besides, the Helots tilled their ground for them, and paid them the produce mentioned above.[34] Therefore it was that one of them who was sojourning at Athens when the courts were in session, and learned that a certain Athenian had been fined for idleness and was going home in great distress of mind and attended on his way by sympathetic and sorrowing friends, begged the bystanders to show him the man who had been fined for living like a freeman. So servile a thing did they regard the devotion to the mechanical arts and to money-making. And law-suits, of course, vanished from among them with their gold and silver coinage, for they knew neither greed nor want, but equality in well-being was established there, and easy living based on simple wants. Choral dances and feasts and

[34] Chapter viii.4.

festivals and hunting and bodily exercise and social converse occupied their whole time, when they were not on a military expedition.

25 Those who were under thirty years of age did not go into the market-place at all, but had their household wants supplied at the hands of their kinsfolk and lovers. And it was disreputable for the elderly men to be continually seen loitering there, instead of spending the greater part of the day in the places of exercise that are called "leschai."[35] For if they gathered in these, they spent their time suitably with one another, making no allusions to the problems of money-making or of exchange, nay, they were chiefly occupied there in praising some noble action or censuring some base one, with jesting and laughter which made the path to instruction and correction easy and natural. For not even Lycurgus himself was immoderately severe; indeed, Sosibius tells us that he actually dedicated a little statue of Laughter, and introduced seasonable jesting into their drinking parties and like diversions, to sweeten, as it were, their hardships and meagre fare.

In a word, he trained his fellow-citizens to have neither the wish nor the ability to live for themselves; but like bees they were to make themselves always integral parts of the whole community, clustering together about their leader, almost beside themselves with enthusiasm and noble ambition, and to belong wholly to their country. This idea can be traced also in some of their utterances. For instance, Paedaretus, when he failed to be chosen among the three hundred best men, went away with a very glad countenance, as if rejoicing that the city had three hundred better men than himself. And again, Polycratidas, one of an embassy to the generals of the Persian king, on being asked by them whether the embassy was there in a private or a public capacity, replied: "If we succeed, in a public capacity; if we fail, in a private." Again, Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, when some Amphipolitans who had come to Sparta paid her a visit, asked them if Brasidas had died nobly and in a manner worthy of Sparta. Then they greatly extolled the man and said that Sparta had not such another, to which she answered: "Say not so, Strangers; Brasidas was noble and brave, but Sparta has many better men than he."

26 The senators were at first appointed by Lycurgus himself, as I have said,[36] from those who shared his counsels; but afterwards he arranged that any vacancy caused by death should be filled by the man elected as most deserving out of those above sixty years of age. And of all the contests in the world this would seem to have been the greatest and the most hotly disputed. For it was not the swiftest of the swift, nor the strongest of the strong, but the best and wisest of the good and wise who was to be elected, and have for the rest of his life, as a victor's prize for excellence, what I may call the supreme power in the state, lord as he was of life and death, honour and dishonour, and all the greatest issues of life. The election was made in the following manner. An assembly of the people having been

[35] Places where men assembled for conversation.
[36] Chapter v.7 f.

convened, chosen men were shut up in a room near by so that they could neither see nor be seen, but only hear the shouts of the assembly. For as in other matters, so here, the cries of the assembly decided between the competitors. These did not appear in a body, but each one was introduced separately, as the lot fell, and passed silently through the assembly. Then the secluded judges, who had writing-tablets with them, recorded in each case the loudness of the shouting, not knowing for whom it was given, but only that he was introduced first, second, or third, and so on. Whoever was greeted with the most and loudest shouting, him they declared elected. The victor then set a wreath upon his head and visited in order the temples of the gods. He was followed by great numbers of young men, who praised and extolled him, as well as by many women, who celebrated his excellence in songs, and dwelt on the happiness of his life. Each of his relations and friend set a repast before him, saying: "The city honours thee with this table." When he had finished his circuit, he went off to his mess-table. Here he fared in other ways as usual, but a second portion of food was set before him, which he took and put by. After the supper was over, the women who were related to him being now assembled at the door of the mess-hall, he called to him the one whom he most esteemed and gave her the portion he had saved, saying that he had received it as a meed of excellence, and as such gave it to her. Upon this, she too was lauded by the rest of the women and escorted by them to her home.

27 Furthermore, Lycurgus made most excellent regulations in the matter of their burials. To begin with, he did away with all superstitious terror by allowing them to bury their dead within the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places, thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves. In the second place, he permitted nothing to be buried with the dead; they simply covered the body with a scarlet robe and olive leaves when they laid it away. To inscribe the name of the dead upon the tomb was not allowed, unless it were that of a man who had fallen in war, or that of a woman who had died in sacred office. He set apart only a short time for mourning, eleven days; on the twelfth, they were to sacrifice to Demeter and cease their sorrowing. Indeed, nothing was left untouched and neglected, but with all the necessary details of life he blended some commendation of virtue or rebuke of vice; and he filled the city full of good examples, whose continual presence and society must of necessity exercise a controlling and moulding influence upon those who were walking the path of honour.

This was the reason why he did not permit them to live abroad at their pleasure and wander in strange lands, assuming foreign habits and imitating the lives of peoples who were without training and lived under different forms of government. Nay more, he actually drove away from the city the multitudes which streamed in there for no useful purpose, not because he feared they might become imitators of his form of government and learn useful lessons in virtue, as

Thucydides says,[37] but rather that they might not become in any wise teachers of evil. For along with strange people, strange doctrines must come in; and novel doctrines bring novel decisions, from which there must arise many feelings and resolutions which destroy the harmony of the existing political order. Therefore he thought it more necessary to keep bad manners and customs from invading and filling the city than it was to keep out infectious diseases.

28 Now in all this there is no trace of injustice or arrogance, which some attribute to the laws of Lycurgus, declaring them efficacious in producing valour, but defective in producing righteousness. The so-called "krupteia," or *secret service*, of the Spartans, if this be really one of the institutions of Lycurgus, as Aristotle says it was, may have given Plato also[38] this opinion of the man and his civil polity. This secret service was of the following nature. The magistrates from time to time sent out into the country at large the most discreet of the young warriors, equipped only with daggers and such supplies as were necessary. In the day time they scattered into obscure and out of the way places, where they hid themselves and lay quiet; but in the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught. Oftentimes, too, they actually traversed the fields where Helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them. So, too, Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war,[39] tells us that the Helots who had been judged by the Spartans to be superior in bravery, set wreaths upon their heads in token of their emancipation, and visited the temples of the gods in procession, but a little afterwards all disappeared, more than two thousand of them, in such a way that no man was able to say, either then or afterwards, how they came by their deaths. And Aristotle in particular says also that the ephors, as soon as they came into office, made formal declaration of war upon the Helots, in order that there might be no impiety in slaying them.

And in other ways also they were harsh and cruel to the Helots. For instance, they would force them to drink too much strong wine, and then introduce them into their public messes, to show the young men what a thing drunkenness was. They also ordered them to sing songs and dance dances that were low and ridiculous, but to let the nobler kind alone. And therefore in later times, they say, when the Thebans made their expedition into Laconia,[40] they ordered the Helots whom they captured to sing the songs of Terpander, Alcman, and Spendon the Spartan; but they declined to do so, on the plea that their masters did not allow it, thus proving the correctness of the saying: "In Sparta the freeman is more a freeman than anywhere else in the world, and the slave more a slave." However, in my opinion, such cruelties were first practised by the Spartans in later times,

[37] In the *Funeral Oration* of Pericles, II.39.1.
[38] *Laws*, p630D.
[39] IV.80.
[40] Under Epaminondas, 369 B.C.

particularly after the great earthquake,[41] when the Helots and Messenians together rose up against them, wrought the widest devastation in their territory, and brought their city into the greatest peril. I certainly cannot ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable a measure as the "krupteia," judging of his character from his mildness and justice in all other instances. To this the voice of the god also bore witness.[42]

29 When his principal institutions were at last firmly fixed in the customs of the people, and his civil polity had sufficient growth and strength to support and preserve itself, just as Plato says[43] that Deity was rejoiced to see His universe come into being and make its first motion, so Lycurgus was filled with joyful satisfaction in the magnitude and beauty of his system of laws, now that it was in operation and moving along its pathway. He therefore ardently desired, so far as human forethought could accomplish the task, to make it immortal, and let it go down unchanged to future ages. Accordingly, he assembled the whole people, and told them that the provisions already made were sufficiently adapted to promote the prosperity and virtue of the state, but that something of the greatest weight and importance remained, which he could not lay before them until he had consulted the god at Delphi. They must therefore abide by the established laws and make no change nor alteration in them until he came back from Delphi in person; then he would do whatsoever the god thought best. When they all agreed to this and bade him set out on his journey, he exacted an oath from the kings and the senators, and afterwards from the rest of the citizens, that they would abide by the established polity and observe it until Lycurgus should come back; then he set out for Delphi.

On reaching the oracle, he sacrificed to the god, and asked if the laws which he had established were good, and sufficient to promote a city's prosperity and virtue. Apollo answered that the laws which he had established were good, and that the city would continue to be held in highest honour while it kept to the polity of Lycurgus. This oracle Lycurgus wrote down, and sent it to Sparta. But for his own part, he sacrificed again to the god, took affectionate leave of his friends and of his son, and resolved never to release his fellow-citizens from their oath, but of his own accord to put an end to his life where he was. He had reached an age in which life was not yet a burden, and death no longer a terror; when he and his friends, moreover, appeared to be sufficiently prosperous and happy. He therefore abstained from food till he died, considering that even the death of a statesman should be of service to the state, and the ending of his life not void of effect, but recognized as a virtuous deed. As for himself, since he had wrought out fully the noblest tasks, the end of life would actually be a consummation of his good fortune and happiness; and as for his fellow-citizens, he would make his death the guardian, as it were, of all the blessings he had secured for them during his life, since they had sworn to observe and maintain his polity until he should return.

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[41] 464 B.C. Cf. Plutarch's *Cimon*, xvi.
[42] See chapter v.3.
[43] *Timaeus*, p37C.

And he was not deceived in his expectations, so long did his city have the first rank in Hellas for good government and reputation, observing as she did for five hundred years the laws of Lycurgus, in which no one of the fourteen kings who followed him made any change, down to Agis the son of Archidamus. For the institution of the ephors did not weaken, but rather strengthened the civil polity, and though it was thought to have been done in the interests of the people, it really made the aristocracy more powerful.

30 But in the reign of Agis, gold and silver money first flowed into Sparta, and with money, greed and a desire for wealth prevailed through the agency of Lysander, who, though incorruptible himself, filled his country with the love of riches and with luxury, by bringing home gold and silver from the war, and thus subverting the laws of Lycurgus. While these remained in force, Sparta led the life, not of a city under a constitution, but of an individual man under training and full of wisdom. Nay rather, as the poets weave their tale of Heracles, how with his club and lion's skin he traversed the world chastising lawless and savage tyrants, so we may say that Sparta, simply with the dispatch-staff and cloak of her envoys, kept Hellas in willing and glad obedience, put down illegal oligarchies and tyrannies in the different states, arbitrated wars, and quelled seditions, often without so much as moving a single shield, but merely sending one ambassador, whose commands all at once obeyed, just as bees, when their leader appears, swarm together and array themselves about him. Such a surplus fund of good government and justice did the city enjoy.

Wherefore, I for one am amazed at those who declare that the Lacedaemonians knew how to obey, but did not understand how to command, and quote with approval the story of King Theopompus, who, when some one said that Sparta was safe and secure because her kings knew how to command, replied: "Nay, rather because her citizens know how to obey." For men will not consent to obey those who have not the ability to rule, but obedience is a lesson to be learned from a commander. For a good leader makes good followers, and just as the final attainment of the art of horsemanship is to make a horse gentle and tractable, so it is the task of the science of government to implant obedience in men. And the Lacedaemonians implanted in the rest of the Greeks not only a willingness to obey, but a desire to be their followers and subjects. People did not send requests to them for ships, or money, or hoplites, but for a single Spartan commander; and when they got him, they treated him with honour and reverence, as the Sicilians treated Gylippus; the Chalcidians, Brasidas; and all the Greeks resident in Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaüs. These men, wherever they came, were styled regulators and chasteners of peoples and magistrates, and the city of Sparta from which they came was regarded as a teacher of well-ordered private life and settled civil polity. To this position of Sparta Stratonicus would seem to have mockingly alluded when, in jest, he proposed a law that the Athenians should conduct mysteries and processions, and that the Eleians should preside at games, since

herein lay their special excellence, but that the Lacedaemonians should be cudgelled if the others did amiss.[44] This was a joke; but Antisthenes the Socratic, when he saw the Thebans in high feather after the battle of Leuctra,[45] said in all seriousness that they were just like little boys strutting about because they had thrashed their tutor.

31 It was not, however, the chief design of Lycurgus then to leave his city in command over a great many others, but he thought that the happiness of an entire city, like that of a single individual, depended on the prevalence of virtue and concord within its own borders. The aim, therefore, of all his arrangements and adjustments was to make his people free-minded, self-sufficing, and moderate in all their ways, and to keep them so as long as possible. His design for a civil polity was adopted by Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and by all those who have won approval for their treatises on the subject, although they left behind them only writings and words. Lycurgus, on the other hand, produced not only writings and words, but an actual polity which was beyond imitation, and because he gave, to those who maintain that the much talked of natural disposition to wisdom exists only in theory, an example of an entire city given to the love of wisdom, his family rightly transcended that of all who ever founded polities among the Greeks. Therefore Aristotle says that the honours paid him in Sparta were less than he deserved, although he enjoys the highest honours there. For he has a temple, and sacrifices are offered to him yearly as to a god. It is also said that when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck by lightning, and that this hardly happened to any other eminent man after him except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. The lovers of Euripides therefore regard it as a great testimony in his favour that he alone experienced after death what had earlier befallen a man who was most holy and beloved of the gods.

Some say that Lycurgus died in Cirrha; Apollothemis, that he was brought to Elis and died there; Timaeus and Aristoxenus, that he ended his days in Crete; and Aristoxenus adds that his tomb is shown by the Cretans in the district of Pergamus, near the public highway. It is also said that he left an only son, Antiorus, on whose death without issue, the family became extinct. His friends and relations, however, instituted a periodical assembly in his memory, which continued to be held for many ages, and they called the days on which they came together, Lycurgidae. Aristocrates the son of Hipparchus says that the friends of Lycurgus, after his death in Crete, burned his body and scattered the ashes into the sea, and that this was done at his request, and because he wished to prevent his remains from ever being carried to Sparta, lest the people there should change his polity, on the plea that he had come back, and that they were therefore released from their oaths. This, then, is what I have to say about Lycurgus.

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[44] Cf. chapter xviii.4.

[45] In 371 B.C., when the Thebans under Epaminondas broke the supremacy of Sparta.

Livy, *History of Rome*

1 Preface

Whether the task I have undertaken of writing a complete history of the Roman people from the very commencement of its existence will reward me for the labour spent on it, I neither know for certain, nor if I did know would I venture to say. For I see that this is an old-established and a common practice, each fresh writer being invariably persuaded that he will either attain greater certainty in the materials of his narrative, or surpass the rudeness of antiquity in the excellence of his style. However this may be, it will still be a great satisfaction to me to have taken my part, too, in investing, to the utmost of my abilities, the annals of the foremost nation in the world with a deeper interest; and if in such a crowd of writers my own reputation is thrown into the shade, I would console myself with the renown and greatness of those who eclipse my fame. The subject, moreover, is one that demands immense labour. It goes back beyond 700 years and, after starting from small and humble beginnings, has grown to such dimensions that it begins to be overburdened by its greatness. I have very little doubt, too, that for the majority of my readers the earliest times and those immediately succeeding, will possess little attraction; they will hurry on to these modern days in which the might of a long paramount nation is wasting by internal decay. I, on the other hand, shall look for a further reward of my labours in being able to close my eyes to the evils which our generation has witnessed for so many years; so long, at least, as I am devoting all my thoughts to retracing those pristine records, free from all the anxiety which can disturb the historian of his own times even if it cannot warp him from the truth.

The traditions of what happened prior to the foundation of the City or whilst it was being built, are more fitted to adorn the creations of the poet than the authentic records of the historian, and I have no intention of establishing either their truth or their falsehood. This much licence is conceded to the ancients, that by intermingling human actions with divine they may confer a more august dignity on the origins of states. Now, if any nation ought to be allowed to claim a sacred origin and point back to a divine paternity that nation is Rome. For such is her renown in war that when she chooses to represent Mars as her own and her founder's father, the nations of the world accept the statement with the same equanimity with which they accept her dominion. But whatever opinions may be formed or criticisms passed upon these and similar traditions, I regard them as of small importance. The subjects to which I would ask each of my readers to devote his earnest attention are these - the life and morals of the community; the men and the qualities by which through domestic policy and foreign war dominion was won and extended. Then as the standard of morality gradually lowers, let him follow the decay of the national character, observing how at first it slowly sinks, then slips downward more and more rapidly, and finally begins to plunge into headlong ruin, until he reaches these days, in which we can bear neither our diseases nor their remedies.

There is this exceptionally beneficial and fruitful advantage to be derived from the study of the past, that you see, set in the clear light of historical truth, examples of every possible type. From these you may select for yourself and your country what to imitate, and also what, as being mischievous in its inception and disastrous in its issues, you are to avoid. Unless, however, I am misled by affection for my undertaking, there has never existed any commonwealth greater in power, with a purer morality, or more fertile in good examples; or any state in which avarice and luxury have been so late in making their inroads, or poverty and frugality so highly and continuously honoured, showing so clearly that the less wealth men possessed the less they coveted. In these latter years wealth has brought avarice in its train, and the unlimited command of pleasure has created in men a passion for ruining themselves and everything else through self-indulgence and licentiousness. But criticisms which will be unwelcome, even when perhaps necessary, must not appear in the commencement at all events of this extensive work. We should much prefer to start with favourable omens, and if we could have adopted the poets' custom, it would have been much pleasanter to commence with prayers and supplications to gods and goddesses that they would grant a favourable and successful issue to the great task before us.

1.1 Book 1: The Earliest Legends

To begin with, it is generally admitted that after the capture of Troy, whilst the rest of the Trojans were massacred, against two of them - Aeneas and Antenor - the Achivi refused to exercise the rights of war, partly owing to old ties of hospitality, and partly because these men had always been in favour of making peace and surrendering Helen. Their subsequent fortunes were different. Antenor sailed into the furthest part of the Adriatic, accompanied by a number of Enetians who had been driven from Paphlagonia by a revolution, and after losing their king Pylaemenes before Troy were looking for a settlement and a leader. The combined force of Enetians and Trojans defeated the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps and occupied their land. The place where they disembarked was called Troy, and the name was extended to the surrounding district; the whole nation were called Veneti. Similar misfortunes led to Aeneas becoming a wanderer, but the Fates were preparing a higher destiny for him. He first visited Macedonia, then was carried down to Sicily in quest of a settlement; from Sicily he directed his course to the Laurentian territory. Here, too, the name of Troy is found, and here the Trojans disembarked, and as their almost infinite wanderings had left them nothing but their arms and their ships, they began to plunder the neighbourhood. The Aborigines, who occupied the country, with their king Latinus at their head, came hastily together from the city and the country districts to repel the inroads of the strangers by force of arms.

From this point there is a twofold tradition. According to the one, Latinus was defeated in battle, and made peace with Aeneas, and subsequently a family

alliance. According to the other, whilst the two armies were standing ready to engage and waiting for the signal, Latinus advanced in front of his lines and invited the leader of the strangers to a conference. He inquired of him what manner of men they were, whence they came, what had happened to make them leave their homes, what were they in quest of when they landed in Latinus' territory. When he heard that the men were Trojans, that their leader was Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, that their city had been burnt, and that the homeless exiles were now looking for a place to settle in and build a city, he was so struck with the noble bearing of the men and their leader, and their readiness to accept alike either peace or war, that he gave his right hand as a solemn pledge of friendship for the future. A formal treaty was made between the leaders and mutual greetings exchanged between the armies. Latinus received Aeneas as a guest in his house, and there, in the presence of his tutelary deities, completed the political alliance by a domestic one, and gave his daughter in marriage to Aeneas. This incident confirmed the Trojans in the hope that they had reached the term of their wanderings and won a permanent home. They built a town, which Aeneas called Lavinium after his wife. In a short time a boy was born of the new marriage, to whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.

1.2 [I here omit discussion of Aeneas's victory over the powerful Etruscans, his son Ascanias's founding of the new city of Alba Longa in the hills above Rome to the southeast, and the descent from Ascanias to Numitor and Amulius, about 12 generations later.]

He was succeeded by Proca, who had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. To Numitor, the elder, he bequeathed the ancient throne of the Silvian house. Violence, however, proved stronger than either the father's will or the respect due to the brother's seniority; for Amulius expelled his brother and seized the crown. Adding crime to crime, he murdered his brother's sons and made the daughter, Rea Silvia, a Vestal virgin; thus, under the presence of honouring her, depriving her of all hopes of issue.

1.4 But the Fates had, I believe, already decreed the origin of this great city and the foundation of the mightiest empire under heaven. The Vestal was forcibly violated and gave birth to twins. She named Mars as their father, either because she really believed it, or because the fault might appear less heinous if a deity were the cause of it. But neither gods nor men sheltered her or her babes from the king's cruelty; the priestess was thrown into prison, the boys were ordered to be thrown into the river. By a heaven-sent chance it happened that the Tiber was then overflowing its banks, and stretches of standing water prevented any approach to the main channel. Those who were carrying the children expected that this stagnant water would be sufficient to drown them, so under the impression that they were carrying out the king's orders they exposed the boys at the nearest point of the overflow, where the Ficus Ruminalis (said to have been formerly called Romularis) now stands. The locality was then a wild solitude. The tradition goes on to say that

after the floating cradle in which the boys had been exposed had been left by the retreating water on dry land, a thirsty she-wolf from the surrounding hills, attracted by the crying of the children, came to them, gave them her teats to suck and was so gentle towards them that the king's flock-master found her licking the boys with her tongue. According to the story, his name was Faustulus. He took the children to his hut and gave them to his wife Larentia to bring up. Some writers think that Larentia, from her unchaste life, had got the nickname of "She-wolf" amongst the shepherds, and that this was the origin of the marvellous story. As soon as the boys, thus born and thus brought up, grew to be young men they did not neglect their pastoral duties, but their special delight was roaming through the woods on hunting expeditions. As their strength and courage were thus developed, they used not only to lie in wait for fierce beasts of prey, but they even attacked brigands when loaded with plunder. They distributed what they took amongst the shepherds, with whom, surrounded by a continually increasing body of young men, they associated themselves in their serious undertakings and in their sports and pastimes.

1.5 It is said that the festival of the Lupercalia, which is still observed, was even in those days celebrated on the Palatine hill. This hill was originally called Pallantium from a city of the same name in Arcadia; the name was afterwards changed to Palatium. Evander, an Arcadian, had held that territory many ages before, and had introduced an annual festival from Arcadia in which young men ran about naked for sport and wantonness, in honour of the Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterwards called Inuus. The existence of this festival was widely recognised, and it was while the two brothers were engaged in it that the brigands, enraged at losing their plunder, ambushed them. Romulus successfully defended himself, but Remus was taken prisoner and brought before Amulius, his captors impudently accusing him of their own crimes. The principal charge brought against them was that of invading Numitor's lands with a body of young men whom they had got together, and carrying off plunder as though in regular warfare. Remus accordingly was handed over to Numitor for punishment. Faustulus had from the beginning suspected that it was royal offspring that he was bringing up, for he was aware that the boys had been exposed at the king's command and the time at which he had taken them away exactly corresponded with that of their exposure. He had, however, refused to divulge the matter prematurely, until either a fitting opportunity occurred or necessity demanded its disclosure. The necessity came first. Alarmed for the safety of Remus he revealed the state of the case to Romulus. It so happened that Numitor also, who had Remus in his custody, on hearing that he and his brother were twins and comparing their ages and the character and bearing so unlike that of one in a servile condition, began to recall the memory of his grandchildren, and further inquiries brought him to the same conclusion as Faustulus; nothing was wanting to the recognition of Remus. So the king Amulius was being enmeshed on all sides by hostile purposes. Romulus shrunk from a direct

attack with his body of shepherds, for he was no match for the king in open fight. They were instructed to approach the palace by different routes and meet there at a given time, whilst from Numitor's house Remus lent his assistance with a second band he had collected. The attack succeeded and the king was killed.

1.6 At the beginning of the fray, Numitor gave out that an enemy had entered the City and was attacking the palace, in order to draw off the Alban soldiery to the citadel, to defend it. When he saw the young men coming to congratulate him after the assassination, he at once called a council of his people and explained his brother's infamous conduct towards him, the story of his grandsons, their parentage and bringing up, and how he recognised them. Then he proceeded to inform them of the tyrant's death and his responsibility for it. The young men marched in order through the midst of the assembly and saluted their grandfather as king; their action was approved by the whole population, who with one voice ratified the title and sovereignty of the king. After the government of Alba was thus transferred to Numitor, Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire of building a city in the locality where they had been exposed. There was the superfluous population of the Alban and Latin towns, to these were added the shepherds: it was natural to hope that with all these Alba would be small and Lavinium small in comparison with the city which was to be founded. These pleasant anticipations were disturbed by the ancestral curse - ambition - which led to a deplorable quarrel over what was at first a trivial matter. As they were twins and no claim to precedence could be based on seniority, they decided to consult the tutelary deities of the place by means of augury as to who was to give his name to the new city, and who was to rule it after it had been founded. Romulus accordingly selected the Palatine as his station for observation, Remus the Aventine.

1.7 Remus is said to have been the first to receive an omen: six vultures appeared to him. The augury had just been announced to Romulus when double the number appeared to him. Each was saluted as king by his own party. The one side based their claim on the priority of the appearance, the other on the number of the birds. Then followed an angry altercation; heated passions led to bloodshed; in the tumult Remus was killed. The more common report is that Remus contemptuously jumped over the newly raised walls and was forthwith killed by the enraged Romulus, who exclaimed, "So shall it be henceforth with every one who leaps over my walls." Romulus thus became sole ruler, and the city was called after him, its founder. His first work was to fortify the Palatine hill where he had been brought up. The worship of the other deities he conducted according to the use of Alba, but that of Hercules in accordance with the Greek rites as they had been instituted by Evander. It was into this neighbourhood, according to the tradition, that Hercules, after he had killed Geryon, drove his oxen, which were of marvellous beauty. He swam across the Tiber, driving the oxen before him, and wearied with his journey, lay down in a grassy place near the river to rest himself and the oxen, who enjoyed the rich pasture. When sleep had overtaken him, as he

was heavy with food and wine, a shepherd living near, called Cacus, presuming on his strength, and captivated by the beauty of the oxen, determined to secure them. If he drove them before him into the cave, their hoof-marks would have led their owner on his search for them in the same direction, so he dragged the finest of them backwards by their tails into his cave. At the first streak of dawn Hercules awoke, and on surveying his herd saw that some were missing. He proceeded towards the nearest cave, to see if any tracks pointed in that direction, but he found that every hoof-mark led from the cave and none towards it. Perplexed and bewildered he began to drive the herd away from so dangerous a neighbourhood. Some of the cattle, missing those which were left behind, lowed as they often do, and an answering low sounded from the cave. Hercules turned in that direction, and as Cacus tried to prevent him by force from entering the cave, he was killed by a blow from Hercules' club, after vainly appealing for help to his comrades

The king of the country at that time was Evander, a refugee from Peloponnesus, who ruled more by personal ascendancy than by the exercise of power. He was looked up to with reverence for his knowledge of letters - a new and marvellous thing for uncivilised men - but he was still more revered because of his mother Carmenta, who was believed to be a divine being and regarded with wonder by all as an interpreter of Fate, in the days before the arrival of the Sibyl in Italy. This Evander, alarmed by the crowd of excited shepherds standing round a stranger whom they accused of open murder, ascertained from them the nature of his act and what led to it. As he observed the bearing and stature of the man to be more than human in greatness and august dignity, he asked who he was. When he heard his name, and learnt his father and his country he said, "Hercules, son of Jupiter, hail! My mother, who speaks truth in the name of the gods, has prophesied that thou shalt join the company of the gods, and that here a shrine shall be dedicated to thee, which in ages to come the most powerful nation in all the world shall call their Ara Maxima and honour with shine own special worship." Hercules grasped Evander's right hand and said that he took the omen to himself and would fulfil the prophecy by building and consecrating the altar. Then a heifer of conspicuous beauty was taken from the herd, and the first sacrifice was offered; the Potitii and Pinarii, the two principal families in those parts, were invited by Hercules to assist in the sacrifice and at the feast which followed. It so happened that the Potitii were present at the appointed time, and the entrails were placed before them; the Pinarii arrived after these were consumed and came in for the rest of the banquet. It became a permanent institution from that time, that as long as the family of the Pinarii survived they should not eat of the entrails of the victims. The Potitii, after being instructed by Evander, presided over that rite for many ages, until they handed over this ministerial office to public servants after which the whole race of the Potitii perished. This out of all foreign rites, was the only one which Romulus adopted, as though he felt that an immortality won through courage, of which this was the memorial, would one day be his own reward.

1.8 After the claims of religion had been duly acknowledged, Romulus called his people to a council. As nothing could unite them into one political body but the observance of common laws and customs, he gave them a body of laws, which he thought would only be respected by a rude and uncivilised race of men if he inspired them with awe by assuming the outward symbols of power. He surrounded himself with greater state, and in particular he called into his service twelve lictors. Some think that he fixed upon this number from the number of the birds who foretold his sovereignty; but I am inclined to agree with those who think that as this class of public officers was borrowed from the same people from whom the "sella curulis" and the "toga praetexta" were adopted - their neighbours, the Etruscans - so the number itself also was taken from them. Its use amongst the Etruscans is traced to the custom of the twelve sovereign cities of Etruria, when jointly electing a king, furnishing him each with one lictor. Meantime the City was growing by the extension of its walls in various directions; an increase due rather to the anticipation of its future population than to any present overcrowding. His next care was to secure an addition to the population that the size of the City might not be a source of weakness. It had been the ancient policy of the founders of cities to get together a multitude of people of obscure and low origin and then to spread the fiction that they were the children of the soil. In accordance with this policy, Romulus opened a place of refuge on the spot where, as you go down from the Capitol, you find an enclosed space between two groves. A promiscuous crowd of freemen and slaves, eager for change, fled thither from the neighbouring states. This was the first accession of strength to the nascent greatness of the city. When he was satisfied as to its strength, his next step was to provide for that strength being wisely directed. He created a hundred senators; either because that number was adequate, or because there were only a hundred heads of houses who could be created. In any case they were called the "Patres" in virtue of their rank, and their descendants were called "Patricians."

1.9 The Roman State had now become so strong that it was a match for any of its neighbours in war, but its greatness threatened to last for only one generation, since through the absence of women there was no hope of offspring, and there was no right of intermarriage with their neighbours. Acting on the advice of the senate, Romulus sent envoys amongst the surrounding nations to ask for alliance and the right of intermarriage on behalf of his new community. It was represented that cities, like everything else, sprung from the humblest beginnings, and those who were helped on by their own courage and the favour of heaven won for themselves great power and great renown. As to the origin of Rome, it was well known that whilst it had received divine assistance, courage and self-reliance were not wanting. There should, therefore, be no reluctance for men to mingle their blood with their fellow-men. Nowhere did the envoys meet with a favourable reception. Whilst their proposals were treated with contumely, there was at the same time a general feeling of alarm at the power so rapidly growing in their midst. Usually they were

dismissed with the question, "whether they had opened an asylum for women, for nothing short of that would secure for them intermarriage on equal terms." The Roman youth could ill brook such insults, and matters began to look like an appeal to force. To secure a favourable place and time for such an attempt, Romulus, disguising his resentment, made elaborate preparations for the celebration of games in honour of "Equestrian Neptune," which he called "the Consualia." He ordered public notice of the spectacle to be given amongst the adjoining cities, and his people supported him in making the celebration as magnificent as their knowledge and resources allowed, so that expectations were raised to the highest pitch. There was a great gathering; people were eager to see the new City, all their nearest neighbours - the people of Caenina, Antemnae, and Crustumerium - were there, and the whole Sabine population came, with their wives and families. They were invited to accept hospitality at the different houses, and after examining the situation of the City, its walls and the large number of dwelling-houses it included, they were astonished at the rapidity with which the Roman State had grown.

When the hour for the games had come, and their eyes and minds were alike riveted on the spectacle before them, the preconcerted signal was given and the Roman youth dashed in all directions to carry off the maidens who were present. The larger part were carried off indiscriminately, but some particularly beautiful girls who had been marked out for the leading patricians were carried to their houses by plebeians told off for the task. One, conspicuous amongst them all for grace and beauty, is reported to have been carried off by a group led by a certain Talassius, and to the many inquiries as to whom she was intended for, the invariable answer was given, "For Talassius." Hence the use of this word in the marriage rites. Alarm and consternation broke up the games, and the parents of the maidens fled, distracted with grief, uttering bitter reproaches on the violators of the laws of hospitality and appealing to the god to whose solemn games they had come, only to be the victims of impious perfidy. The abducted maidens were quite as despondent and indignant. Romulus, however, went round in person, and pointed out to them that it was all owing to the pride of their parents in denying right of intermarriage to their neighbours. They would live in honourable wedlock, and share all their property and civil rights, and - dearest of all to human nature - would be the mothers of freemen. He begged them to lay aside their feelings of resentment and give their affections to those whom fortune had made masters of their persons. An injury had often led to reconciliation and love; they would find their husbands all the more affectionate, because each would do his utmost, so far as in him lay, to make up for the loss of parents and country. These arguments were reinforced by the endearments of their husbands, who excused their conduct by pleading the irresistible force of their passion - a plea effective beyond all others in appealing to a woman's nature.

1.10 The feelings of the abducted maidens were now pretty completely appeased, but not so those of their parents. They went about in mourning garb, and

tried by their tearful complaints to rouse their countrymen to action. Nor did they confine their remonstrances to their own cities; they flocked from all sides to Titus Tatius, the king of the Sabines, and sent formal deputations to him, for his was the most influential name in those parts. The people of Caenina, Crustumerium, and Antemnae were the greatest sufferers; they thought Tatius and his Sabines were too slow in moving, so these three cities prepared to make war conjointly. Such, however, were the impatience and anger of the Caeninensians that even the Crustuminians and Antemnates did not display enough energy for them, so the men of Caenina made an attack upon Roman territory on their own account. Whilst they were scattered far and wide, pillaging and destroying, Romulus came upon them with an army, and after a brief encounter taught them that anger is futile without strength. He put them to a hasty flight, and following them up, killed their king and despoiled his body; then after slaying their leader took their city at the first assault. He was no less anxious to display his achievements than he had been great in performing them, so, after leading his victorious army home, he mounted to the Capitol with the spoils of his dead foe borne before him on a frame constructed for the purpose. He hung them there on an oak, which the shepherds looked upon as a sacred tree, and at the same time marked out the site for the temple of Jupiter, and addressing the god by a new title, uttered the following invocation: "Jupiter Feretrius! these arms taken from a king, I, Romulus a king and conqueror, bring to thee, and on this domain, whose bounds I have in will and purpose traced, I dedicate a temple to receive the 'spolia opima' which posterity following my example shall bear hither, taken from the kings and generals of our foes slain in battle." Such was the origin of the first temple dedicated in Rome. And the gods decreed that though its founder did not utter idle words in declaring that posterity would thither bear their spoils, still the splendour of that offering should not be dimmed by the number of those who have rivalled his achievement. For after so many years have elapsed and so many wars been waged, only twice have the "spolia opima" been offered. So seldom has Fortune granted that glory to men.

1.11 Whilst the Romans were thus occupied, the army of the Antemnates seized the opportunity of their territory being unoccupied and made a raid into it. Romulus hastily led his legion against this fresh foe and surprised them as they were scattered over the fields. At the very first battle-shout and charge the enemy were routed and their city captured. Whilst Romulus was exulting over this double victory, his wife, Hersilia, moved by the entreaties of the abducted maidens, implored him to pardon their parents and receive them into citizenship, for so the State would increase in unity and strength. He readily granted her request. He then advanced against the Crustuminians, who had commenced war, but their eagerness had been damped by the successive defeats of their neighbours, and they offered but slight resistance. Colonies were planted in both places; owing to the fertility of the soil of the Crustumine district, the majority gave their names for that colony. On the other hand there were numerous migrations to Rome mostly of the parents and

relatives of the abducted maidens. The last of these wars was commenced by the Sabines and proved the most serious of all, for nothing was done in passion or impatience; they masked their designs till war had actually commenced. Strategy was aided by craft and deceit, as the following incident shows. Spurius Tarpeius was in command of the Roman citadel. Whilst his daughter had gone outside the fortifications to fetch water for some religious ceremonies, Tatius bribed her to admit his troops within the citadel. Once admitted, they crushed her to death beneath their shields, either that the citadel might appear to have been taken by assault, or that her example might be left as a warning that no faith should be kept with traitors. A further story runs that the Sabines were in the habit of wearing heavy gold armlets on their left arms and richly jewelled rings, and that the girl made them promise to give her "what they had on their left arms," accordingly they piled their shields upon her instead of golden gifts. Some say that in bargaining for what they had in their left hands, she expressly asked for their shields, and being suspected of wishing to betray them, fell a victim to her own bargain.

1.12 However this may be, the Sabines were in possession of the citadel. And they would not come down from it the next day, though the Roman army was drawn up in battle array over the whole of the ground between the Palatine and the Capitoline hill, until, exasperated at the loss of their citadel and determined to recover it, the Romans mounted to the attack. Advancing before the rest, Mettius Curtius, on the side of the Sabines, and Hostius Hostilius, on the side of the Romans, engaged in single combat. Hostius, fighting on disadvantageous ground, upheld the fortunes of Rome by his intrepid bravery, but at last he fell; the Roman line broke and fled to what was then the gate of the Palatine. Even Romulus was being swept away by the crowd of fugitives, and lifting up his hands to heaven he exclaimed: "Jupiter, it was thy omen that I obeyed when I laid here on the Palatine the earliest foundations of the City. Now the Sabines hold its citadel, having bought it by a bribe, and coming thence have seized the valley and are pressing hitherwards in battle. Do thou, Father of gods and men, drive hence our foes, banish terror from Roman hearts, and stay our shameful flight! Here do I vow a temple to thee, 'Jove the Stayer,' as a memorial for the generations to come that it is through thy present help that the City has been saved." Then, as though he had become aware that his prayer had been heard, he cried, "Back, Romans! Jupiter Optimus Maximus bids you stand and renew the battle." They stopped as though commanded by a voice from heaven - Romulus dashed up to the foremost line, just as Mettius Curtius had run down from the citadel in front of the Sabines and driven the Romans in headlong flight over the whole of the ground now occupied by the Forum. He was now not far from the gate of the Palatine, and was shouting: "We have conquered our faithless hosts, our cowardly foes; now they know that to carry off maidens is a very different thing from fighting with men." In the midst of these vaunts Romulus, with a compact body of valiant troops, charged down on him. Mettius happened to be on horseback, so he was the more easily driven back, the

Romans followed in pursuit, and, inspired by the courage of their king, the rest of the Roman army routed the Sabines. Mettius, unable to control his horse, maddened by the noise of his pursuers, plunged into a morass. The danger of their general drew off the attention of the Sabines for a moment from the battle; they called out and made signals to encourage him, so, animated to fresh efforts, he succeeded in extricating himself. Thereupon the Romans and Sabines renewed the fighting in the middle of the valley, but the fortune of Rome was in the ascendant.

1.13 Then it was that the Sabine women, whose wrongs had led to the war, throwing off all womanish fears in their distress, went boldly into the midst of the flying missiles with dishevelled hair and rent garments. Running across the space between the two armies they tried to stop any further fighting and calm the excited passions by appealing to their fathers in the one army and their husbands in the other not to bring upon themselves a curse by staining their hands with the blood of a father-in-law or a son-in-law, nor upon their posterity the taint of parricide. "If," they cried, "you are weary of these ties of kindred, these marriage-bonds, then turn your anger upon us; it is we who are the cause of the war, it is we who have wounded and slain our husbands and fathers. Better for us to perish rather than live without one or the other of you, as widows or as orphans." The armies and their leaders were alike moved by this appeal. There was a sudden hush and silence. Then the generals advanced to arrange the terms of a treaty. It was not only peace that was made, the two nations were united into one State, the royal power was shared between them, and the seat of government for both nations was Rome. After thus doubling the City, a concession was made to the Sabines in the new appellation of Quirites, from their old capital of Cures. As a memorial of the battle, the place where Curtius got his horse out of the deep marsh on to safer ground was called the Curtian lake. The joyful peace, which put an abrupt close to such a deplorable war, made the Sabine women still dearer to their husbands and fathers, and most of all to Romulus himself. Consequently when he effected the distribution of the people into the thirty curiae, he affixed their names to the curiae. No doubt there were many more than thirty women, and tradition is silent as to whether those whose names were given to the curiae were selected on the ground of age, or on that of personal distinction - either their own or their husbands' - or merely by lot. The enrolment of the three centuries of knights took place at the same time; the Ramnenses were called after Romulus, the Titienses from T. Tatius. The origin of the Luceres and why they were so called is uncertain. Thenceforward the two kings exercised their joint sovereignty with perfect harmony.

1.14 Some years subsequently the kinsmen of King Tatius ill-treated the ambassadors of the Laurentines. They came to seek redress from him in accordance with international law, but the influence and importunities of his friends had more weight with Tatius than the remonstrances of the Laurentines. The consequence was that he brought upon himself the punishment due to them, for when he had gone to the annual sacrifice at Lavinium, a tumult arose in which he was killed.

Romulus is reported to have been less distressed at this incident than his position demanded, either because of the insincerity inherent in all joint sovereignty, or because he thought he had deserved his fate. He refused, therefore, to go to war, but that the wrong done to the ambassadors and the murder of the king might be expiated, the treaty between Rome and Lavinium was renewed. Whilst in this direction an unhoped-for peace was secured, war broke out in a much nearer quarter, in fact almost at the very gates of Rome. The people of Fidenae considered that a power was growing up too close to them, so to prevent the anticipations of its future greatness from being realised, they took the initiative in making war. [I omit Romulus's defeat of Fidenae Veii, two Etruscan cities that attacked Rome, either out of fear or for booty.]

These were the principal events at home and in the field that marked the reign of Romulus. Throughout - whether we consider the courage he showed in recovering his ancestral throne, or the wisdom he displayed in founding the City and adding to its strength through war and peace alike - we find nothing incompatible with the belief in his divine origin and his admission to divine immortality after death. It was, in fact, through the strength given by him that the City was powerful enough to enjoy an assured peace for forty years after his departure. He was, however, more acceptable to the populace than to the patricians, but most of all was he the idol of his soldiers. He kept a bodyguard of three hundred men round him in peace as well as in war. These he called the "Celeres."

1.16 After these immortal achievements, Romulus held a review of his army at the "Caprae Palus" in the Campus Martius. A violent thunderstorm suddenly arose and enveloped the king in so dense a cloud that he was quite invisible to the assembly. From that hour Romulus was no longer seen on earth. When the fears of the Roman youth were allayed by the return of bright, calm sunshine after such fearful weather, they saw that the royal seat was vacant. Whilst they fully believed the assertion of the senators, who had been standing close to him, that he had been snatched away to heaven by a whirlwind, still, like men suddenly bereaved, fear and grief kept them for some time speechless. At length, after a few had taken the initiative, the whole of those present hailed Romulus as "a god, the son of a god, the King and Father of the City of Rome." They put up supplications for his grace and favour, and prayed that he would be propitious to his children and save and protect them. I believe, however, that even then there were some who secretly hinted that he had been torn limb from limb by the senators - a tradition to this effect, though certainly a very dim one, has filtered down to us. The other, which I follow, has been the prevailing one, due, no doubt, to the admiration felt for the man and the apprehensions excited by his disappearance. This generally accepted belief was strengthened by one man's clever device. The tradition runs that Proculus Julius, a man whose authority had weight in matters of even the gravest importance, seeing how deeply the community felt the loss of the king, and how incensed they were against the senators, came forward into the assembly and said: "Quirites! at break of

dawn, to-day, the Father of this City suddenly descended from heaven and appeared to me. Whilst, thrilled with awe, I stood rapt before him in deepest reverence, praying that I might be pardoned for gazing upon him, 'Go,' said he, 'tell the Romans that it is the will of heaven that my Rome should be the head of all the world. Let them henceforth cultivate the arts of war, and let them know assuredly, and hand down the knowledge to posterity, that no human might can withstand the arms of Rome.'" It is marvellous what credit was given to this man's story, and how the grief of the people and the army was soothed by the belief which had been created in the immortality of Romulus.

1.17 Disputes arose among the senators about the vacant throne. It was not the jealousies of individual citizens, for no one was sufficiently prominent in so young a State, but the rivalries of parties in the State that led to this strife. The Sabine families were apprehensive of losing their fair share of the sovereign power, because after the death of Tatius they had had no representative on the throne; they were anxious, therefore, that the king should be elected from amongst them. The ancient Romans could ill brook a foreign king; but amidst this diversity of political views, all were for a monarchy; they had not yet tasted the sweets of liberty. The senators began to grow apprehensive of some aggressive act on the part of the surrounding states, now that the City was without a central authority and the army without a general. They decided that there must be some head of the State, but no one could make up his mind to concede the dignity to any one else. The matter was settled by the hundred senators dividing themselves into ten "decuries," and one was chosen from each decury to exercise the supreme power. Ten therefore were in office, but only one at a time had the insignia of authority and the lictors. Their individual authority was restricted to five days, and they exercised it in rotation. This break in the monarchy lasted for a year, and it was called by the name it still bears - that of "interregnum." After a time the plebs began to murmur that their bondage was multiplied, for they had a hundred masters instead of one. It was evident that they would insist upon a king being elected and elected by them. When the senators became aware of this growing determination, they thought it better to offer spontaneously what they were bound to part with, so, as an act of grace, they committed the supreme power into the hands of the people, but in such a way that they did not give away more privilege than they retained. For they passed a decree that when the people had chosen a king, his election would only be valid after the senate had ratified it by their authority. The same procedure exists to-day in the passing of laws and the election of magistrates, but the power of rejection has been withdrawn; the senate give their ratification before the people proceed to vote, whilst the result of the election is still uncertain. At that time the "interrex" convened the assembly and addressed it as follows: "Quirites! elect your king, and may heaven's blessing rest on your labours! If you elect one who shall be counted worthy to follow Romulus, the senate will ratify your choice." So gratified were the people at the proposal that, not to appear behindhand in generosity, they

passed a resolution that it should be left to the senate to decree who should reign in Rome.

1.18 There was living, in those days, at Cures, a Sabine city, a man of renowned justice and piety - Numa Pompilius. He was as conversant as any one in that age could be with all divine and human law. His master is given as Pythagoras of Samos, as tradition speaks of no other. But this is erroneous, for it is generally agreed that it was more than a century later, in the reign of Servius Tullius, that Pythagoras gathered round him crowds of eager students, in the most distant part of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Crotona. Now, even if he had been contemporary with Numa, how could his reputation have reached the Sabines? From what places, and in what common language could he have induced any one to become his disciple? Who could have guaranteed the safety of a solitary individual travelling through so many nations differing in speech and character? I believe rather that Numa's virtues were the result of his native temperament and self-training, moulded not so much by foreign influences as by the rigorous and austere discipline of the ancient Sabines, which was the purest type of any that existed in the old days. When Numa's name was mentioned, though the Roman senators saw that the balance of power would be on the side of the Sabines if the king were chosen from amongst them, still no one ventured to propose a partisan of his own, or any senator, or citizen in preference to him. Accordingly they all to a man decreed that the crown should be offered to Numa Pompilius. He was invited to Rome, and following the precedent set by Romulus, when he obtained his crown through the augury which sanctioned the founding of the City, Numa ordered that in his case also the gods should be consulted. He was solemnly conducted by an augur, who was afterwards honoured by being made a State functionary for life, to the Citadel, and took his seat on a stone facing south. The augur seated himself on his left hand, with his head covered, and holding in his right hand a curved staff without any knots, which they called a "lituus." After surveying the prospect over the City and surrounding country, he offered prayers and marked out the heavenly regions by an imaginary line from east to west; the southern he defined as "the right hand," the northern as "the left hand." He then fixed upon an object, as far as he could see, as a corresponding mark, and then transferring the lituus to his left hand, he laid his right upon Numa's head and offered this prayer: "Father Jupiter, if it be heaven's will that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, should be king of Rome, do thou signify it to us by sure signs within those boundaries which I have traced." Then he described in the usual formula the augury which he desired should be sent. They were sent, and Numa being by them manifested to be king, came down from the "templum."

1.19 Having in this way obtained the crown, Numa prepared to found, as it were, anew, by laws and customs, that City which had so recently been founded by force of arms. He saw that this was impossible whilst a state of war lasted, for war brutalised men. Thinking that the ferocity of his subjects might be mitigated by the

disuse of arms, he built the temple of Janus at the foot of the Aventine as an index of peace and war, to signify when it was open that the State was under arms, and when it was shut that all the surrounding nations were at peace. Twice since Numa's reign has it been shut, once after the first Punic war in the consulship of T. Manlius, the second time, which heaven has allowed our generation to witness, after the battle of Actium, when peace on land and sea was secured by the emperor Caesar Augustus. After forming treaties of alliance with all his neighbours and closing the temple of Janus, Numa turned his attention to domestic matters. The removal of all danger from without would induce his subjects to luxuriate in idleness, as they would be no longer restrained by the fear of an enemy or by military discipline. To prevent this, he strove to inculcate in their minds the fear of the gods, regarding this as the most powerful influence which could act upon an uncivilised and, in those ages, a barbarous people. But, as this would fail to make a deep impression without some claim to supernatural wisdom, he pretended that he had nocturnal interviews with the nymph Egeria: that it was on her advice that he was instituting the ritual most acceptable to the gods and appointing for each deity his own special priests. First of all he divided the year into twelve months, corresponding to the moon's revolutions. But as the moon does not complete thirty days in each month, and so there are fewer days in the lunar year than in that measured by the course of the sun, he interpolated intercalary months and so arranged them that every twentieth year the days should coincide with the same position of the sun as when they started, the whole twenty years being thus complete. He also established a distinction between the days on which legal business could be transacted and those on which it could not, because it would sometimes be advisable that there should be no business transacted with the people.

1.20 Next he turned his attention to the appointment of priests. He himself, however, conducted a great many religious services, especially those which belong to the Flamen of Jupiter. But he thought that in a warlike state there would be more kings of the type of Romulus than of Numa who would take the field in person. To guard, therefore, against the sacrificial rites which the king performed being interrupted, he appointed a Flamen as perpetual priest to Jupiter, and ordered that he should wear a distinctive dress and sit in the royal curule chair. He appointed two additional Flamens, one for Mars, the other for Quirinus, and also chose virgins as priestesses to Vesta. This order of priestesses came into existence originally in Alba and was connected with the race of the founder. He assigned them a public stipend that they might give their whole time to the temple, and made their persons sacred and inviolable by a vow of chastity and other religious sanctions. Similarly he chose twelve "Salii" for Mars Gradivus, and assigned to them the distinctive dress of an embroidered tunic and over it a brazen cuirass. They were instructed to march in solemn procession through the City, carrying the twelve shields called the "Ancilia," and singing hymns accompanied by a solemn dance in triple time. The

next office to be filled was that of the Pontifex Maximus. Numa appointed the son of Marcus, one of the senators - Numa Marcius - and all the regulations bearing on religion, written out and sealed, were placed in his charge. Here was laid down with what victims, on what days, and at what temples the various sacrifices were to be offered, and from what sources the expenses connected with them were to be defrayed. He placed all other sacred functions, both public and private, under the supervision of the Pontifex, in order that there might be an authority for the people to consult, and so all trouble and confusion arising through foreign rites being adopted and their ancestral ones neglected might be avoided. Nor were his functions confined to directing the worship of the celestial gods; he was to instruct the people how to conduct funerals and appease the spirits of the departed, and what prodigies sent by lightning or in any other way were to be attended to and expiated. To elicit these signs of the divine will, he dedicated an altar to Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine, and consulted the god through auguries, as to which prodigies were to receive attention.

1.21 The deliberations and arrangements which these matters involved diverted the people from all thoughts of war and provided them with ample occupation. The watchful care of the gods, manifesting itself in the providential guidance of human affairs, had kindled in all hearts such a feeling of piety that the sacredness of promises and the sanctity of oaths were a controlling force for the community scarcely less effective than the fear inspired by laws and penalties. And whilst his subjects were moulding their characters upon the unique example of their king, the neighbouring nations, who had hitherto believed that it was a fortified camp and not a city that was placed amongst them to vex the peace of all, were now induced to respect them so highly that they thought it sinful to injure a State so entirely devoted to the service of the gods. There was a grove through the midst of which a perennial stream flowed, issuing from a dark cave. Here Numa frequently retired unattended as if to meet the goddess, and he consecrated the grove to the Camaenae, because it was there that their meetings with his wife Egeria took place. He also instituted a yearly sacrifice to the goddess Fides and ordered that the Flamens should ride to her temple in a hooded chariot, and should perform the service with their hands covered as far as the fingers, to signify that Faith must be sheltered and that her seat is holy even when it is in men's right hands. There were many other sacrifices appointed by him and places dedicated for their performance which the pontiffs call the Argei. The greatest of all his works was the preservation of peace and the security of his realm throughout the whole of his reign. Thus by two successive kings the greatness of the State was advanced; by each in a different way, by the one through war, by the other through peace. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three. The State was strong and disciplined by the lessons of war and the arts of peace.

1.22 The death of Numa was followed by a second interregnum.

The Declaration of Independence

In Congress, July 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, —That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

> He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.
>
> He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.
>
> He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.
>
> He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Constitution

September 17, 1787

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I.

Section. 1.

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section. 3.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section. 4.

The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section. 5.

Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance

of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section. 6.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section. 7.

All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section. 8.

The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section. 9.

The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section. 10.

No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's

inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article. II.

Section. 1.

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section. 2.

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section. 3.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and

expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section. 4.

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article. III.

Section. 1.

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section. 2.

The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;— between a State and Citizens of another State,—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section. 3.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article. IV.

Section. 1.

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section. 2.

The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section. 3.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section. 4.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article. V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article. VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article. VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

The Word, "the," being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, The Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erazure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third

Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

Attest William Jackson Secretary

done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G°. Washington

Presidt and deputy from Virginia

Delaware

Geo: Read
Gunning Bedford jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco: Broom

Maryland

James McHenry
Dan of St Thos. Jenifer
Danl. Carroll

Virginia

John Blair
James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

Wm. Blount
Richd. Dobbs Spaight
Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge
Charles Cotesworth
Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

Wm. Saml. Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston
David Brearley
Wm. Paterson
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robt. Morris
Geo. Clymer
Thos. FitzSimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouv Morris

The Federalist Papers: No. 10

November 23, 1787

To the People of the State of New York:

AMONG the numerous advantages promised by a wellconstructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction. The friend of popular governments never finds himself so much alarmed for their character and fate, as when he contemplates their propensity to this dangerous vice. He will not fail, therefore, to set a due value on any plan which, without violating the principles to which he is attached, provides a proper cure for it. The instability, injustice, and confusion introduced into the public councils, have, in truth, been the mortal diseases under which popular governments have everywhere perished; as they continue to be the favorite and fruitful topics from which the adversaries to liberty derive their most specious declamations. The valuable improvements made by the American constitutions on the popular models, both ancient and modern, cannot certainly be too much admired; but it would be an unwarrantable partiality, to contend that they have as effectually obviated the danger on this side, as was wished and expected. Complaints are everywhere heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty, that our governments are too unstable, that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties, and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority. However anxiously we may wish that these complaints had no foundation, the evidence, of known facts will not permit us to deny that they are in some degree true. It will be found, indeed, on a candid review of our situation, that some of the distresses under which we labor have been erroneously charged on the operation of our governments; but it will be found, at the same time, that other causes will not alone account for many of our heaviest misfortunes; and, particularly, for that prevailing and increasing distrust of public engagements, and alarm for private rights, which are echoed from one end of the continent to the other. These must be chiefly, if not wholly, effects of the unsteadiness and injustice with which a factious spirit has tainted our public administrations.

By a faction, I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adversed to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.

There are two methods of curing the mischiefs of faction: the one, by removing its causes; the other, by controlling its effects.

There are again two methods of removing the causes of faction: the one, by destroying the liberty which is essential to its existence; the other, by giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests.

It could never be more truly said than of the first remedy, that it was worse than the disease. Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

The second expedient is as impracticable as the first would be unwise. As long as the reason of man continues fallible, and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed. As long as the connection subsists between his reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal influence on each other; and the former will be objects to which the latter will attach themselves. The diversity in the faculties of men, from which the rights of property originate, is not less an insuperable obstacle to a uniformity of interests. The protection of these faculties is the first object of government. From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties.

The latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man; and we see them everywhere brought into different degrees of activity, according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, as well of speculation as of practice; an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities, that where no substantial occasion presents itself, the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions and excite their most violent conflicts. But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government.

No man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause, because his interest would certainly bias his judgment, and, not improbably, corrupt his integrity. With equal, nay with greater reason, a body of men are unfit to be both judges and parties at the same time; yet what are many of the most important acts of legislation, but so many judicial determinations, not indeed concerning the rights of single persons, but concerning the rights of large bodies of citizens? And what are the different classes of legislators but

advocates and parties to the causes which they determine? Is a law proposed concerning private debts? It is a question to which the creditors are parties on one side and the debtors on the other. Justice ought to hold the balance between them. Yet the parties are, and must be, themselves the judges; and the most numerous party, or, in other words, the most powerful faction must be expected to prevail. Shall domestic manufactures be encouraged, and in what degree, by restrictions on foreign manufactures? are questions which would be differently decided by the landed and the manufacturing classes, and probably by neither with a sole regard to justice and the public good. The apportionment of taxes on the various descriptions of property is an act which seems to require the most exact impartiality; yet there is, perhaps, no legislative act in which greater opportunity and temptation are given to a predominant party to trample on the rules of justice. Every shilling with which they overburden the inferior number, is a shilling saved to their own pockets.

It is in vain to say that enlightened statesmen will be able to adjust these clashing interests, and render them all subservient to the public good. Enlightened statesmen will not always be at the helm. Nor, in many cases, can such an adjustment be made at all without taking into view indirect and remote considerations, which will rarely prevail over the immediate interest which one party may find in disregarding the rights of another or the good of the whole.

The inference to which we are brought is, that the *causes* of faction cannot be removed, and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its *effects*.

If a faction consists of less than a majority, relief is supplied by the republican principle, which enables the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote. It may clog the administration, it may convulse the society; but it will be unable to execute and mask its violence under the forms of the Constitution. When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government, on the other hand, enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens. To secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit and the form of popular government, is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed. Let me add that it is the great desideratum by which this form of government can be rescued from the opprobrium under which it has so long labored, and be recommended to the esteem and adoption of mankind.

By what means is this object attainable? Evidently by one of two only. Either the existence of the same passion or interest in a majority at the same time must be prevented, or the majority, having such coexistent passion or interest, must be rendered, by their number and local situation, unable to concert and carry into effect schemes of oppression. If the impulse and the opportunity be suffered to coincide, we well know that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control. They are not found to be such on the injustice and violence of individuals, and lose their efficacy in proportion to the number combined together, that is, in proportion as their efficacy becomes needful.

From this view of the subject it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble and administer the government in person, can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; a communication and concert result from the form of government itself; and there is nothing to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party or an obnoxious individual. Hence it is that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths. Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government, have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would, at the same time, be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions, and their passions.

A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. Let us examine the points in which it varies from pure democracy, and we shall comprehend both the nature of the cure and the efficacy which it must derive from the Union.

The two great points of difference between a democracy and a republic are: first, the delegation of the government, in the latter, to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; secondly, the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, over which the latter may be extended.

The effect of the first difference is, on the one hand, to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations. Under such a regulation, it may well happen that the public voice, pronounced by the representatives of the people, will be more consonant to the public good than if pronounced by the people themselves, convened for the purpose. On the other hand, the effect may be inverted. Men of factious tempers, of local prejudices, or of sinister designs, may, by intrigue, by corruption, or by other means, first obtain the suffrages, and then betray the interests, of the people. The question resulting is, whether small or extensive republics are more favorable to the election of proper guardians of the public weal; and it is clearly decided in favor of the latter by two obvious considerations:

In the first place, it is to be remarked that, however small the republic may be, the representatives must be raised to a certain number, in order to guard against the cabals of a few; and that, however large it may be, they must be limited to a certain number, in order to guard against the confusion of a multitude. Hence, the number of representatives in the two cases not being in proportion to that of the two constituents, and being proportionally greater in the small republic, it follows that, if the proportion of fit characters be not less in the large than in the small republic, the former will present a greater option, and consequently a greater probability of a fit choice.

In the next place, as each representative will be chosen by a greater number of citizens in the large than in the small republic, it will be more difficult for unworthy candidates to practice with success the vicious arts by which elections are too often carried; and the suffrages of the people being more free, will be more likely to centre in men who possess the most attractive merit and the most diffusive and established characters.

It must be confessed that in this, as in most other cases, there is a mean, on both sides of which inconveniences will be found to lie. By enlarging too much the number of electors, you render the representatives too little acquainted with all their local circumstances and lesser interests; as by reducing it too much, you render him unduly attached to these, and too little fit to comprehend and pursue great and national objects. The federal Constitution forms a happy combination in this respect; the great and aggregate interests being referred to the national, the local and particular to the State legislatures.

The other point of difference is, the greater number of citizens and extent of territory which may be brought within the compass of republican than of democratic government; and it is this circumstance principally which renders factious combinations less to be dreaded in the former than in the latter. The smaller the society, the fewer probably will be the distinct parties and interests composing it; the fewer the distinct parties and interests, the more frequently will a majority be found of the same party; and the smaller the number of individuals composing a majority, and the smaller the compass within which they are placed, the more easily will they concert and execute their plans of oppression. Extend the sphere, and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other. Besides other impediments, it may be remarked that, where there is a consciousness of unjust or dishonorable purposes, communication is always checked by distrust in proportion to the number whose concurrence is necessary.

Hence, it clearly appears, that the same advantage which a republic has over a democracy, in controlling the effects of faction, is enjoyed by a large over a small republic,--is enjoyed by the Union over the States composing it. Does the advantage consist in the substitution of representatives whose enlightened views and virtuous sentiments render them superior to local prejudices and schemes of injustice? It will not be denied that the representation of the Union will be most likely to possess these requisite endowments. Does it consist in the greater security afforded by a greater variety of parties, against the event of any one party being able to outnumber and oppress the rest? In an equal degree does the increased variety of parties comprised within the Union, increase this security. Does it, in fine, consist in the greater obstacles opposed to the concert and accomplishment of the secret wishes of an unjust and interested majority? Here, again, the extent of the Union gives it the most palpable advantage.

The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States, but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States. A religious sect may degenerate into a political faction in a part of the Confederacy; but the variety of sects dispersed over the entire face of it must secure the national councils against any danger from that source. A rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union than a particular member of it; in the same proportion as such a malady is more likely to taint a particular county or district, than an entire State.

In the extent and proper structure of the Union, therefore, we behold a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government. And according to the degree of pleasure and pride we feel in being republicans, ought to be our zeal in cherishing the spirit and supporting the character of Federalists.

PUBLIUS.

The Federalist Papers: No. 51

February 8, 1788

To the People of the State of New York:

TO WHAT expedient, then, shall we finally resort, for maintaining in practice the necessary partition of power among the several departments, as laid down in the Constitution? The only answer that can be given is, that as all these exterior provisions are found to be inadequate, the defect must be supplied, by so contriving the interior structure of the government as that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of keeping each other in their proper places. Without presuming to undertake a full development of this important idea, I will hazard a few general observations, which may perhaps place it in a clearer light, and enable us to form a more correct judgment of the principles and structure of the government planned by the convention.

In order to lay a due foundation for that separate and distinct exercise of the different powers of government, which to a certain extent is admitted on all hands to be essential to the preservation of liberty, it is evident that each department should have a will of its own; and consequently should be so constituted that the members of each should have as little agency as possible in the appointment of the members of the others. Were this principle rigorously adhered to, it would require that all the appointments for the supreme executive, legislative, and judiciary magistracies should be drawn from the same fountain of authority, the people, through channels having no communication whatever with one another. Perhaps such a plan of constructing the several departments would be less difficult in practice than it may in contemplation appear. Some difficulties, however, and some additional expense would attend the execution of it. Some deviations, therefore, from the principle must be admitted. In the constitution of the judiciary department in particular, it might be inexpedient to insist rigorously on the principle: first, because peculiar qualifications being essential in the members, the primary consideration ought to be to select that mode of choice which best secures these qualifications; secondly, because the permanent tenure by which the appointments are held in that department, must soon destroy all sense of dependence on the authority conferring them.

It is equally evident, that the members of each department should be as little dependent as possible on those of the others, for the emoluments annexed to their offices. Were the executive magistrate, or the judges, not independent of the legislature in this particular, their independence in every other would be merely nominal. But the great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist encroachments of the others. The provision for defense must in this, as in all other cases, be made commensurate to the danger of attack. Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection

on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.

A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions. This policy of supplying, by opposite and rival interests, the defect of better motives, might be traced through the whole system of human affairs, private as well as public. We see it particularly displayed in all the subordinate distributions of power, where the constant aim is to divide and arrange the several offices in such a manner as that each may be a check on the other that the private interest of every individual may be a sentinel over the public rights. These inventions of prudence cannot be less requisite in the distribution of the supreme powers of the State. But it is not possible to give to each department an equal power of self-defense. In republican government, the legislative authority necessarily predominates. The remedy for this inconveniency is to divide the legislature into different branches; and to render them, by different modes of election and different principles of action, as little connected with each other as the nature of their common functions and their common dependence on the society will admit. It may even be necessary to guard against dangerous encroachments by still further precautions. As the weight of the legislative authority requires that it should be thus divided, the weakness of the executive may require, on the other hand, that it should be fortified.

An absolute negative on the legislature appears, at first view, to be the natural defense with which the executive magistrate should be armed. But perhaps it would be neither altogether safe nor alone sufficient. On ordinary occasions it might not be exerted with the requisite firmness, and on extraordinary occasions it might be perfidiously abused. May not this defect of an absolute negative be supplied by some qualified connection between this weaker department and the weaker branch of the stronger department, by which the latter may be led to support the constitutional rights of the former, without being too much detached from the rights of its own department? If the principles on which these observations are founded be just, as I persuade myself they are, and they be applied as a criterion to the several State constitutions, and to the federal Constitution it will be found that if the latter does not perfectly correspond with them, the former are infinitely less able to bear such a test.

There are, moreover, two considerations particularly applicable to the federal system of America, which place that system in a very interesting point of view. First. In a single republic, all the power surrendered by the people is submitted to the administration of a single government; and the usurpations are guarded against by a division of the government into distinct and separate departments. In the compound

republic of America, the power surrendered by the people is first divided between two distinct governments, and then the portion allotted to each subdivided among distinct and separate departments. Hence a double security arises to the rights of the people. The different governments will control each other, at the same time that each will be controlled by itself. Second. It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. Different interests necessarily exist in different classes of citizens. If a majority be united by a common interest, the rights of the minority will be insecure.

There are but two methods of providing against this evil: the one by creating a will in the community independent of the majority that is, of the society itself; the other, by comprehending in the society so many separate descriptions of citizens as will render an unjust combination of a majority of the whole very improbable, if not impracticable. The first method prevails in all governments possessing an hereditary or self-appointed authority. This, at best, is but a precarious security; because a power independent of the society may as well espouse the unjust views of the major, as the rightful interests of the minor party, and may possibly be turned against both parties. The second method will be exemplified in the federal republic of the United States. Whilst all authority in it will be derived from and dependent on the society, the society itself will be broken into so many parts, interests, and classes of citizens, that the rights of individuals, or of the minority, will be in little danger from interested combinations of the majority.

In a free government the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights. It consists in the one case in the multiplicity of interests, and in the other in the multiplicity of sects. The degree of security in both cases will depend on the number of interests and sects; and this may be presumed to depend on the extent of country and number of people comprehended under the same government. This view of the subject must particularly recommend a proper federal system to all the sincere and considerate friends of republican government, since it shows that in exact proportion as the territory of the Union may be formed into more circumscribed Confederacies, or States oppressive combinations of a majority will be facilitated: the best security, under the republican forms, for the rights of every class of citizens, will be diminished: and consequently the stability and independence of some member of the government, the only other security, must be proportionately increased. Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been and ever will be pursued until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. In a society under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature, where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger; and as, in the latter state, even the stronger individuals are prompted, by the uncertainty of their condition, to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves; so, in the former state, will the more powerful factions or parties be gradnally induced, by a like motive, to wish for a government which will protect all parties, the weaker as well as the more powerful.

It can be little doubted that if the State of Rhode Island was separated from the Confederacy and left to itself, the insecurity of rights under the popular form of government within such narrow limits would be displayed by such reiterated oppressions of factious majorities that some power altogether independent of the people would soon be called for by the voice of the very factions whose misrule had proved the necessity of it. In the extended republic of the United States, and among the great variety of interests, parties, and sects which it embraces, a coalition of a majority of the whole society could seldom take place on any other principles than those of justice and the general good; whilst there being thus less danger to a minor from the will of a major party, there must be less pretext, also, to provide for the security of the former, by introducing into the government a will not dependent on the latter, or, in other words, a will independent of the society itself. It is no less certain than it is important, notwithstanding the contrary opinions which have been entertained, that the larger the society, provided it lie within a practical sphere, the more duly capable it will be of self-government. And happily for the REPUBLICAN CAUSE, the practicable sphere may be carried to a very great extent, by a judicious modification and mixture of the FEDERAL PRINCIPLE.

PUBLIUS.

Abraham Lincoln, *Lyceum Address*

January 27, 1838

As a subject for the remarks of the evening, the perpetuation of our political institutions, is selected.

In the great journal of things happening under the sun, we, the American People, find our account running, under date of the nineteenth century of the Christian era.—We find ourselves in the peaceful possession, of the fairest portion of the earth, as regards extent of territory, fertility of soil, and salubrity of climate. We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions, conducing more essentially to the ends of civil and religious liberty, than any of which the history of former times tells us. We, when mounting the stage of existence, found ourselves the legal inheritors of these fundamental blessings. We toiled not in the acquirement or establishment of them—they are a legacy bequeathed us, by a once hardy, brave, and patriotic, but now lamented and departed race of ancestors. Their's was the task (and nobly they performed it) to possess themselves, and through themselves, us, of this goodly land; and to uprear upon its hills and its valleys, a political edifice of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only, to transmit these, the former, unprofaned by the foot of an invader; the latter, undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation, to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know. This task of gratitude to our fathers, justice to ourselves, duty to posterity, and love for our species in general, all imperatively require us faithfully to perform.

How then shall we perform it?—At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it?—Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant, to step the Ocean, and crush us at a blow? Never!—All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest; with a Buonaparte for a commander, could not by force, take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

I hope I am over wary; but if I am not, there is, even now, something of ill-omen, amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of Courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community; and that it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit, it would be a violation of truth, and an insult to our intelligence, to deny. Accounts of outrages committed by mobs, form the every-day news of the times. They have pervaded the country, from New England to Louisiana;—they are neither peculiar to the eternal snows of the former, nor the burning suns of the latter;—they are not the creature of climate—neither are they confined to the

slave-holding, or the non-slave-holding States. Alike, they spring up among the pleasure hunting masters of Southern slaves, and the order loving citizens of the land of steady habits.—Whatever, then, their cause may be, it is common to the whole country.

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to recount the horrors of all of them. Those happening in the State of Mississippi, and at St. Louis, are, perhaps, the most dangerous in example and revolting to humanity. In the Mississippi case, they first commenced by hanging the regular gamblers; a set of men, certainly not following for a livelihood, a very useful, or very honest occupation; but one which, so far from being forbidden by the laws, was actually licensed by an act of the Legislature, passed but a single year before. Next, negroes, suspected of conspiring to raise an insurrection, were caught up and hanged in all parts of the State: then, white men, supposed to be leagued with the negroes; and finally, strangers, from neighboring States, going thither on business, were, in many instances subjected to the same fate. Thus went on this process of hanging, from gamblers to negroes, from negroes to white citizens, and from these to strangers; till, dead men were seen literally dangling from the boughs of trees upon every road side; and in numbers almost sufficient, to rival the native Spanish moss of the country, as a drapery of the forest.

Turn, then, to that horror-striking scene at St. Louis. A single victim was only sacrificed there. His story is very short; and is, perhaps, the most highly tragic, if anything of its length, that has ever been witnessed in real life. A mulatto man, by the name of McIntosh, was seized in the street, dragged to the suburbs of the city, chained to a tree, and actually burned to death; and all within a single hour from the time he had been a freeman, attending to his own business, and at peace with the world.

Such are the effects of mob law; and such as the scenes, becoming more and more frequent in this land so lately famed for love of law and order; and the stories of which, have even now grown too familiar, to attract any thing more, than an idle remark.

But you are, perhaps, ready to ask, "What has this to do with the perpetuation of our political institutions?" I answer, it has much to do with it. Its direct consequences are, comparatively speaking, but a small evil; and much of its danger consists, in the proneness of our minds, to regard its direct, as its only consequences. Abstractly considered, the hanging of the gamblers at Vicksburg, was of but little consequence. They constitute a portion of population, that is worse than useless in any community; and their death, if no pernicious example be set by it, is never matter of reasonable regret with any one. If they were annually swept, from the stage of existence, by the plague or small pox, honest men would, perhaps, be much profited, by the operation.—Similar too, is the correct reasoning, in regard to the burning of the negro at St. Louis. He had forfeited his life, by the perpetration of an outrageous murder, upon one of the most worthy and respectable citizens of the city; and had not he died as he did, he must have died by the sentence of the law, in a very short time afterwards. As to him alone, it was as well the way it was, as it could otherwise have been.—But the example in either case, was fearful.—When men take it in their heads to day, to hang gamblers, or burn murderers, they should recollect, that, in the confusion usually attending such

transactions, they will be as likely to hang or burn some one who is neither a gambler nor a murderer as one who is; and that, acting upon the example they set, the mob of to-morrow, may, and probably will, hang or burn some of them by the very same mistake. And not only so; the innocent, those who have ever set their faces against violations of law in every shape, alike with the guilty, fall victims to the ravages of mob law; and thus it goes on, step by step, till all the walls erected for the defense of the persons and property of individuals, are trodden down, and disregarded. But all this even, is not the full extent of the evil.—By such examples, by instances of the perpetrators of such acts going unpunished, the lawless in spirit, are encouraged to become lawless in practice; and having been used to no restraint, but dread of punishment, they thus become, absolutely unrestrained.—Having ever regarded Government as their deadliest bane, they make a jubilee of the suspension of its operations; and pray for nothing so much, as its total annihilation. While, on the other hand, good men, men who love tranquility, who desire to abide by the laws, and enjoy their benefits, who would gladly spill their blood in the defense of their country; seeing their property destroyed; their families insulted, and their lives endangered; their persons injured; and seeing nothing in prospect that forebodes a change for the better; become tired of, and disgusted with, a Government that offers them no protection; and are not much averse to a change in which they imagine they have nothing to lose. Thus, then, by the operation of this mobocractic spirit, which all must admit, is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any Government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the People. Whenever this effect shall be produced among us; whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands, and burn churches, ravage and rob provision-stores, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure, and with impunity; depend on it, this Government cannot last. By such things, the feelings of the best citizens will become more or less alienated from it; and thus it will be left without friends, or with too few, and those few too weak, to make their friendship effectual. At such a time and under such circumstances, men of sufficient talent and ambition will not be wanting to seize the opportunity, strike the blow, and overturn that fair fabric, which for the last half century, has been the fondest hope, of the lovers of freedom, throughout the world.

I know the American People are much attached to their Government;—I know they would suffer much for its sake;—I know they would endure evils long and patiently, before they would ever think of exchanging it for another. Yet, notwithstanding all this, if the laws be continually despised and disregarded, if their rights to be secure in their persons and property, are held by no better tenure than the caprice of a mob, the alienation of their affections from the Government is the natural consequence; and to that, sooner or later, it must come.

Here then, is one point at which danger may be expected.

The question recurs, "how shall we fortify against it?" The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher to his posterity, swear by the

blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country; and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and Laws, let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor;—let every man remember that to violate the law, is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the character of his own, and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in Primers, spelling books, and in Almanacs;—let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

While ever a state of feeling, such as this, shall universally, or even, very generally prevail throughout the nation, vain will be every effort, and fruitless every attempt, to subvert our national freedom.

When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, nor that grievances may not arise, for the redress of which, no legal provisions have been made.—I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say, that, although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still while they continue in force, for the sake of example, they should be religiously observed. So also in unprovided cases. If such arise, let proper legal provisions be made for them with the least possible delay; but, till then, let them, if not too intolerable, be borne with.

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. In any case that arises, as for instance, the promulgation of abolitionism, one of two positions is necessarily true; that is, the thing is right within itself, and therefore deserves the protection of all law and all good citizens; or, it is wrong, and therefore proper to be prohibited by legal enactments; and in neither case, is the interposition of mob law, either necessary, justifiable, or excusable.

But, it may be asked, why suppose danger to our political institutions? Have we not preserved them for more than fifty years? And why may we not for fifty times as long?

We hope there is no sufficient reason. We hope all dangers may be overcome; but to conclude that no danger may ever arise, would itself be extremely dangerous. There are now, and will hereafter be, many causes, dangerous in their tendency, which have not existed heretofore; and which are not too insignificant to merit attention. That our government should have been maintained in its original form from its establishment until now, is not much to be wondered at. It had many props to support it through that period, which now are decayed, and crumbled away. Through that period, it was felt by all, to be an undecided experiment; now, it is understood to be a successful one.—Then, all that sought celebrity and fame, and distinction, expected to find them in the success of that experiment. Their all was staked upon it:—their destiny was inseparably linked

with it. Their ambition aspired to display before an admiring world, a practical demonstration of the truth of a proposition, which had hitherto been considered, at best no better, than problematical; namely, the capability of a people to govern themselves. If they succeeded, they were to be immortalized; their names were to be transferred to counties and cities, and rivers and mountains; and to be revered and sung, and toasted through all time. If they failed, they were to be called knaves and fools, and fanatics for a fleeting hour; then to sink and be forgotten. They succeeded. The experiment is successful; and thousands have won their deathless names in making it so. But the game is caught; and I believe it is true, that with the catching, end the pleasures of the chase. This field of glory is harvested, and the crop is already appropriated. But new reapers will arise, and they, too, will seek a field. It is to deny, what the history of the world tells us is true, to suppose that men of ambition and talents will not continue to spring up amongst us. And, when they do, they will as naturally seek the gratification of their ruling passion, as others have so done before them. The question then, is, can that gratification be found in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by others? Most certainly it cannot. Many great and good men sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found, whose ambition would inspire to nothing beyond a seat in Congress, a gubernatorial or a presidential chair; but such belong not to the family of the lion, or the tribe of the eagle. What! think you these places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon?—Never! Towering genius distains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored.—It sees no distinction in adding story to story, upon the monuments of fame, erected to the memory of others. It denies that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor, however illustrious. It thirsts and burns for distinction; and, if possible, it will have it, whether at the expense of emancipating slaves, or enslaving freemen. Is it unreasonable then to expect, that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time, spring up among us? And when such a one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the government and laws, and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs.

Distinction will be his paramount object, and although he would as willingly, perhaps more so, acquire it by doing good as harm; yet, that opportunity being past, and nothing left to be done in the way of building up, he would set boldly to the task of pulling down.

Here, then, is a probable case, highly dangerous, and such a one as could not have well existed heretofore.

Another reason which once was; but which, to the same extent, is now no more, has done much in maintaining our institutions thus far. I mean the powerful influence which the interesting scenes of the revolution had upon the passions of the people as distinguished from their judgment. By this influence, the jealousy, envy, and avarice, incident to our nature, and so common to a state of peace, prosperity, and conscious strength, were, for the time, in a great measure smothered and rendered inactive; while

the deep-rooted principles of hate, and the powerful motive of revenge, instead of being turned against each other, were directed exclusively against the British nation. And thus, from the force of circumstances, the basest principles of our nature, were either made to lie dormant, or to become the active agents in the advancement of the noblest cause—that of establishing and maintaining civil and religious liberty.

But this state of feeling must fade, is fading, has faded, with the circumstances that produced it.

I do not mean to say, that the scenes of the revolution are now or ever will be entirely forgotten; but that like every thing else, they must fade upon the memory of the world, and grow more and more dim by the lapse of time. In history, we hope, they will be read of, and recounted, so long as the bible shall be read;—but even granting that they will, their influence cannot be what it heretofore has been. Even then, they cannot be so universally known, nor so vividly felt, as they were by the generation just gone to rest. At the close of that struggle, nearly every adult male had been a participator in some of its scenes. The consequence was, that of those scenes, in the form of a husband, a father, a son or brother, a living history was to be found in every family—a history bearing the indubitable testimonies of its own authenticity, in the limbs mangled, in the scars of wounds received, in the midst of the very scenes related—a history, too, that could be read and understood alike by all, the wise and the ignorant, the learned and the unlearned.—But those histories are gone. They can be read no more forever. They were a fortress of strength; but, what invading foeman could never do, the silent artillery of time has done; the leveling of its walls. They are gone.—They were a forest of giant oaks; but the all-resistless hurricane has swept over them, and left only, here and there, a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage; unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few gentle breezes, and to combat with its mutilated limbs, a few more ruder storms, then to sink, and be no more.

They were the pillars of the temple of liberty; and now, that they have crumbled away, that temple must fall, unless we, their descendants, supply their places with other pillars, hewn from the solid quarry of sober reason. Passion has helped us; but can do so no more. It will in future be our enemy. Reason, cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason, must furnish all the materials for our future support and defence.—Let those materials be moulded into general intelligence, sound morality, and in particular, a reverence for the constitution and laws: and, that we improved to the last; that we remained free to the last; that we revered his name to the last; that, during his long sleep, we permitted no hostile foot to pass over or desecrate his resting place; shall be that which to learn the last trump shall awaken our WASHINGTON.

Upon these let the proud fabric of freedom rest, as the rock of its basis; and as truly as has been said of the only greater institution, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Abraham Lincoln, *Gettysburg Address*

November 19th, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Leon Kass, ***Abraham Lincoln's Re-founding of the Nation***

From the time I was old enough to have a hero, Abraham Lincoln has been mine. At first, it was largely an accident of birth. Born in Chicago on Lincoln's birthday (1939), to immigrant parents who admired Lincoln as the Great Emancipator, I was educated in a public school whose classrooms displayed portraits of Lincoln (and George Washington) and which closed annually (on the exact date, February 12th) in honor of Lincoln's birthday, still in Illinois a civic holiday. One of my prize possessions (a birthday present, I believe) was a large loose-leaf scrapbook bearing a large portrait of President Lincoln as its leather-bound cover. I loved Lincoln well before I really knew why he deserved my—and our—veneration.

Time and study—not to mention living in the United States under thirteen presidents—have steadily increased my love and admiration of Lincoln. He wins my heart because of his exemplary character, his deep understanding of human affairs, his principled and prudent leadership during the Civil, his courageous deeds, and, not least, his way with words and his inspiring speeches. Justly celebrated as the best among those speeches is the address Lincoln gave at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863.

The Gettysburg Address has been memorized, recited, and admired. Countless scholars have discussed its rhetorical devices, literary merit, and political reception. But few have attended to the *thought* of Lincoln's speech and its deeper purposes, purposes that it continues to serve. Many people recognize that this funeral oration, honoring the Union dead in the battle that marked a turning point in the war against Southern rebellion, was clearly even more a summons to the living to prosecute to victorious conclusion a war that, despite the victory at Gettysburg, was not going well enough: what Lincoln calls "the great task remaining before us" is, first and foremost, the winning of the war. But few people see that the speech offers Lincoln's reinterpretation of the American Founding, his construal of the war as a test of that founding, and his own radical call for a second birth of our nation, a nation to be reborn through passing that bloody test. Central to Lincoln's declaration of America reborn is his revisionist reading of our original birth announcement, the Declaration of Independence and, with it, his own as-it-were baptismal teaching on the relation between liberty and equality, crucial to our new birth of freedom.

The express rhetorical purpose of the speech is clearly evident on the surface. The occasion is the dedication of a Union cemetery at Gettysburg for the burial of the nearly 5,300 Union fallen (killed in 3 days; another 17,000 Union soldiers were wounded; 27,000 Confederate soldiers were killed or wounded). Lincoln acknowledges that, "it is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this." But he is much less interested in dedicating a patch of earth to honor the dead than he is in inspiring his listeners, "us the living," who are—despite dispiriting loss and grief—"to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced," dedicated to "the great task remaining before us," namely, victory in the war and the restoration of the Union, now on a more solid foundation. But it is the outer frame of the

speech, and especially its beginning and its end, that bespeaks Lincoln's larger purpose: to create for future generations an *interpretation* of the war, and especially the war's relation to both the once "*new* nation," brought forth by "our fathers" and "conceived in liberty," and "*this* nation," which, through the sacrifice of war and our dedication and resolve, "shall have a new birth of freedom." Before turning to those passages at the beginning and the end, we need to see the relation of this speech to a concern that had preoccupied Lincoln for at least 25 years.

In January 1838, in a remarkable speech to the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln (age 28) worried about the perpetuation of our institutions, now that the Founding generation had gone to rest and those who had known them were also dying out. It is an astonishing speech, informed by profound reflections on law and lawlessness, soaring political ambition (including his own), and the vulnerability of free institutions in democratic times to both mob rule and tyranny. It is in this speech that Lincoln asserts that perpetuating our political institutions requires the development of a "political religion," comprising reverence for the laws and, more generally, sober sentiments "hewn from the solid quarry of sober reason"—among them, the founding principles. As Lincoln put it:

> …Passion has helped us; but can do so no more. It will in future be our enemy. Reason, cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason, must furnish all the materials for our future support and defense.—Let those materials be moulded into *general intelligence; sound morality;* and, in particular, *a reverence for the constitution and laws*.

Lincoln remained, throughout his life, obsessed with the problem of attaching his fellow citizens to the American republic. And one might well say that his speeches taken as a whole—unsurpassed in the annals of American political utterance—follow his advice in the Lyceum address: they articulate the clear rational principles of the American Republic, they are molded into persuasive and sound moral arguments, and they are always in the service of enhancing reverence for the constitution and its laws. But his greatest public utterances were prophetic speeches, speeches that soar and move the soul because they display powers higher than cold, calculating, unimpassioned reason. These supremely inspiring speeches, I submit, were crafted by Lincoln with a view to their becoming canonical texts of the much-needed political religion.

The Gettysburg Address is, in both form and substance, the perfect text for the "bible" of American political religion. It is short enough to be memorized: 3 paragraphs of progressively increasing length, 10 sentences, 272 words (only 130 different words), 74% of which are monosyllables. The polysyllabic words stand out against the little words, and only a few pregnant longer words appear more than once: among the disyllabic words, only *conceived*, *living*, *rather*, *people* (three times in the last clause), and especially *nation* (5 times: "*new* nation" in paragraph 1; "that nation," "any nation," and "that nation" in paragraph 2; but "*this* nation" in the last sentence of paragraph 3, this nation that shall be reborn into freedom). Among still longer words, Lincoln uses more

than once only *devotion* (twice), *consecrate* or *consecrated* (twice), and—the most important word in the speech—*dedicate* or *dedicated* (6 times). Noteworthy also is the echoing use of the word "here"—heard 8 times—the importance of which will be clear by the end.

The three paragraphs of progressively increasing length refer to time periods and actors of progressively increasing rhetorical importance: (paragraph 1) the past ("Fourscore and seven years ago"; "our fathers"; 30 words); (paragraph 2) the *very immediate present* ("Now"; *we* who are engaged in a great civil war, but mainly a much smaller *we* who are, right here and right now, met on a great battlefield of that war and who, fittingly and properly, have come to dedicate a portion of that field; 73 words); and (paragraph 3) our *future* in relation to our present and our past (contrasting "the brave men" who fought and died, with "us the living"); and moving from (a) our inability through speech to dedicate ground better consecrated by the deeds of the brave men, to (b) "us the living" dedicating *ourselves* to the great task remaining before us, (c) to "*we* here highly *resolv[ing]*" to win the war, so that (d) certain great things will follow, both for this nation ("a new birth") and also for people everywhere (169 words, nearly half of them in the last sentence about our dedication). The speech, in its spatial references, has an hourglass structure, widest below: it opens "on this continent," narrows in its center to "a great battle-field" and, even narrower, to "a portion of that field," but finishes by suggesting that our dedication "here" can ensure that popular government will never perish from the *whole earth*.

But these are but smaller formal details, important to be sure for the rhetorical effect, but hardly by themselves enough to give the speech canonical standing. That comes from both its content and its elevated tone and expression, and especially from its famous beginning and end. Let us examine them.

> Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Four score and seven years ago. Why does Lincoln begin with this expression? Scholars note that the language is Biblical, and that it echoes the 90th Psalm:

> The days of our years are three score and ten,
> Or even by reason of strength four score years.

But few notice that, by this pious biblical reference, Lincoln is also making a crucial substantive point: the deed he is about to recount, he intimates, happened not in living memory; four score and seven years ago none alive today (in 1863) had yet been born. Lincoln's beginning reflects and highlights his long-standing concern about perpetuation in a fully post-revolutionary age. He starts by reminding us of things we could not possibly remember.

The theme and imagery of the first paragraph, and indeed of the frame of the speech as a whole, is *birth*: the birth and, at the end, the *re*-birth, of the nation. Four score and seven, or 87, years identifies the birth year as 1776, the year of the Declaration of

Independence, not 1775, the year of Lexington and Concord, not 1787, the year of the Constitution. Lincoln gives no hint of the bloody war of American separation and secession that secured in deed the Declaration's verbal assertion of our independence from Great Britain. Instead, Lincoln gives us an image of quiet generative congress. According to Lincoln, *our fathers*—after pointing out that we could not have known them, Lincoln calls the founders *our fathers*, rather than our *grand*fathers or *fore*fathers, bringing us close to them in spirit and inviting pious gratitude for our patrimony—brought forth or sired upon this continent (as mother) a *new* nation. It is new not only in historical fact. It is new also in principle: it was, Lincoln tells us, "conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Several points deserve emphasis, especially when we compare Lincoln's description of the founding birth with the birth certificate language of the Declaration of Independence itself.

In the Declaration the signers declare: "We *hold* these *truths* to be *self-evident*: that all men are created equal." In Lincoln's version, three important changes are made. First, Lincoln changes a "self-evident truth" to a "proposition." Both notions come from geometry (Lincoln had studied Euclid): a self-evident truth is an *axiom* (for example, "The whole is greater than the part" or "Things equal to the same thing are also equal to one another"), which neither admits of proof nor requires proof, for it contains its evidence in itself. If you *understand* the statement, you are compelled also to *affirm* it as *true*. According to the Declaration, human equality is held to be an axiom, evident in itself: if one understands the meaning of "men," one must immediately see that all men (both male and female[46]) are *equally human*; and, further, one must see that they *equally* possess, by *virtue* of their *equal* humanity, inalienable *rights*, among them, the right to defend their life (when threatened), safeguard their liberty (against enslavement or despotism), and pursue their own happiness as they see fit. A proposition, on the other hand, is like a geometric *theorem*: it is something now put before us—a "pro-posit-ing"—whose truth *must* be proved; yet it may turn out to be either unprovable or even false. According to Lincoln, human equality was less a self-evident *premise*[47] of the American founding, more a proposition in need of *future* demonstration.

The significance of shifting "all men are created equal" from axiom to proposition is revealed by Lincoln's second big change: according to Lincoln "our fathers" treated "all men are created equal" not, as the Declaration states, as a *truth* that

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[46] The term "men" in the Declaration of Independence clearly means "human beings," and refers equally to male and female human beings. The same is true of both of the putative sources for the Declaration's teaching of human equality: the natural rights teaching of John Locke and the "created in the image of God" teaching of the Bible ("God created man in his own image; male and female created He them").

[47] It should also be noted that, in the Declaration, "all men are created equal" is but the first of several such self-evident truths. It is closely followed by assertions about (a) (equal) inalienable rights, (b) rights secured by governments, justly instituted (only) by consent of the governed, and (in the event that instituted governments become destructive of those ends) (c) the right of revolution and of instituting new government, according to principles and forms deemed likely to effect the people's safety and happiness. Thus, in contrast to Lincoln's formulation in the Gettysburg Address, in the context of the declaring independence, the claim of human equality, although it is stated first, functions less as a national credo, and more as the beginning of a logical argument for legitimating the American revolution.

"we *hold*," but as a proposal to which they were *dedicated*. Lincoln shifts the picture from theory to practice: the proposition is more than an intellectual matter that one holds as a belief and proves in speech; it is a practical and moral goal to which one must devote oneself in action. The effective truth of the proposition of human equality cannot be shown by Euclidean reasoning; it must be demonstrated through deed and devotion.

To avoid possible misunderstanding, we need to clarify what sort of human equality needs proof through deed and devotion. The propositional "created equal" clearly does not mean, "created the same." Neither does it mean equal in every respect. We human beings naturally differ in body and mind, talents and character, desire and determination. Some of us are sturdy, swift, or striving; others are sickly, slow, or slothful. Some find success and happiness, others failure and misery. Some are rich, powerful, and in positions of authority; most people are not. But these natural, social, or economic inequalities in no way contradict the equal *humanity* of otherwise differing human beings. Neither do they refute the derivative—and politically relevant—idea of natural or God-given equal *rights*, including the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is the Declaration's (pre-political) equality of intrinsic rights, not social or political equality, to which, according to Lincoln, our nation was dedicated and which, as a proposition, requires proof through deed and dedication.[48]

Third, and most subtly, Lincoln does not ask us to think of the proposition only as a universal truth that we too can try to prove in practice; he wraps that truth in the pious drapery of the dedication of *our fathers*. We should take an interest in this proposition, he implies, not only because it might be true, but as a matter of honoring the memory of our remarkable fathers. In short, Lincoln has transformed a merely intellectual truth, held as self-evident and accessible to universal human reason (the Declaration's formulation), into a truth requiring *practical* demonstration by *particular* people—our fathers—who dedicated themselves to doing so. In this way, Lincoln summons our ancestral piety and attaches it to the principles of an emerging political religion, whose creed he is here redefining. Yet, as we shall see, ancestral piety alone cannot sustain us, and a new birth is necessary, in large part because our fathers did not get it exactly right—not so much in idea as in practice.

Why does Lincoln change the Declaration? In order to address and correct a deep difficulty in our founding regarding the relation between equality and liberty. A clue is provided in the other big idea in the first sentence, "conceived in liberty." We know the fathers, we know the mother continent, and we know the child nation and to what it is dedicated. But what is meant by "conceived *in* liberty," and how does this figure in Lincoln's revision of the story of America's birth?

Attending closely to the image of generation, we note that, because conception precedes birth, our fathers who brought forth the new nation, according to Lincoln,

[48] It is commonly overlooked that, because of the great diversity of talents, ambitions, and efforts of human beings, securing these equal individual rights, especially the right to pursue happiness, virtually guarantees enormous inequalities of outcomes and achievements—economic, social, cultural, political. Neither Lincoln nor the signers of the Declaration of Independence were simple egalitarians.

already enjoyed liberty when they conceived her. But the oddity of the "in" in the phrase, "conceived in Liberty," has confused me for some time. One astute reader suggested that, just as a natural child is "conceived in love," so the American national child was "conceived in love of Liberty." I myself have instead toyed with "conceived *freely*, conceived by *choice*," not by necessity or nature or in a fit of passion, or, alternatively, "conceived in an act of independence and liberation, from the rule of Britain." But an illuminating interpretation was given me by my friend, Harvey Flaumenhaft, of St. John's College, Annapolis. "In Liberty," he suggests, refers to the political matrix that characterizes both "the before" and "the after" of the "bringing forth" of the new nation, and that matrix is British liberty, the context also of the American colonies. Britain, like her colonies and the new republic, was a liberal polity, but British liberty was mixed with a hereditary principle—not only the monarchy, but especially a hereditary nobility of dukes and barons who lorded it over the commons. The true American innovation is the freely chosen replacement of the hereditary principle with the principle of equality and equal rights: governments, the Founders declared, exist to secure the rights not only of the highborn of hereditary privilege but of *all* men, who are *equally* endowed with unalienable rights. Or, in Lincoln's formulation, our fathers exercised their liberty to dedicate a new nation to the principle of human equality.

We today take for granted the compatibility of political liberty and political equality. But this novel addition of the principle of equality to the principle of liberty was then an unprecedented experiment. Not unreasonably, it gave rise to two big questions: Can a nation "so conceived and so dedicated long endure"? Can political equality be obtained without the *surrender* of liberty? Taking the second question first, Lincoln had been personally attacked as a tyrant who was destroying liberty in his pursuit of equality: "Maryland, My Maryland," the state song written in 1861, begins "The despot's heel is on thy shore, Maryland! His torch is at thy temple door, Maryland!" and the alleged despot is none other than Lincoln! His later suspension of the writ of habeas corpus would eventually be ruled unconstitutional. Yet Lincoln teaches in this speech that commitment to the proposition of human equality is not only compatible with liberty, but is in fact freedom's only true foundation.

Regarding the first point, the war, Lincoln says, is a test: a test of the durability of a nation committed to equality as well as to liberty.[49] And although he does not say so here, as he does in the Second Inaugural, the war is a test that is now upon the nation because of an offensive defect in the founding. The defect is not mentioned by name in the Gettysburg Address, but its name is slavery. (Lincoln, by the way, also does not

[49] Lincoln insisted that the civil war was a test also for durability of any nation so conceived and so dedicated. Why might our civil war have such universal significance? In part, perhaps, because of the unprecedented character and great good fortune of America's founding: what other nation heretofore in the name of certain abstract moral and political principles? But also, as we shall see, because the war was fought precisely to defend those principles against rebellious forces that denied those principles and sought to destroy the nation that rested on them. Victory against a rebellion based on denial of fundamental principles is surely evidence of durability.

mention either the North or the South—or the Union—nor does he here assign blame for the war; in the Second Inaugural he will explicitly suggest that the offense of slavery lies with the nation as a whole.)

The Declaration of Independence was a liberal document, not a republican (or democratic) one. It did not by itself specify any particular form of government: *any* government (including monarchy or aristocracy) is legitimate so long as it secures the rights of all who live under its rule and rules by consent of the governed. Yet despite adding the egalitarian principle to the British liberal principle, and despite the fact that, in Lincoln's reformulation of the nation's birth, equality as the *goal* was to come out of liberty by way of dedication, the new nation was flawed and stained from the start by the institution of slavery.

Contrary to current opinion, many of the Founders understood that America's practice fell short of its founding principles, and they devised instrumentalities that they hoped would place slavery in the course of its ultimate extinction. But by Lincoln's time the situation had deteriorated. Not only was the regime in contradiction with itself, falling short of its stated ideals; worse, the South in rebelling had given effect to the view that the principle of equality was not merely too lofty but, in fact, as a proposition simply false. Lincoln knew that this denial of human equality was the true cause of the war; and Lincoln understood that the bloody struggle over slavery was the true test of the nation. Now that the self-evident truth of equality had been turned into a proposition needing proof, and now that the rebels had repudiated the proposition calling it a self-evident lie, passing the test meant winning the war, in part because winning the war meant a repudiation of the repudiation, a vindication of the proposition of equality. And, in practical terms, only by winning the war and by restoring the Union could slavery be abolished and the equal humanity of all citizens given enduring political legitimacy.

This is made clear in the end of the speech, where Lincoln moves from the deeds of the noble dead to "us the living," and, finally, from the religious language of dedication and devotion to the more political language of resolution.

> It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Why must "we *here* highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain"? The goal for which victory is indispensable, stated in Lincoln's conclusion, is two-fold, both aspects transcending the mere restoration of the now dissolved Union: first, "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom"; and second, "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The new birth of freedom—for which Lincoln is here offering the baptismal blessing and explanation—is a birth made possible only through bloodshed, not through generative congress of ancestral patriarchs and mother continent. More important, this new freedom will differ from the British liberty in which the nation was first conceived. Here equality will not come out of liberty. Rather, if we adhere to our resolve, *freedom will be newly born out of equality*, because the inegalitarian principle and the practice of slavery will be repudiated and defeated as the necessary condition of rebirth. Masters as well as slaves will share in this new birth of freedom, having shed the mutual degradation that enslavement brings to them both. Liberty, says Lincoln, has not only not been destroyed, as the rebels claimed; it will for the first time be put on a truly secure foundation: the radical equality of all human beings, now thrice called "the people," who will govern and be governed for their own well-being. We the people, we the living rededicating ourselves here on the graves of the fallen and resolving to act hereafter in service to the cause, become, under God, the nation's new patriarchs and founders.

But it is Lincoln's final words, those enunciating the second goal of the war, that show why the new birth of freedom goes beyond the mere abolition of slavery, and why the vindication of the principle of equality goes beyond securing the intrinsic human rights of the Declaration of Independence. "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" is, in fact, Lincoln's final alteration and improvement of the Declaration, going beyond its neutrality regarding the form of government. To the Declaration's legitimating philosophical principle of consent of the governed Lincoln adds the operative practical (and Constitutional) principle of *popular self-government*. Not only are the people to be governed ("*of* the people"), but they are to do the governing ("*by* the people"). Also, the clear purpose of government is not the prosperity of the few, but the well-being of all ("*for* the people"). The new synthesis of freedom and equality takes the form of democratic self-rule—not just rule of the majority, but that special sort of democratic self-rule that is informed by the proposition of radical human equality and equal human rights.

The nation conceived in liberty got a new birth, a birth of freedom and popular selfgovernment, thanks to the self-sacrificing deeds of "the brave men… who struggled here" and thanks to the dedication of the living, under Lincoln's leadership, to "the cause for which they gave their last full measure of devotion." But taking the long view, the nation became better able to attach the hearts and minds of its citizens thanks to the words fitly spoken at Gettysburg by Father Abraham, who presided over its refounding in speech no less than in deed and whose words have inspired all who came afterwards to dedicate themselves to preserve, protect, and perfect our political freedom and equality. Today and tomorrow, our attachment to the republic is greatly enhanced whenever we reanimate Lincoln's words and, under their still living instruction, remain dedicated to his vision of our national purpose.

Henry Ford, *My Philosophy of Industry*

THERE is no denying the fact that life seems to be becoming more complicated. But is it, really? Isn't it rather that we are asked to make decisions more rapidly than before? With our new forms of transportation and communication the whole outlook of man is changed. It is greatly enlarged. He travels more, sees more, comes in contact with more people, does more things. But there is a question in my mind whether, with all this speeding up of our everyday activities, there is any more real thinking. Thinking is the hardest work there is, which is the probable reason why so few engage in it. If it were possible first to teach people how to go to work to think and then to think, there would be hope for all sorts of things.

It is easy to have ideas. But whose are they and what are they worth? Merely having something on your mind is not thinking. Merely wondering is not thinking. Merely worrying is not thinking. Merely listening with all intentness to catch and remember something that some one is offering out of the essence of wisdom is not thinking. We all have intelligence, for intelligence is the ability to receive; but we have little thinking.

Thinking is creative or it is analytical. Intelligence comprehends the outlines of a thing. Thinking breaks it into its elements, analyzes it, and puts it together again. One feels, however, that—regardless of the fact that up to the present time everything has been about all that it could be under the circumstances—there is a sense in which from this moment forward a new era may emerge, if the necessary human components of the new era decide so. Perhaps the most one can hope for now is to drive home a conviction that as a people we have not done much thinking. If we think we have been thinking and then find out that we have not, the jolt of discovery may be of service to us.

The secrets of life are open to the thinker. Thinking is the work of digging to the foundation and has the aid of higher lights. Thinking calls for facts, and facts are found by digging. He who has gathered of this wealth is well equipped for life.

Of course, in the long run we never really create anything new. We merely discover something which has already existed. We know when we have reached Truth. We are on the right road toward Truth when the things that we are doing make men a little freer than they were. We may also know when we are on the right road by examining what our motives are. Of course, mistakes may be committed with right motives, but the general direction is right when the motive is right. These are the things of which we may be perfectly sure. These principles surround the very base of Life.

Right Things in the Wrong Way

In some instances we are doing right things in the wrong way. Because the method is wrong and the trouble begins presently to show the wrong results, people are quick to draw the conclusion that the whole thing is wrong. They want to wipe it all out. They want to overturn all the machinery of social and of political life. If that were the right thing to do, then it would be the right thing to do. We should never be fearful of the cost of the right thing.

Our discovery of Truth will be one of the great surprises of human experience. When the truth comes everywhere, it will be a great surprise to see how near we have been to it all the time without recognizing it and to see how little are the changes to be made in our exterior mode of doing things. Our experience is a great preparation. It is a preparation to know the Truth when we meet it. Of course, there are many ways of arriving at this goal. Men have been striving for it ever since civilization began. All right activity has been contributing to the ultimate result. Books, mechanics, commerce and science, the motor car, the radio, the airplane—all these have helped us on the way.

Our experiences are coming faster than ever before, both in our industrial world and in our domestic life. Many people see in these changes a world constantly growing worse. I do not believe this; I think we are headed in the right direction and that we should learn to interpret our new life rather than protest against it. We are entering a new era. Old landmarks have disappeared. Our new thinking and new doing are bringing us a new world, a new heaven, and a new earth, for which prophets have been looking from time immemorial. Much of it is here already. But I wonder if we see it.

I have no sympathy with those people who believe the world is growing worse. Of course, we all are making mistakes, but we learn by them. It is only when we correct these mistakes, reverse our tracks, and get back on the main road that we make progress. Automobiles that were made fifteen years ago no longer satisfy. We have all progressed, our needs have changed. We demand more, we see a wider horizon, a better type of civilization; and whether you believe that we are the originators of it or whether a wiser destiny has forced us to accept that which best promotes our welfare matters not. That fact is here and we must recognize it and conform our manner of living to it.

The basic things are, of course, very old. Nothing useful ever passes away. If a light-headed group comes along and imagines they have found a new morality and if they draw to their books and plays and strange philosophies a following of other light-headed groups, some serious people are inclined to believe that the old morality has passed away. The good old type of goodness they say is gone. It is a rather foolish position to take and causes needless worry.

There is nothing new except a new appreciation, a new understanding, and this is the result of experience, and the result of experience can only be character. I believe that all we are here for is to get experience and form our character. Although our beginnings may be small, yet daily we are adding to our sum total of knowledge of reality—those eternalities of which real life is composed. I believe that our conscious individuality will never be lost. No matter what plane of thought we may inhabit we shall be in full consciousness of our birthright of thinking, and by each experience we shall improve our character.

Unfortunately, there exists in our day the pretense of a curious prejudice against any view of life that presupposes moral laws or values. The word “moral,” like many other terms, has been narrowed in its meaning so that it has been made to serve in the very opposite sense. But when one regards the moral law as merely the law of right action or of truth it becomes quite different from “trying to be good.” The universe is set in a

certain direction, and when you go along with it, that is "goodness." If you don't, you are getting an admonitory kind of experience.

There is a vast difference between a man's being merely *statically* "good" and being *dynamically* good. In one state he is merely good negatively, and in the other he is good for something and puts that goodness into effect. He accomplishes something for mankind. We make no progress so long as we deny this. Our motive cannot be the attainment of some kind of goodness which is apart from life itself, but the attainment of inherent rightness, physically, mentally, spiritually, so that this complex instrument which we call society may efficiently function. The *right* way is the *only* way. The rightness of an attitude or method goes down through all its relations. Rightness in mechanics, rightness in morals are basically the same thing and cannot rest apart.

Matter and Spirit

I make no difference between matter and spirit. They are different degrees of fineness of the same thing. The one is becoming the other, through ascent and descent, and both benefit by the process.

Will the poverty and the injustice and the need of the world force us to adopt this law of higher relations? If so, fortunate are we. When we speak of "morality in progress," we mean the maintenance by man of his control of the situation, instead of his being overwhelmed by the situation. We mean that he should mold progress to our highest concept of what is right between man and man and of what will work for the service of all, and not merely consent to be molded out of moral shape by the pressure of progress upon him.

Morality is merely doing the sound thing in the best way. It is a larger view and a longer view applied to life. The world is on the whole quite receptive to this implication of progress and we are all waiting for more manifestations of its workings, which are incidentally more numerous now than they have ever been in all the ages of mankind. Regardless of what we name it, this view is surely moving to practical recognition. There is one thing that we know about universal law: it operates for us if we will, against us if it must—but it operates.

Furthermore, I believe that the application of this law is necessary for business success. Just as a clean factory, clean tools, accurate gauges, and precise methods of manufacture produce a smooth-working, efficient machine; so clear thinking, clean living, square dealing make of an industrial or domestic life a successful one, smooth-running and helpful to every one concerned. It has always been surprising to me that so few people realize this great fact. Many people are led astray by gaudily painted substitutes, imitations, when they could have the genuine for the same equivalent of time or money spent—in fact, many times for much less.

The whole industrial world is suffering from many bad practices which we must refuse to use or tolerate. There must be a substitution of right methods, of right motives, the real ideas of service. I am no sentimentalist in this regard, it is just good business. There was a word once spoken which throws light on this: "Seek ye first the kingdom of

God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." This is from the Sermon on the Mount. It sounds religious but it is just a plain statement of facts. It means just what it says—the reign, the rule, the law of the highest relations. Get that right way, work by that, and you have the world—a world without poverty, without injustice, without need.

As people wake up in their thinking—and we are even now arriving at this point in some respects—the benefits will be universally ours. Such facts are spreading throughout the whole civilized world. Even foreign lands are feeling the benefit of American progress, our American right thinking. Both Russia's and China's problems are fundamentally industrial and will be solved by the application of these right methods of thinking, practically applied.

No Machine Age

Another thing, it is a mistake to think that we are living in a *machine age*. That's one of those bugaboos which people who do not understand the changing fundamentals of our civilization have set up. They prophesy all sorts of things because we have been freeing men for centuries and making it possible for them to widen their lives. We are *not* living in a machine age, *we are living in the power age*. This power age of ours has great possibilities, depending upon how we use it. Of course it can be abused. But it can also be used greatly to benefit mankind.

Here is where what we call the moral law comes in. Power must be properly used or it will destroy us. But I, for one, do not believe that we are headed in this direction. I believe that, fundamentally, every man has sensed his freedom and is eagerly making way for the new era, which is fast appearing. I think we are due for a big change in educational methods. That is one of the reasons why we are, at present, trying out our trade school form of teaching.

Give men or women the ability to think for themselves and they will soon acquire the facts necessary for the solution of their problems. The ability to recognize truth when you see it and the ability to think a thing through to its logical conclusion—these are important. These will help a man or woman contribute his or her share to the social welfare and progress of the world.

Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin Franklin both thought in fundamentals. They would be just as much at home in our civilization of today—just as valuable contributing members of our society—as they were in the age in which they lived. The Truth they knew still persists. The Truth we discover, know, and use, sets our value in the world.

In the deep, unwritten wisdom of life, there are many things to be learned that cannot be taught. We never know them by hearing them spoken, but we grow into them by experience and recognize them through understanding. Understanding is a great experience in itself, but it does not come through instruction. Nothing ripens that is not first planted, and the very desire, the dream, the ambitions of youth are by way of a planting which will come to fruition some time after these desires are abandoned and

forgotten. For the sown seed goes on growing whether we remember it or not. The wisdom of life, is to keep on planting.

It seems to be the tendency of our coming generation to want things in tabloid form. Our youth want to get their education quickly. They want to find short cuts to knowledge. In some ways this is a desirable tendency. We are making use of it in our trade schools by teaching our boys many things by motion pictures. For example, we teach them how to use a micrometer, how to use gauges. Many of the processes which are hard to describe in words can be made plain in a few moments by good pictures. Pictures speak the universal language. But, on the other hand, observation means little without reflection. In the old methods we observed many things pretty much as they really were. In the present-day radio and movie we observe them as some one desires them to appear.

Such a process is likely to stunt our reflective power. On the other hand, the new methods are stimulants. However, these new mediums of education will gradually find their place and the outworn methods will slip out. This will, of course, happen in individual cases much faster than it will in society generally. As is always the case, individuals can make more rapid progress than society can. One portion of the country or the world may see a thing and use it for months or even years before the rest of the world is willing to adopt it.

To my mind there is little difference between an international problem and a local one. The only difference is that people generally think in local terms instead of thinking in universal conceptions. As I have told many young men who have come to me for advice on how to succeed, it is just as easy to think big as it is to think in small and limited ways. It is just as easy to plow a thousand acres with a tractor as it used to be to plow a ten-acre lot with a horse. And it takes no more time.

Politics Don’t Matter

Political boundaries and political opinions don't really make much difference. It is the economic condition which really forces change and compels progress.

I have been asked several times whether I believe that the large cities will continue to grow and drain the country of its small town population, or whether the reverse will be true. Well, I think we shall continue to have large cities and small towns. Each has its advantage, each has its reason for being. There are disadvantages in both, but the good in each will survive.

The father and mother of today, who are not content with the conditions under which they are living, will not be willing to have their children grow up in the same environment. They will try to change it and thus will come about many movements which will be good for both the city and the country.

Our new forms of transportation are making it easy for people to get out to see other localities, to become familiar with the kind of country in which they wish to settle. Such an interchange of social contacts, such a broadening of all people’s geographical horizons will ultimately bring about a redistribution in which each person will naturally gravitate to that part of the country in which he is best satisfied to live. The automobile

has done for this country what the airplane and radio may do for the world. A wider circulation of right ideas always breaks down prejudices and helps secure universal understanding.

This, then, suggests a solution of the problem of world peace. A peaceful nation is one that has the means to make war and refrains. Until the means are present, disposition toward their misuse cannot be fully known. In the present world the believers in peace confront the advocates of war and, fortunately, the former are better armed. Their power for peace seems to be in proportion to their power to enforce it.

It sometimes seems that the course of history has been an effort to produce the invincible warrior and through him to dominate the world for peace. The nation must be capable of making war and refrain before its natural peaceableness can be known. Some nations, very great ones, are today physically unable to make war. Maybe they will continue peaceable even when they become capable of this dread ability, but we also know that there are nations able to make war who believe in peace. What the peace-loving forces of the world are facing is the war-loving forces. If that fact could be realized much waste motion would be saved.

It is interesting to study international methods of education. The educational processes differ according to the goal in view. Many of the old civilizations educate their upper classes for a condition of economic freedom and vegetative leisure, while their lower classes are held in industrial slavery. In fact, it is by the use of leisure that we may judge the characteristics of a people. There was a time when leisure was regarded as lost time. Particularly in industry, the creation of leisure time was supposed to be impractical and wasteful. It was said that working men had not been trained how to make the most of it and that a reduction of daily working hours would result in greater poverty and dissipation.We, in America, have changed our thoughts in this regard very much during the last few years. We have come to see that leisure is not waste time, that even from a cold business point of view it pays dividends in greater profits, better health, and a better product. Furthermore, it has been discovered that the workingman very soon finds a desirable and healthy way to use his leisure time to his own personal advancement and for the greater happiness of his family. The second generation is never at a mental loss to improve their time. It has been our experience that even those who come from countries where long, hard working hours were the rule are soon found using their leisure hours in a useful manner.

Man needs leisure to think, and the world needs thinkers. One of the hardest things in the industrial world today is to find enough men who are capable of thinking a problem through, executives who can do the whole job without further supervision or additional prompting. Americans of every class have more spare time than the people of any other nation in the world. But leisure is by no means secure so long as it is regarded as a privilege forced by the demands of the class. It is not secure so long as industry regards it as lost time. There is a law which definitely relates leisure to economic well-being. We are learning to use that law to the betterment of our business, the improvement of our people, and the increased welfare of our country.

Ray Dalio, *Principles for Dealing with the Changing World Order*

Introduction

The times ahead will be radically different from those we've experienced in our lifetimes, though similar to many times in history.

How do I know that? Because they always have been.

Over the last 50 or so years, in order to handle my responsibilities well, I have needed to understand the most important factors that go into making countries and their markets succeed and fail. I learned that to anticipate and handle situations that I had never faced before I needed to study as many analogous historical cases as possible to understand the mechanics of how they transpired. That gave me principles for dealing with them well.

A few years ago, I observed the emergence of a number of big developments that hadn't happened before in my lifetime but had occurred numerous times in history. Most importantly, I was seeing the confluence of huge debts and zero or near-zero interest rates that led to massive printing of money in the world's three major reserve currencies; big political and social conflicts within countries, especially the US, due to the largest wealth, political, and values gaps in roughly a century; and the rising of a new world power (China) to challenge the existing world power (the US) and the existing world order. The most recent analogous time was the period from 1930 to 1945. This was very concerning to me.

I knew that I couldn't really understand what was happening and deal with what would be coming at me unless I studied past analogous periods, which led to this study of the rises and declines of empires, their reserve currencies, and their markets. In other words, to develop an understanding of what is happening now and might happen over the next few years, I needed to study the mechanics behind similar cases in history—c.g., the 1930–45 period, the rise and fall of the Dutch and British empires, the rise and fall of Chinese dynasties, and others.[50] I was in the midst of doing those studies when the COVID-19 pandemic struck, which was another one of those big events that never happened in my lifetime but had happened many times before. Past pandemics became a part of this study and showed me that surprising acts of nature—e.g., diseases, famines, and floods—need to be considered as possibilities because those surprising big acts of nature that rarely come along were by any measure even more impactful than the biggest depressions and wars.

As I studied history, I saw that it typically transpires via relatively well-defined life cycles, like those of organisms, that evolve as each generation transitions to the next. In fact, the history and the future of humanity can be seen as just the aggregate of all the individual life stories evolving

[50] To be clear, while I am describing these cycles of the past, I'm not one of those people who believes that what happened in the past will necessarily continue into the future without understanding the cause/effect mechanics that drive changes. My objective above all else is to have you join with me in looking at the cause/effect relationships and then to use that understanding to explore what might be coming at us and agree on principles to handle it in the best possible way.

through time. I saw these stories flow together as one all-encompassing story from the beginning of recorded history up to this moment, with the same things happening over and over again for basically the same reasons, while still evolving. **By seeing many interlinking cases evolve together, I could see the patterns and cause/effect relationships that govern them and could imagine the future based on what I learned. These events happened many times throughout history and were parts of a cycle of rises and declines of empires and most aspects of empires**—e.g., of their education levels, their levels of productivity, their levels of trade with other countries, their militaries, their currencies and other markets, etc.

Each of these aspects or powers transpired in cycles, and they were all interrelated. For example, nations' levels of education affected their levels of productivity, which affected their levels of trade with other countries, which affected the levels of military strength required to protect trade routes, which together affected their currencies and other markets, which affected many other things. Their movements together made up the economic and political cycles that occurred over many years—e.g., a very successful empire or dynasty could have its cycle last 200 or 300 years. **All the empires and dynasties I studied rose and declined in a classic Big Cycle that has clear markers that allow us to see where we are in it.**

This Big Cycle produces swings between 1) peaceful and prosperous periods of great creativity and productivity that raise living standards a lot and 2) depression, revolution, and war periods when there is a lot of fighting over wealth and power and a lot of destruction of wealth, life, and other things we cherish. I saw that the peaceful/creative periods lasted much longer than the depression/revolution/war periods, typically by a ratio of about 5:1, so one could say that the depression/revolution/war periods were transition periods between the normally peaceful/creative periods.

While the peaceful/creative periods are certainly more enjoyable for most people, all these realities have their purposes for advancing evolution, so in the broader sense they are neither good nor bad. The depression/revolution/war periods produce a lot of destruction, but like cleansing storms, they also get rid of weaknesses and excesses (such as too much debt) and produce a new beginning in the form of a return to fundamentals on a sounder footing (albeit painfully). After the conflict is resolved, it is clear who has what power, and because most people desperately want peace, there is a resolution that produces new monetary, economic, and political systems—together, a new world order-and fosters the next peaceful/creative period. Within this Big Cycle are other cycles. For example, there are long-term debt cycles that last about 100 years and short-term debt cycles that last about eight years. This short-term cycle also has within it longer, prosperous expansion periods that are interrupted by shorter recession periods, and within these cycles are shorter cycles, and so on.

Before I get your head spinning with all this cycle stuff, the main thing I want to convey is that when the cycles align, the tectonic plates of history shift, and the lives of all people change in big ways. These shifts will sometimes be terrible and sometimes terrific. They certainly will happen in the future, and most people will fail to anticipate them. In other words, **the swinging of conditions from one extreme to another in a cycle is the norm, not the**

exception. It was a very rare country in a very rare century that didn't have at least one boom/harmonious/prosperous period and one depression/ civil war/revolution period, so we should expect both. Yet, most people throughout history have thought (and still think today) that the future will look like a slightly modified version of the recent past. That is because **the really big boom periods and the really big bust periods, like many things, come along about once in a lifetime and so they are surprising unless one has studied the patterns of history over many generations**. Because the swings between great and terrible times tend to be far apart, **the future we encounter is likely to be very different from what most people expect**.

For example, my dad and most of his peers who went through the Great Depression and World War II never imagined the post-war economic boom because it was more different from than similar to what they had experienced. I understand why, given those experiences, they wouldn't think of borrowing and putting their hard-earned savings into the stock market, so it's understandable that they missed out on profiting from the boom. Similarly, I understand why, decades later, those who only experienced debt-financed booms and never experienced depression and war would borrow a lot in order to speculate and would consider depression and war implausible. The same is true with money: money used to be "hard" (i.e., linked to gold) after World War II until governments made money "soft" (i.e., fiat) to accommodate borrowing and prevent entities from going broke in the 1970s. As a result, most people at the time of my writing this book believe that they should borrow more, even though borrowing and debt-financed booms have historically led to depressions and internal and external conflicts.

Understanding history in this way also raises questions whose answers provide us with valuable clues on what the future will be like. For example, throughout my life, the dollar has been the world's reserve currency, monetary policy has been an effective tool for stimulating economies, and democracy and capitalism have been widely regarded as the superior political and economic systems. Anyone who studies history can see that **no system of government, no economic system, no currency, and no empire lasts forever, yet almost everyone is surprised and ruined when they fail**. Naturally I asked myself how would I and the people I care about know when we are entering one of these depression/revolution/war periods and how would we know how to navigate them well. Because my professional responsibility is to preserve wealth regardless of the environment, I needed to develop an understanding and strategy that would have worked throughout history, including through these sorts of devastating times.

The purpose of this book is to pass along what I learned that has helped me and that I believe might help you. I present it for your consideration.

How I Learned to Anticipate the Future by Studying the Past

While it might seem odd that an investment manager who is required to make investment decisions on short time frames would pay so much attention to long-term history, through my experiences I have learned that I need this perspective. My approach isn't an academic one created for scholarly purposes; it is a very practical one that I follow in order to do my job well. The game I play requires me to understand what is likely to happen to economies better than

the competition does, so I have spent roughly 50 years closely observing most major economies and their markets—as well as their political conditions, since those affect both—trying to understand what is happening well enough to bet on it. From my years of wrestling with the markets and trying to come up with principles for doing it well, I've learned that **one's ability to anticipate and deal well with the future depends on one's understanding of the cause/effect relationships that make things change, and one's ability to understand these cause/effect relationships comes from studying how they have changed in the past**.

I arrived at this approach after the painful learning that the biggest mistakes in my career came from missing big market moves that hadn't happened in my lifetime but had happened many times before. The first of these big surprises for me came in 1971 when I was 22 years old and clerking on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange as a summer job. I loved it because it was a fast-paced game of making and losing money played on a trading floor with people who liked to have a blast with each other—so much so that traders used to have water pistol fights right on the trading floor. I was engrossed in this game of watching the big developments in the world and betting on how they would drive the markets. Sometimes it could be dramatic.

On a Sunday night—August 15, 1971—President Richard Nixon announced that the US would renege on its promise to allow paper dollars to be turned in for gold. As I listened to Nixon speak, I realized that the US government had defaulted on a promise and that money as we knew it had ceased to exist. That couldn't be good, I thought. So on Monday morning I walked onto the floor of the exchange expecting pandemonium as stocks took a dive. There was pandemonium all right, but not the sort I expected. Instead of falling, the stock market jumped about 4 percent as the dollar plummeted. I was shocked. That's because I hadn't experienced a currency devaluation before. In the days that followed, I dug into history and saw that there were many cases of currency devaluations that had had similar effects on stock markets. By studying further, I figured out why, and I learned something valuable that would help me many times in my future. It took a few more of those painful surprises to beat the realization into my head that I needed to understand all the big economic and market moves that had happened in the last 100-plus years and in all major countries.

In other words, if some big and important event had happened in the past (like the Great Depression), I couldn't say for sure that it wouldn't happen to me, so I had to figure out how it worked and be prepared to deal with it. Through my research I saw that there were many cases of the same types of things happening (e.g., depressions) and that by studying them just like a doctor studies many cases of a particular type of disease, I could gain a deeper understanding of how they work. I studied these through my experiences both qualitatively and quantitatively, by speaking with preeminent experts, reading great books, and digging into statistics and archives with my great research team.

From that learning came a visualization of an archetypical sequence of how rises and declines in wealth and power typically happen. The archetype helps me see the cause/effect relationships that drive how these cases typically progress. With that archetypical template specified, I can study deviations from it to try to explain them. Then I put these mental models into algorithms

both to monitor conditions relative to my archetypes and to help me make decisions based on them. This process helps me refine my understanding of the cause/ effect relationships to the point where I can create decision-making rules—i.e., principles for dealing with my realities—in the form of "if/then" statements—i.e., if X happens, then make Y bet. Then I watch actual events transpire relative to that template and what we are expecting. I do these things in a very systematic way with my partners at Bridgewater Associates. If events are on track, we continue to bet on what typically comes next; if events start to deviate from our template, we try to understand why and course correct. This process has helped me both understand the big cause/effect sequences that typically drive their progressions and gain a lot of humility. I do this continuously and will continue to do it until I die, so what you are reading is a work in progress.

This Approach Affects How I See Everything

Seeing events in this way helped shift my perspective from being caught in the blizzard of things coming at me to stepping above them to see their patterns through time. The more related things I could understand in this way, the more I could see how they influence each other—e.g., how the economic cycle works with the political one—and how they interact over longer periods of time.

I believe that the reason people typically miss the big moments of evolution coming at them in life is because they experience only tiny pieces of what's happening. We are like ants preoccupied with our jobs of carrying crumbs in our very brief lifetimes instead of having a broader perspective of the big-picture patterns and cycles, the important interrelated things driving them, where we are within the cycles, and what's likely to transpire. From gaining this perspective, I've come to believe that throughout history there are only a limited number of personality types going down a limited number of paths, which lead them to encounter a limited number of situations to produce a limited number of stories that repeat over time. The only things that change are the clothes the characters are wearing, the languages they are speaking, and the technologies they're using.

Chapter 1

The Big Cycle in a Tiny Nutshell

As explained in the introduction, the world order is now rapidly shifting in important ways that have never happened in our lifetimes but have happened many times before. My objective is to show you those cases and the mechanics that drove them and, with that perspective, attempt to imagine the future.

What follows here is an ultra-distilled description of the dynamics that I saw in studying the rises and declines of the last three reserve currency empires (the Dutch, the British, and the American) and the six other significant empires over the last 500 years (Germany, France, Russia, India, Japan, and China), as well as all of the major Chinese dynasties back to the Tang

Dynasty in around the year 600. The purpose of this chapter is simply to provide an archetype to use when looking at all the cycles, most importantly the one that we are now in.

In studying these past cases, I saw clear patterns that occurred for logical reasons that I briefly summarize here and cover more completely in subsequent chapters. While the focus of this chapter and this book are on those forces that affected the big cyclical swings in wealth and power, I also saw ripple-effect patterns in all dimensions of life, including culture and the arts, social mores, and more, which I will touch on later. Between this simple archetype and the cases shown in Part II, we will see how the individual cases fit the archetype (which is essentially just the average of those cases) and how well the archetype describes the individual cases. Doing this, I hope, will help us better understand what is happening now.

I'm on a mission to figure out how the world works and to gain timeless and universal principles for dealing with it well. It's both a passion and a necessity for me. While the curiosities and concerns that I described earlier pulled me into doing this study, the process of conducting it gave me a much greater understanding of the really big picture of how the world works than I expected to get, and I want to share it with you. It made much clearer to me how peoples and countries succeed and fail over long swaths of time, it revealed giant cycles behind these ups and downs that I never knew existed, and, most importantly, it helped me put into perspective where we now are.

For example, through my research, I learned that **the biggest thing affecting most people in most countries through time is the struggle to make, take, and distribute wealth and power**, **though they also have struggled over other things too, most importantly ideology and religion**. These struggles happened in timeless and universal ways and had huge implications for all aspects of people's lives, unfolding in cycles like the tide coming in and out.

I also saw how, throughout time and in all countries, the people who have the wealth are the people who own the means of wealth production. In order to maintain or increase their wealth, they work with the people who have the political power, who are in a symbiotic relationship with them, to set and enforce the rules. I saw how this happened similarly across countries and across time. While the exact form of it has evolved and will continue to evolve, the most important dynamics have remained pretty much the same. The classes of those who were wealthy and powerful evolved over time (e.g., from monarchs and nobles who were landowners when agricultural land was the most important source of wealth, to capitalists and elected or autocratic political officials now that capitalism produces capital assets and that wealth and political power are generally not passed along in families) but they still cooperated and competed in basically the same ways.

I saw how, over time, this dynamic leads to a very small percentage of the population gaining and controlling exceptionally large percentages of the total wealth and power, then becoming overex-tended, and then encountering bad times, which hurt those least wealthy and least powerful the hardest, which then leads to conflicts that produce revolutions and/or civil wars. When these conflicts are over, a new world order is created, and the cycle begins again.

In this chapter, I will share more of this big-picture synthesis and some of the details that go along with it. While what you're reading here are my own views, you should know that the ideas I express in this book have been well-triangulated with other experts. About two years ago, when I felt that I needed to answer the questions I described in the introduction, I decided to immerse myself in studying with my research team, digging through archives, speaking with the world's best scholars and practitioners who each had in-depth understandings of bits and pieces of the puzzle, reading relevant great books by insightful authors, and reflecting on the prior research I've done and the experiences that I've had from investing globally for nearly 50 years.

Because I view this as an audacious, humbling, necessary, and fascinating undertaking, I am worried about missing important things and being wrong, so my process is iterative. I do my research, write it up, show it to the world's best scholars and practitioners to stress test it, explore potential improvements, write it up again, stress test it again, and so on, until I get to the point of diminishing returns. This study is the product of that exercise. While I can't be sure that I have the formula for what makes the world's greatest empires and their markets rise and fall exactly right, I'm pretty confident that I got it by and large right. I also know that what I learned is essential for my putting what is happening now into perspective and for imagining how to deal with important events that have never happened in my lifetime but have happened repeatedly throughout history.

Understanding the Big Cycle

For reasons that are explained in this book, I believe that we are now seeing an archetypical big shift in relative wealth and power and the world order that will affect everyone in all countries in profound ways. This big wealth and power shift is not obvious because most people don't have the patterns of history in their minds to see this one as "another one of those." So in this first chapter, I will describe in a very brief way how I see the archetypical mechanics behind rises and declines of empires and their markets working. I have identified 18 important determinants that have explained almost all of the basic ebbs and flows through time that have caused ups and downs in empires. We will look at them in a moment. Most of them transpire in classic cycles that are mutually reinforcing in ways that tend to create a single very big cycle of ups and downs. This archetypical Big Cycle governs the rising and declining of empires and influences everything about them, including their currencies and markets (which I'm especially interested in). **The most important three cycles are the ones I mentioned in the introduction: the long-term debt and capital markets cycle, the internal order and disorder cycle, and the external order and disorder cycle.**

Because these three cycles are typically the most important, we will be looking at them in some depth in later chapters. Then we will apply them to history and the present day so that you can see how they play out in real examples.

These cycles drive swings back and forth between opposites—swings between peace and war, economic boom and bust, the political left and political right being in power, the coalescing and

disintegrating of empires, etc.—that typically occur because people push things to extremes that surpass their equilibrium levels, which leads to swings that get overdone in the opposite direction. **Embedded in the swings in one direction are the ingredients that lead to the swings in the opposite direction.**

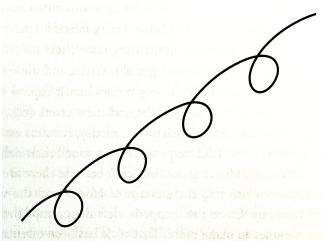
These cycles have remained essentially the same through the ages for essentially the same reason that the fundamentals of the human life cycle have remained the same over the ages: because human nature doesn't change much over time. For example, fear, greed, jealousy, and other basic emotions have remained constants and are big influences that drive cycles.

While it is true that no two people's life cycles are exactly the same and the typical life cycle has changed over the millennia, the archetype of the human life cycle—of children being raised by parents until they are independent, at which point they raise their own children and work, which they do until they get old, retire, and die—remains essentially the same. Similarly the big money/credit/capital markets cycle, which builds up too much debt and debt assets (e.g., bonds) until the debts can't be serviced with hard money, remains essentially the same. As always, this leads to people trying to sell their debt assets to make purchases and finding out they can't because there are far too many debt assets relative to the amount of money and the value of stuff there is to buy. Once this happens, defaults prompt those who manufacture money to make more. That cycle has been essentially the same for thousands of years. So have the cycles of internal order and disorder and external order and disorder. We will explore how human nature and other dynamics drive these cycles in the coming chapters.

Evolution, Cycles, and the Bumps Along the Way

Evolution is the biggest and only permanent force in the universe, yet we struggle to notice it. While we see what exists and what happens, we don't see evolution and the evolutionary forces that make things exist and happen. Look around you. Do you see evolutionary change? Of course not. Yet you know that what you are looking at is changing—albeit slowly from your perspective—and you know that in time it won't exist and other things will exist in its place. To see this change, we have to devise ways to measure things and watch the measurements change. Then, once we can see the change, we can study why it happens. This is what we must do if we are going to successfully think about the changes ahead and how to deal with them.

Evolution is the upward movement toward improvement that occurs because of adaptation and learning. Around it are cycles. To me, most everything transpires as an ascending trajectory of improvement with cycles around it, like an upward-pointing corkscrew:



Evolution is a relatively smooth and steady improvement because the gaining of knowledge is greater than the losing of knowledge. Cycles on the other hand move back and forth, producing excesses in one direction that lead to reversals and excesses in the other, like the swinging of a pendulum. For example, over time our living standards rise because we learn more, which leads to higher productivity, but we have ups and downs in the economy because we have debt cycles that drive actual economic activity up and down around that uptrend. These evolutionary and sometimes revolutionary changes around the trend are not always smooth and painless. Sometimes they are very abrupt and painful as mistakes are made, learning occurs, and better adaptations result.

Together evolution and cycles make the upward corkscrew-type movements that we see in everything—wealth, politics, biology, technology, sociology, philosophy, etc.

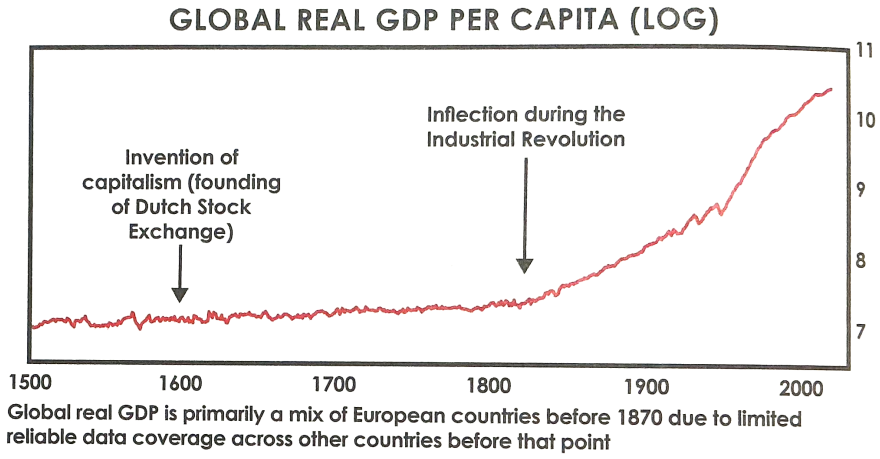
Human productivity is the most important force in causing the world's total wealth, power, and living standards to rise over time. Productivity—i.e., the output per person, driven by learning, building, and inventiveness—has steadily improved over time. However, it has risen at different rates for different people, though always for the same reasons—because of the quality of people's education, inventiveness, work ethic, and economic systems to turn ideas into output. These reasons are important for policy makers to understand in order to achieve the best possible outcomes for their countries, and for investors and companies to understand in order to determine where the best long-term investments are.

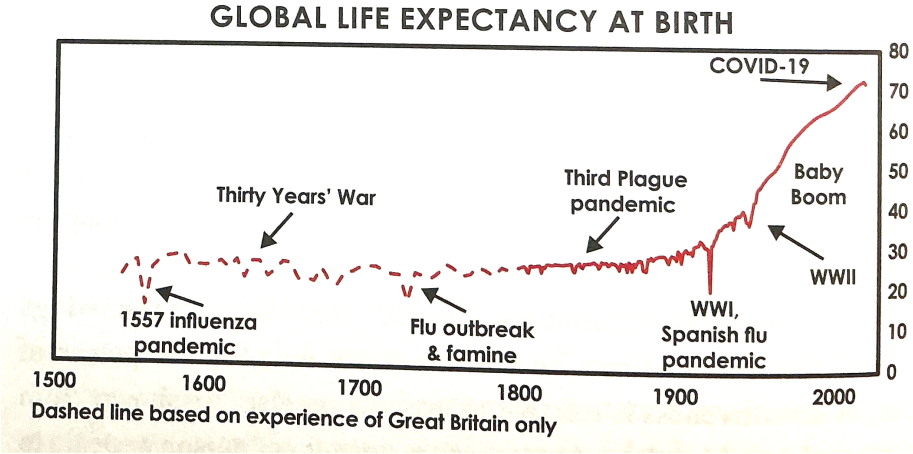
This constantly increasing trend is the product of humanity's capacity to evolve, which is greater than any other species' because our brain gives us a unique capacity to learn and think abstractly. As a result, our inventions of technologies and ways of doing things have advanced uniquely. That evolution has led to the continuous evolutions that make up the changing world order. Technological advances in communications and transportation have brought everyone in the world closer together, which has changed the nature of relationships of people and empires in profound ways. We see such evolutionary improvements apparent in just about everything greater life expectancy, better products, better ways of doing things, etc. Even our way of evolving has evolved in the form of coming up with better ways to create and innovate. This has been true for as long as human history has been written. As a result of this, charts of most everything show more upward slopes toward improvement than up and down movements.

This is shown in the following charts: estimated output (i.e., estimated real GDP) per person and life expectancy over the last 500 years. These are probably the two most widely agreed-upon measures of well-being, though they are imperfect. You can see the magnitudes of their evolutionary uptrends relative to the magnitudes of the swings around them.

The fact that the trends are so pronounced relative to the swings around the trends shows how much more forceful the power of human inventiveness is relative to everything else. As shown from this top-down, big-picture perspective, output per person appears to be steadily improving, though very slowly in the early years and faster starting in the 19th century, when the upward slope becomes much steeper, reflecting the faster productivity gains. This shift from lower productivity gains to faster productivity gains was primarily due to the

improvements in broad learning and the conversion of that learning into productivity. That was brought about by a number of factors going as far back as Gutenberg's printing press in Europe in the mid-15th century (printing had already been in use in China for centuries), which increased the knowledge and education available to many more people, contributing to the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, the invention of capitalism, and the First Industrial Revolution in Britain. We will delve into these shortly.





The broader-based improvements in productivity that came from the invention of capitalism, entrepreneurship, and the Industrial Revolution also shifted wealth and power away from an agriculture-based economy in which landownership was the principal source of power, and monarchs, nobles, and the clergy worked together to maintain their grip on it. The shift moved toward an industry-based economy in which inventive capitalists created and owned the means of production of industrial goods and worked together with those in government to maintain the system that allowed them to have the wealth and power. In other words, since the Industrial Revolution, which brought about that change, we have been operating in a system in which wealth and power have primarily come more from the combination of education, inventiveness, and capitalism, with those who run governments working with those who control most of the wealth and education.

How this evolution with big cycles around it happens also continues to evolve. For example, while ages ago agricultural land and agricultural production were worth the most and that evolved into machines and what they produced being worth the most, digital things that have no apparent physical existence (data and information processing) are now evolving to become worth the most.[51] This is creating a fight over who obtains the data and how they use it to gain wealth and power.

The Cycles Around the Uptrend

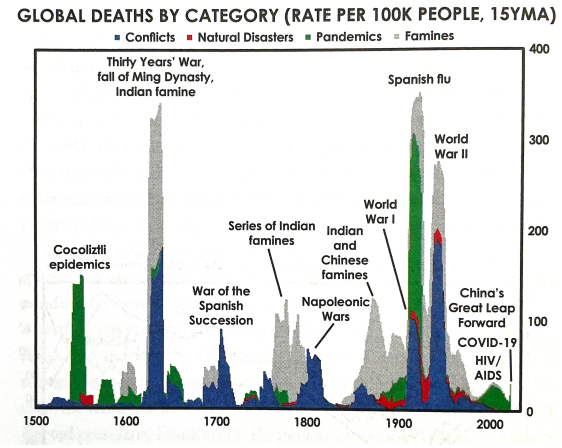
While significant, because these learnings and productivity improvements are evolutionary, they don't cause big abrupt shifts in who has what wealth and power. The big abrupt shifts come from booms, busts, revolutions, and wars, which are primarily driven by cycles, and these cycles are driven by logical cause/effect relationships. For example, the forces of increased productivity, entrepreneurship, and capitalism that marked the end of the 19th century also produced big wealth gaps and overindebtedness that led to economic downturns that, in the first half of the 20th century, led to anti-capitalism, communism, and big conflicts over wealth and power within and between countries. What you can see is evolution marching on with big cycles around it. **Throughout time, the formula for success has been a system in which well-educated people, operating civilly with each other, come up with innovations, receive funding through capital markets, and own the means by which their innovations are turned into the production and allocation of resources, allowing them to be rewarded by profit making. However, over the long run capitalism has created wealth and opportunity gaps and overindebtedness that have led to economic downturns and revolutions and wars that have caused changes in the domestic and world orders.**

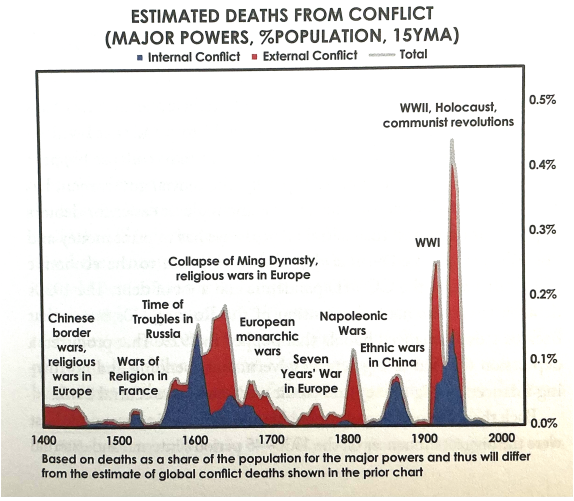
As you can see in the following charts, history shows us that almost all of these turbulent times were due to fighting over wealth and power (i.e., conflicts in the form of revolutions and wars, often driven by money and credit collapses and big wealth gaps), and severe acts of nature like droughts, floods, and epidemics). It also shows that how bad these periods get depends almost exclusively on how strong countries are and their ability to endure them.

Countries with large savings, low debts, and a strong reserve currency can withstand economic and credit collapses better than countries that don't have much savings, have a lot of debt, and don't have a strong reserve currency. Likewise those that have strong and capable leadership and civil populations can be managed better than those that don't have these, and

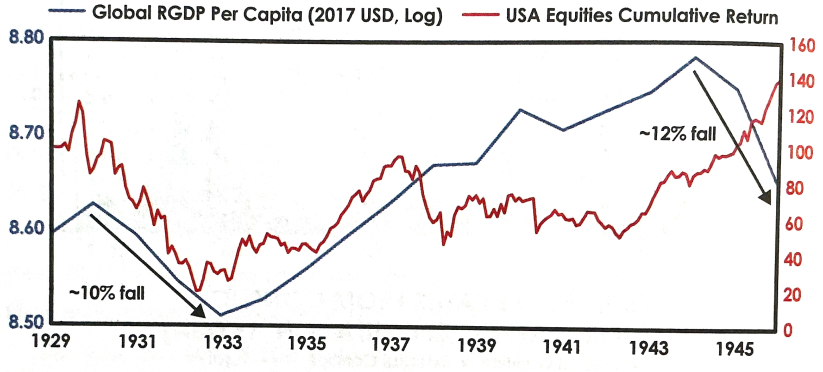
[51] At this time, humanity is evolving its ways of thinking and increasing productivity in more dramatic ways than ever before—even more dramatically than the discovery and usage of the scientific method. We are doing this through the development of artificial intelligence, which is an alternative way of thinking via an alternative brain that can make discoveries and process them into instructions of what should be done. Humanity is essentially creating an alternative species that has enormous capacity to see past patterns and process many different ideas very quickly, has little or no common sense, has trouble understanding the logic behind relationships, and doesn't have emotions. This species is simultaneously smart and stupid, helpful and dangerous. It offers great potential and needs to be well-controlled but not blindly followed.

those that are more inventive will adapt better than those that are less inventive. As you will see later, these factors are measurable timeless and universal truths.





Because these turbulent times are small in relation to the evolutionary uptrend of humanity's capacity to adapt and invent, they barely show up in the previous charts of GDP and life expectancy, appearing only as relatively minor wiggles. Yet these wiggles seem very big to us because we are so small and short-lived. Take the 1930-45 depression and war period, for example. The levels of the US stock market and global economic activity are shown in the next chart. As you can see, the economy fell by about 10 percent, and the stock market fell by about 85 percent and then began to recover.



This is part of the classic money and credit cycle that has happened for as long as there has been recorded history and that I will explain more completely in Chapter 3. Briefly, a credit collapse happens because there is too much debt. Typically, the central government has to spend a lot of money it doesn't have and make it easier for debtors to pay their debts and the central bank always has to print money and liberally provide credit-like they did in response to the economic

plunge driven by the COVID pandemic and a lot of debt. The 1930s debt bust was the natural extension of the Roaring '20s boom that became a debt-financed bubble that popped in 1929. That produced a depression that led to big central government spending and borrowing financed by big money and credit creation by the central bank.

Back then, the popping of the bubble and the resulting economic bust were the biggest influences on the 1930-45 period's internal and external fights for wealth and power. Then, like now and like in most other cases, there were large wealth gaps and conflict, which when heightened by debt/economic collapses, led to revolutionary changes in social and economic programs and big wealth transfers that were manifest in different systems in different countries. Clashes and wars developed over which of these systems—e.g., capitalism or communism, democracy or autocracy—were best. **There are always arguments or fights between those who want to make big redistributions of wealth and those who don't.** In the 1930s, Mother Nature also gave the US a painful drought.

Looking over the whole of the cases I examined, past economic and market declines lasted about three years, give or take a few years, depending on how long it took to do the debt restructuring and/or debt monetization process. The quicker the printing of money to fill the debt holes, the quicker the closing of the deflationary depression and the sooner the worrying about the value of money began. In the 1930s US case, the stock market and the economy bottomed the day that the newly elected president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, announced that he would default on the government's promise to let people turn in their money for gold, and that the government would create enough money and credit so that people could get their money out of the banks and others could get money and credit to buy things and invest. That took three-and-a-half years from the initial stock market crash in October 1929.[52]

Still there was fighting over wealth and power within and between countries. The emerging powers of Germany and Japan challenged the existing leading world powers of Great Britain, France, and eventually the US (which was dragged into World War II). The war period raised the economic output of things that were used in the war, but it would be a misnomer to call the war years a "productive" period—even though when measured in output per person, it was—because there was so much destruction. At the end of the war, global GDP per capita had fallen by about 12 percent, much of which was driven by declines in the economies of countries that lost the war. The stress test that these years represented wiped out a lot, made clear who the winners and losers were, and led to a new beginning and a new world order in 1945. Classically that was followed by a lengthy period of peace and prosperity that became overextended so that all countries are now, 75 years later, being stress tested again.

Most cycles in history happen for basically the same reasons. For example, the 1907-19 period began with the Panic of 1907 in the US, which, like the 1929-32 money and credit crisis following the Roaring '20s, was the result of a boom period (the Gilded Age in the US, which was the same time as the Belle Époque in continental Europe and the Victorian Era in Great Britain) becoming a debt-financed bubble that led to economic and market declines. These

[52] In 2008, it took two months from the crash to the printing of money; in 2020, it took just weeks.

declines also happened when there were large wealth gaps that led to big wealth redistributions and contributed to a world war. The wealth redistributions, like those in the 1930-45 period, came about through large increases in taxes and government spending, big deficits, and big changes in monetary policies that monetized the deficits. Then the Spanish flu intensified the stress test and the resulting restructuring process. This stress test and global economic and geopolitical restructuring led to a new world order in 1919, which was expressed in the Treaty of Versailles. That ushered in the 1920s debt-financed boom, which led to the 1930-45 period and the same things happening again.

These periods of destruction/reconstruction devastated the weak, made clear who the powerful were, and established revolutionary new approaches to doing things (i.e., new orders) that set the stage for periods of prosperity that eventually became overextended as debt bubbles with large wealth gaps and led to debt busts that produced new stress tests and destruction/reconstruction periods (i.e., wars), which led to new orders and eventually the strong again gaining relative to the weak, and so on.

What are these destruction/reconstruction periods like for the people who experience them? Since you likely haven't been through one of these and the stories about them are very scary, the prospect of being in one is worrisome to most people. It is true that these destruction/reconstruction periods have produced tremendous human suffering both financially and, more importantly, in lost or damaged human lives. While the consequences are worse for some people, virtually no one escapes the damage. Still, without minimizing them, history has shown us that typically the majority of people stay employed in depressions, are unharmed in shooting wars, and survive natural disasters.

Some people who struggled through them have even described these very difficult times as bringing about important, good things like drawing people closer together, building strength of character, learning to appreciate the basics, etc. For example, Tom Brokaw called the people who went through the 1930-45 period "the Greatest Generation" because of the strength of character it gave them. My parents and aunts and uncles who went through the Great Depression and World War I, as well as others of their era whom I've spoken to in other countries who went through their own versions of this destruction period, saw it that way too. Keep in mind that economic destruction periods and war periods typically don't last very long—roughly two or three years. And the lengths and severities of natural disasters (like droughts, floods, and epidemics) vary, though they typically lessen in painfulness as adaptations are made. One rarely gets all three of these types of big crises—economic, revolution/war, and natural disaster—at the same time.

My point is that **while these revolution/war periods typically lead to a lot of human suffering, we should never, especially in the worst of times, lose sight of the fact that one can navigate them well—and that humanity's power to adapt and quickly get to new and higher levels of well-being is much greater than all the bad stuff that can be thrown at us.** For that reason, I believe that it is smart to trust and invest in humanity's adaptability and inventiveness. So, while I am pretty sure that in the coming years both you and I and the world order will

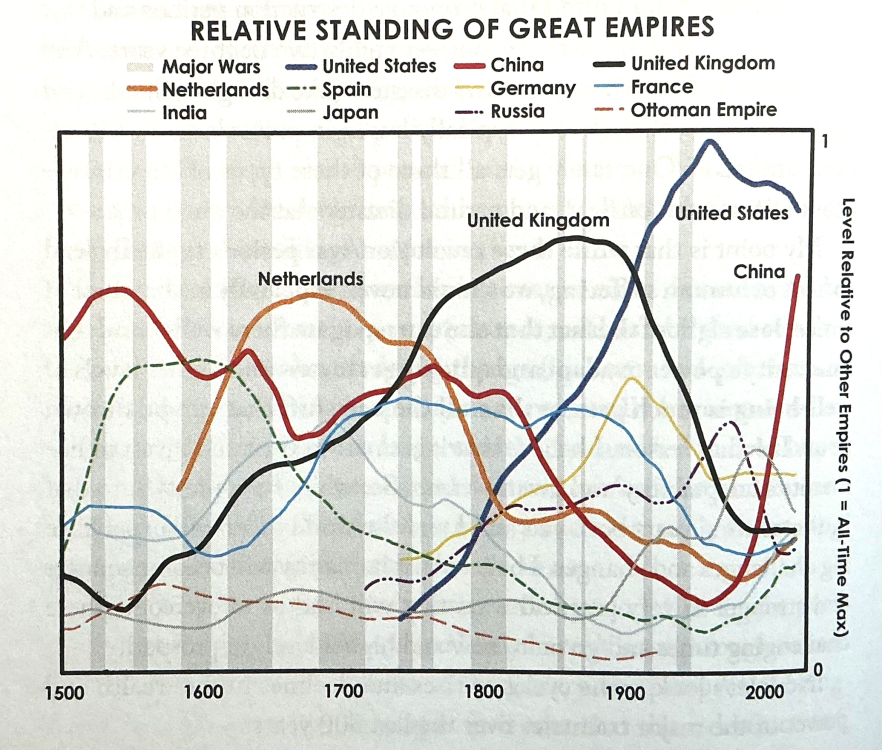
experience big challenges and changes, I believe that humanity will become smarter and stronger in very practical ways that will lead us to overcome these challenging times and go on to new and higher levels of prosperity.

Now let's look at the cycles of rises and declines in the wealth and power of the major countries over the last 500 years.

Past Big Cycle Shifts in Wealth and Power

The chart of rising productivity shown earlier was for the whole world (to the best of our ability to measure it). It doesn't show the shifts in wealth and power that occurred between countries. To understand how those happen, let's start with the big-picture basics. Throughout recorded history various forms of groups of people (e.g., tribes, kingdoms, countries, etc.) have gained wealth and power by building it themselves, taking it from others, or finding it in the ground. When they gathered more wealth and power than any other group, they became the world's leading power, which allowed them to determine the world order. When they lost that wealth and power, which they all did, the world order—and all aspects of life-changed in profound ways.

The next chart shows the relative wealth and power of the 11 leading empires over the last 500 years.



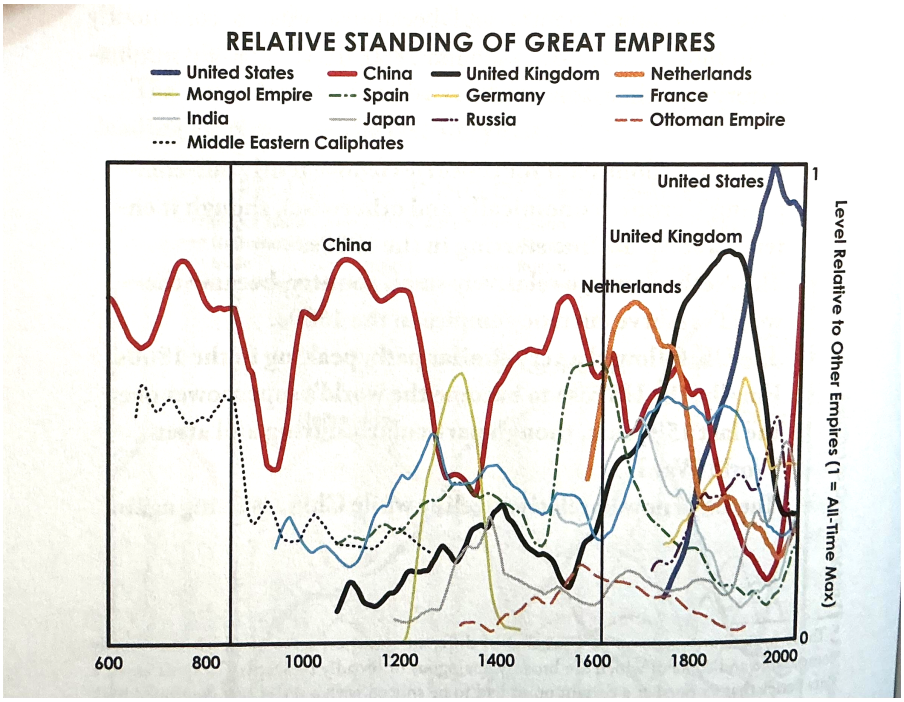
Each one of these indices[53] of wealth and power is a composite of eight different determinants that I will explain shortly. Though these indices aren't perfect because data isn't perfectly accurate through time, they do an excellent job of painting the big picture. As you can see, nearly all of these empires saw periods of ascendancy followed by periods of decline.

Take a moment to study the thicker lines on the chart, which represent the four most important empires: the Dutch, British, American, and Chinese. These empires held the last three reserve currencies—the US dollar now, the British pound before it, and the Dutch guilder before that. China is included because it has risen to be the second most powerful empire/country and because it was so consistently powerful in most years prior to around 1850. To very briefly summarize the story this chart shows:

- **China was dominant for centuries (consistently out-competing Europe economically and otherwise), though it entered a steep decline starting in the 1800s.**
- **The Netherlands, a relatively small country, became the world's reserve currency empire in the 1600s.**
- **The UK followed a very similar path, peaking in the 1800s.**
- **Finally, the US rose to become the world's superpower over the last 150 years, though particularly during and after World War II.**
- **The US is now in relative decline while China is rising again.**

Now let's look at the same chart that extends the data all the way back to the year 600. I focused on the first chart (which covers just the last 500 years) rather than the second (which covers the last 1,400 years) because it highlights the empires I studied most intently and is simpler—though with 11 countries, 12 major wars, and over 500 years, it can hardly be called simple. Still, the second is more extensive and worth glancing at. I left out the shading of the war periods to lessen the complexity. As shown, **in the pre-1500 period, China was almost always the most powerful, though the Middle Eastern caliphates, the French, the Mongols, the Spanish, and the Ottomans were also in the picture.**

[53] These indices are made up of a number of different statistics, some of which are directly comparable and some of which are broadly analogous or broadly indicative. In some cases, a data series that stopped at a certain point had to be spliced with a series that continued back in time. Additionally, the lines shown on the chart are 30-year moving averages of these indices, shifted so that there is no lag. I chose to use the smoothed series because the volatility of the unsmoothed series was too great to allow one to see the big movements. Going forward, I will use these very smoothed versions when looking at the very long term and much less smoothed or unsmoothed versions when looking at these developments up close because the most important developments are best captured this way.

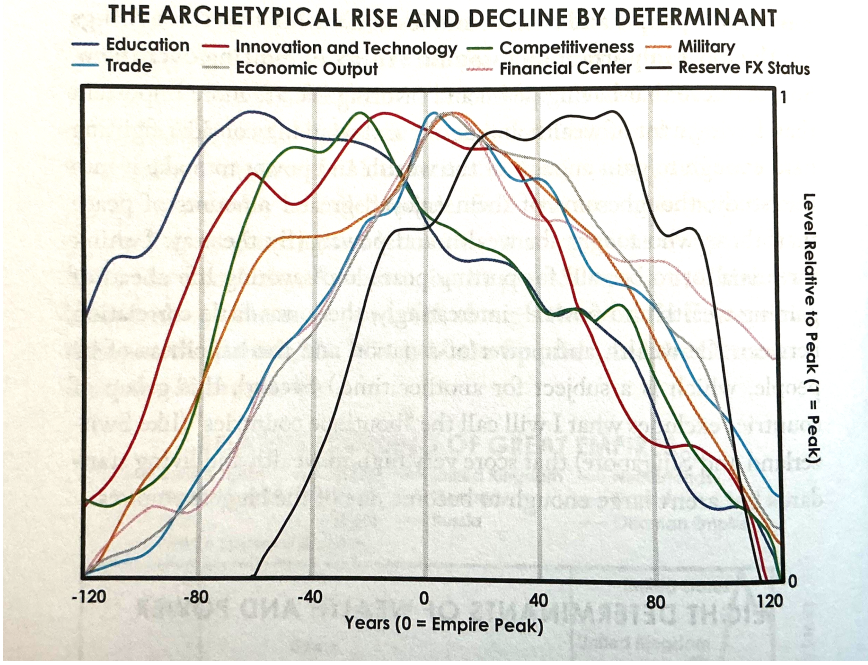


An important thing to remember: while the leading powers covered in this study were the richest and most powerful, they weren't necessarily the best-off countries for two reasons. First, while wealth and power are what most people want and will fight over most, some people and their countries don't think that these things are the most important and wouldn't think of fighting over them. Some believe that having peace and savoring life are more important than having a lot of wealth and power and wouldn't consider fighting hard enough to gain enough of the wealth and power to make it into this study, though some of them enjoyed greater amounts of peace than those who fought for wealth and power. (By the way, I think there is a lot to be said for putting peace and savoring life ahead of gaining wealth and power—interestingly, there was little correlation between the wealth and power of a nation and the happiness of its people, which is a subject for another time.) Second, this group of countries excludes what I will call the "boutique countries" (like Switzerland and Singapore) that score very high in wealth and living standards but aren't large enough to become one of the biggest empires.

Eight Determinants of Wealth and Power

The single measure of wealth and power that I showed you for each country in the prior charts is a roughly equal average of 18 measures of strength. While we will explore the full list of determinants later, let's begin by focusing on the key eight shown in the next chart: **1) education, 2) competitiveness, 3) innovation and technology, 4) economic output, 5) share of world trade, 6) military strength, 7) financial center strength, and 8) reserve currency status**.

This chart shows the average of each of these measures of strength across all the empires I studied, with most of the weight on the most recent three reserve countries (i.e., the US, the UK, and the Netherlands).[54]



The lines in the chart do a pretty good job of telling the story of why and how the rises and declines took place. You can see how rising education leads to increased innovation and technology, which leads to an increased share of world trade and military strength, stronger economic output, the building of the world's leading financial center, and, with a lag, the establishment of the currency as a reserve currency. And you can see how for an extended period most of these factors stayed strong together and then declined in a similar order. The common reserve currency, just like the world's common language, tends to stick around after an empire has begun its decline because the habit of usage lasts longer than the strengths that made it so commonly used.

I call this cyclical, interrelated move up and down the Big Cycle. Using these determinants and some additional dynamics, I will next describe the Big Cycle in more detail. But before I start, it's worth reiterating that all of these measures of strength rose and declined over the arc of the empire. That's because these strengths and weaknesses are mutually reinforcing i.e., strengths and weaknesses in education, competitiveness, economic output, share of world trade, etc., contribute to the others being strong or weak, for logical reasons.

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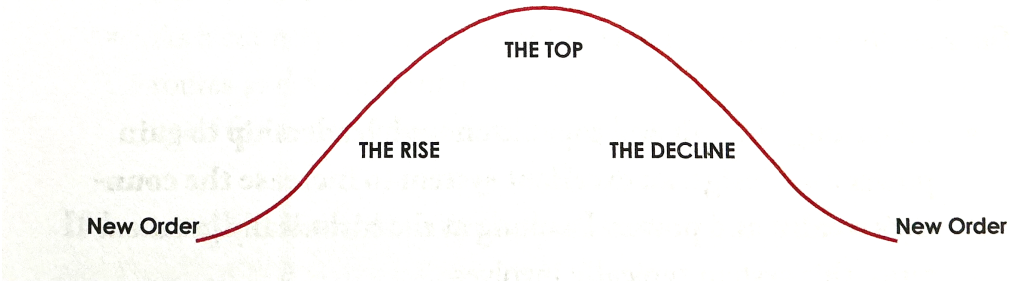
[54] We show where key indicators were relative to their history by averaging them across the cases. The chart is shown such that a value of 1 represents the peak in that indicator relative to history and 0 represents the trough. The timeline is shown in years with 0 representing roughly when the country was at its peak (i.e., when the average across the gauges was at its peak). In the rest of this chapter, we walk through each of the stages of the archetype in more detail.

The Archetypal Big Cycle

Broadly speaking, we can look at these rises and declines as happening in three phases:



The Rise:

The rise is the prosperous period of building that comes after a new order. It is when the country is fundamentally strong because there are a) relatively low levels of indebtedness, b) relatively small wealth, values, and political gaps between people, c) people working effectively together to produce prosperity, d) good education and infrastructure, e) strong and capable leadership, and f) a peaceful world order that is guided by one or more dominant world powers, which leads to …

The Top:

This period is characterized by excesses in the form of a) high levels of indebtedness, b) large wealth, values, and political gaps, c) declining education and infrastructure, d) conflicts between different classes of people within countries, and e) struggles between countries as overextended empires are challenged by emerging rivals, which leads to …

The Decline:

This is the painful period of fighting and restructuring that leads to great conflicts and great changes and the establishment of new internal and external orders. It sets the stage for the next new order and a new period of prosperous building.

Let's look at each of these in more detail.

The Rise

The rise phase begins when there is …

- **…strong enough and capable enough leadership to gain power and design an excellent system to increase the country's wealth and power.** Looking at the historically great empires, this system typically involves…
- **…strong education**, which is not just teaching knowledge and skills; it also includes teaching…

- **…strong character, civility, and work ethic development.** These are typically taught in families, schools, and/or religious institutions. If done well, this provides a healthy respect for rules and laws and order within society, leads to low corruption rates, and is effective in encouraging people to work together to improve productivity. The better the country does this, the more there will be a shift from producing basic products to ...
- **…innovating and inventing new technologies.** For example, the Dutch were superbly inventive—at their peak they came up with a quarter of all major inventions in the world. One of these was ships that could travel around the globe to collect great riches. They also invented capitalism as we know it. Innovation is generally enhanced by being …
- …**open to the best thinking in the world** to be able to learn the best ways of doing things and by…
- **…the workers, the government, and the military all working well together.**

As a result of all of these things, the country…

- …becomes more **productive** and…
- …more **competitive in world markets**, which shows up in its…
- …**share of world trade rising**. You can see this happening today as the US and China are now roughly comparable in both their economic outputs and their shares of world trade.
- As a country trades more globally, it must protect its trade routes and foreign interests and it must be prepared to defend itself from attack so it develops **great military strength**.

If done well, this virtuous cycle leads to…

- **…strong income growth,** which can be used to finance…
- **…investments in infrastructure, education, and research and development.**
- **The country must develop systems to incentivize and empower those who have the ability to make or get wealth.** In all of these past cases, the most successful empires used a capitalist approach to incentivize and develop productive entrepreneurs. Even China, which is run by the Chinese Communist Party, uses a state-capitalism approach to incentivize and enable people. To do that incentivizing and financial enabling well, the country…
- …has to have **developing capital markets**—most importantly its lending, bond, and stock markets. That allows people to **convert their savings into investments to fund innovation and development** and share in the successes of those who are making great things happen. The inventive Dutch created the first publicly listed company (the Dutch East India Company) and the first stock market to fund it. These were integral parts of their machine that produced a lot of wealth and power.

- As a natural consequence, all of the greatest empires developed **the world's leading financial center** for attracting and distributing the capital of their times. Amsterdam was the world's financial center when the Dutch were preeminent, London was when the British were on top, New York is now, and China is quickly developing its own financial center in Shanghai.
- As the country expands its international dealings to become the largest trading empire, its transactions can be paid in its currency, and people around the world want to save in it, so it becomes **the world's leading reserve currency**, which enables the country to borrow more, and at lower rates, than other countries because others want to lend in it.

This series of cause/effect relationships leading to mutually supportive financial, political, and military powers has gone together for as long as there has been recorded history. **All of the empires that became the most powerful in the world followed this path to the top.**

The Top

In the top phase, the country sustains the successes that fueled its rise, but embedded in the rewards of the successes are the seeds of decline. Over time, obligations pile up, breaking down the self-reinforcing circumstances that fueled the rise.

- **As people in the country, which is now rich and powerful, earn more, that makes them more expensive and less competitive** relative to people in other countries who are willing to work for less.
- At the same time people from **other countries naturally copy the methods and technologies of the leading power, which further reduces the leading country's competitiveness.** For example, British shipbuilders hired Dutch designers to design better ships that were built by less expensive British workers, making them more competitive, which led the British to rise and the Dutch to decline.
- Also, **as people in the leading country become richer, they tend to not work as hard. They enjoy more leisure, pursue the finer and less productive things in life, and at the extreme become decadent**. Values change from generation to generation during the rise to the top—from those who had to fight to achieve wealth and power to those who inherited it. The new generation is less battle-hardened, steeped in luxuries, and accustomed to the easy life, which makes them **more vulnerable to challenges**.
- Additionally, **as people get used to doing well, they increasingly bet on the good times continuing—and borrow money to do that—which leads to financial bubbles**.
- Within capitalist systems, **financial gains come unevenly so the wealth gap grows**. Wealth gaps are self-reinforcing because rich people use their greater resources to expand their powers. **They also influence the political system to their advantage and give greater privileges to their children—like better education—causing the gaps in values, politics, and opportunity to develop between the rich "haves" and the poor**

"have-nots." Those who are less well-off feel the system is unfair so resentments grow.

- **As long as the living standards of most people are still rising, these gaps and resentments don't boil over into conflict.**

During the top, the leading country's financial picture begins to change. Having a **reserve currency** gives it the "exorbitant privilege" of being able to borrow more money, which gets it deeper into debt. This boosts the leading empire's spending power over the short term and weakens it over the longer run.

- **Inevitably, the country begins borrowing excessively, which contributes to the country building up large debts with foreign lenders.**
- While this boosts spending power over the short term, **it weakens the country's financial health—and weakens the currency—over the longer term. In other words, when borrowing and spending are strong, the empire appears very strong, but its finances are in fact being weakened because the borrowing sustains the country's power beyond its fundamentals by financing both domestic overconsumption and international military conflicts** required to maintain the empire.
- Also the costs of maintaining and defending the empire become greater than the revenue it brings in, so **having an empire becomes unprofitable**. For example, the British Empire became massive, bureaucratic, and lost its competitive advantages as rival powers—particularly Germany—soared, leading to an increasingly expensive arms race and world war.
- The **richer countries get into debt by borrowing from poorer countries that save more**—that is one of the earliest signs of a wealth and power shift. This started in the United States in the 1980s when it had a per capita income 40 times that of China's and started borrowing from the Chinese who wanted to save in dollars because the dollar was the world's reserve currency.
- **If the empire begins to run out of new lenders, those holding their currency begin to look to sell and get out rather than buy, save, lend, and get in—and the strength of the empire begins to fall.**

The Decline

The decline phase typically comes from internal economic weakness together with internal fighting, or from costly external fighting, or both. Typically, the country's decline comes gradually and then suddenly.

Internally…

- When debts become very large, and **there is an economic downturn** and the empire can no longer borrow the money necessary to repay its debts, this creates great domestic

hardships and forces the country to choose between **defaulting on its debts and printing a lot of new money**.

- **The country nearly always chooses to print a lot of new money,** at first gradually and eventually massively. **This devalues the currency and raises inflation.**
- Typically at those times when the government has problems funding itself at the same time as there are bad financial and economic conditions, and large wealth, values, and political gaps—there are great **increases in internal conflict between the rich and poor and different ethnic, religious, and racial groups**.
- **This leads to political extremism that shows up as populism of the left or of the right.** Those of the left seek to redistribute the wealth while those of the right seek to maintain the wealth in the hands of the rich. **This is the "anti-capitalist phase," when capitalism, capitalists, and the elites in general are blamed for the problems.**
- Typically during such times **taxes on the rich rise, and when the rich fear their wealth and well-being will be taken away, they move to places, assets, and currencies they feel safer in. These outflows reduce the country's tax revenue, which leads to a classic self-reinforcing, hollowing-out process.**
- **When the flight of wealth gets bad enough, the country outlaws it. Those seeking to get out begin to panic.**
- **These turbulent conditions undermine productivity, which shrinks the economic pie and causes more conflict about how to divide the shrinking resources.** Populist leaders emerge from both sides and pledge to take control and bring about order. **That's when democracy is most challenged because it fails to control the anarchy and because the move to a strong populist leader who will bring order to the chaos is most likely.**
- As conflict within the country escalates, it leads to some form of **revolution or civil war to redistribute wealth and force the big changes**. This can be peaceful and maintain the existing internal order, but it's more often **violent and changes the order**. For example, the Roosevelt revolution to redistribute wealth was relatively peaceful, while the revolutions that changed the domestic orders in Germany, Japan, Spain, Russia, and China, which also happened in the 1930s for the same reasons, were much more violent.

These civil wars and revolutions create what I call new internal orders. I'll explore how internal orders change in a cyclical way in Chapter 5. But the important thing to note for now is that internal orders can change without leading to a change in the world order. **It's only when the forces that produce internal disorder and instability align with an external challenge that the entire world order can change.**

Externally…

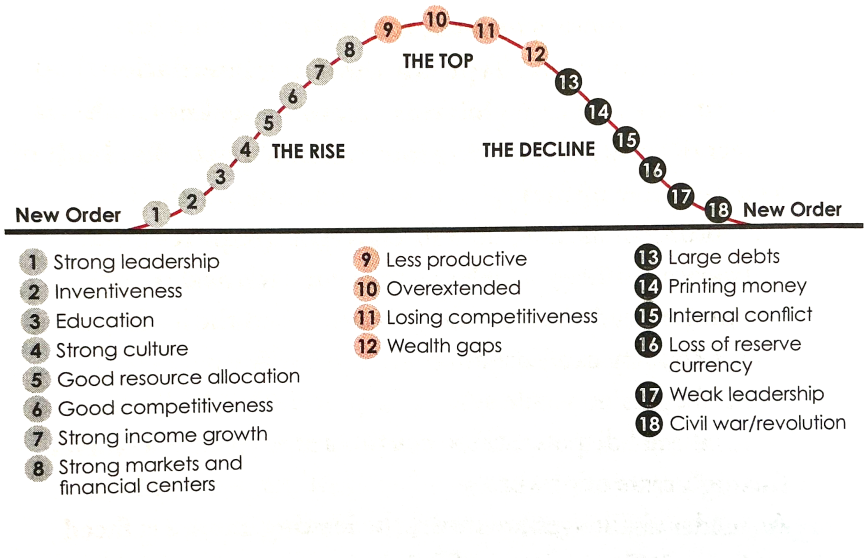
- **When there is a rising great power that is capable of challenging the existing great power and existing world order, there is a rising risk of great international conflict, especially if there is internal conflict going on within the existing great power. Typically the rising international opponent will seek to exploit this domestic**

weakness. This is especially risky if the rising international power has built up a comparable military.

- **Defending oneself against foreign rivals requires great military spending, which has to occur even as domestic economic conditions are deteriorating** and the leading great power country can least afford it.
- Since there is no viable system for peacefully adjudicating international disputes, these **conflicts are typically resolved through tests of power**.
- As bolder challenges are made, **the leading empire is faced with the difficult choice of fighting or retreating**. Fighting and losing are the worst, but retreating is bad too because it allows the opposition to progress and it shows that one is weak to those other countries that are considering what side to be on.
- **Poor economic conditions cause more fighting for wealth and power, which inevitably leads to some kind of war.**
- **Wars are terribly costly. At the same time, they produce the necessary tectonic shifts that realign the world order to the new reality of wealth and power.**
- **When those holding the reserve currency and debt of the declining empire lose faith and sell them, that marks the end of its Big Cycle.**

When all of these forces line up—indebtedness, civil war/revolution at home, war abroad, and a loss of faith in the currency—a change in the world order is typically at hand.

You can see these forces summarized in their typical progression in the following chart.



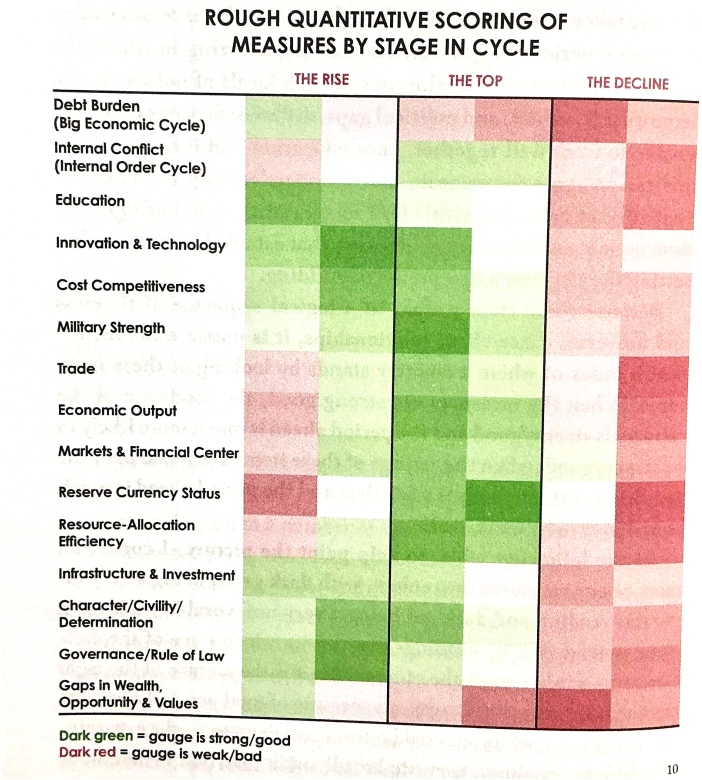
I threw a lot at you in the last few pages. You might want to read them again slowly so you can see if the sequence makes sense to you. Later, we will get into a number of specific cases in greater depth and you will see the patterns of these cycles emerge, albeit not in a precise way.

The fact that they occur and the reasons for them occurring are less disputable than the exact timing of their occurrences.

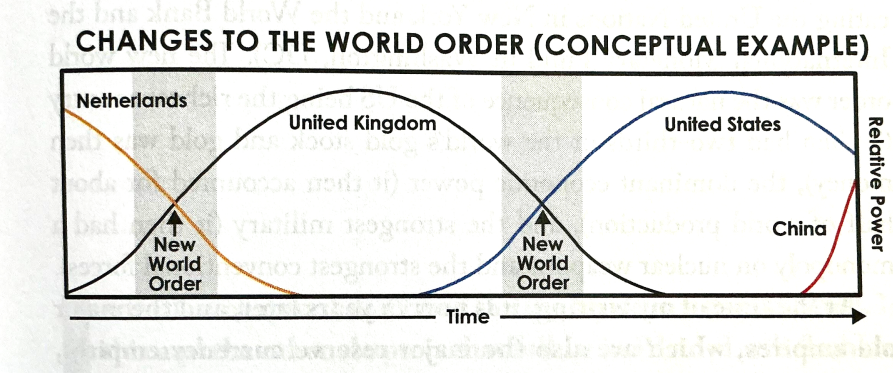
To summarize, around the upward trend of productivity gains that produce rising wealth and better living standards, there are cycles that produce prosperous periods of building in which the country is fundamentally strong because there are relatively low levels of indebtedness, relatively small wealth, values, and political gaps, people working effectively together to produce prosperity, good education and infrastructure, strong and capable leadership, and peaceful world order that is guided by one or more dominant world powers. These are the prosperous and enjoyable periods. When they are taken to excess, which they always are, the excesses lead to depressing periods of destruction and restructuring in which the country's fundamental weaknesses of high levels of indebtedness, large wealth, values, and political gaps, different factions of people unable to work well together, poor education and infrastructure, and the struggle to maintain an overextended empire under the challenge of emerging rivals lead to a painful period of fighting, destruction, and then a restructuring that establishes a new order, setting the stage for a new period of building.

Because these steps unfold in a logical sequence of timeless and universal cause/effect relationships, it is possible to create a health index of where a country stands by looking at these measures. When the measures are strong/good, the condition of the country is strong/good and the period ahead is much more likely to be strong/good; when the ratings of these items are weak/bad, the condition of the country is weak/bad and the period ahead is much more likely to be weak/bad.

In the following table, to help paint the picture, I converted most of our measures into colors, with dark green being a very favorable reading and dark red being a very unfavorable reading. It is the average of these readings that defines which stage of the cycle a country is in, in much the same way as it is the average of the eight readings of power that I use as my measure of total power. Like those power readings, while one could reconfigure them to produce marginally different readings, they are broadly indicative in a by-and-large way. Here, I am showing this to exemplify the typical process, not to look at any specific case. I will however show specific quantitative readings for all the major countries later in this book.



Since all of these factors, both ascending and descending, tend to be mutually reinforcing, it is not a coincidence that large wealth gaps, debt crises, revolutions, wars, and changes in the world order have tended to come as a perfect storm. The Big Cycle of an empire's rise and decline looks like the following chart. The bad periods of destruction and restructuring via depression, revolution, and war, which largely tear down the old system and set the stage for the emergence of a new system, typically take about 10 to 20 years, though variations in the range can be much larger. They are depicted by the shaded areas. They are followed by more extended periods of peace and prosperity in which smart people work harmoniously together and no country wants to fight the world power because it's too strong. These peaceful periods last for about 40 to 80 years, though variations in the range can be much larger.



For example, when the Dutch Empire gave way to the British Empire and when the British Empire gave way to the US Empire, most or all of the following things happened:

End of the Old, Beginning of the New (e.g. Dutch to British)

- Debt restructuring and debt crisis
- Internal revolution (peaceful or violent) that leads to large transfers of wealth from the "haves" to the "have-nots"
- External war
- Big currency breakdown
- New domestic and world order

End of the Old, Beginning of the New (e.g. British to American)

- Debt restructuring and debt crisis
- Internal revolution (peaceful or violent) that leads to large transfers of wealth from the "haves" to the "have-nots"
- External war
- Big currency breakdown
- New domestic and world order

A Preview of Where We Are Now

As previously explained, the last major period of destroying and restructuring happened in 1930-45, which led to the period of building and the new world order that began in 1945 with the creation of a new global monetary system (built in 1944 in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire) and a US-dominated system of world governance (locating the United Nations in New York and the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC). The new world order was the natural consequence of the US being the richest country (it then had two-thirds of the world's gold stock and gold was then money), the dominant economic power (it then accounted for about half of world production), and the strongest military (it then had a monopoly on nuclear weapons and the strongest conventional forces).

At the time of my writing, it is now 75 years later, and the major old empires, which are also the major reserve currency empires, are classically approaching the end of a long-term debt cycle when there are large debts and typical monetary policies don't work well. Politically fragmented central governments have recently tried to fill in their financial holes by giving out a lot of money that they are borrowing, while central banks have tried to help by printing a lot of money (i.e., monetizing government debt). All this is happening when there are big wealth and values gaps and a rising world power that is competing with the leading world power in trade, technology development, capital markets, and geopolitics. And on top of all this, as of this writing we have a pandemic to contend with.

Simultaneously, great human thinking, working with computer intelligence, is creating great ways of addressing these challenges. If we can all deal with each other well, we will certainly get past this difficult time and move on to a new prosperous period that will be quite different. At the same time, I am equally confident that there will be radical changes that will be traumatic for many people.

That is how the world works in a nutshell.

Neal Gabler, ***Walt Disney: The Triumph of the American Imagination***

Introduction

He was frozen. At least that was the rumor that emerged shortly after his death and quickly became legend: Walt Disney had been cryogenically preserved, hibernating like *Snow White* and *Sleeping Beauty*, to await the day when science could revive him and cure his disease. Though it is impossible to determine exactly, the source of the rumor may have been a tabloid named *National Spotlite*, whose correspondent claimed to have sneaked into St. Joseph's Hospital where Disney had expired, disguised himself as an orderly, picked the lock on a storage room door, and spotted Disney suspended in a metal cylinder. The story also surfaced in 1969 in a French publication, *Ici Paris*, which said it based its report on individuals close to Disney, and it was repeated in *The National Tattler*, an American scandal sheet, which added that Disney had instructed doctors to thaw him in 1975. Yet another supermarket tabloid, *Midnight*, under the headline "Walt Disney Is Being Kept Alive in Deep Freeze," quoted both a studio librarian who remembered Disney accumulating a vast file of filmed material on cryogenics and an acquaintance of Disney's who said that the producer was "obsessed" with these movies. A writer for the *Mickey Mouse Club* television show, produced under Disney auspices, seemed to corroborate the librarian's recollection by recalling that Disney had once asked him about cryogenics and that the writer had then had the studio library staff research the subject. Ward Kimball, a puckish animator at the studio, took some pride in keeping the rumor afloat. And Disney himself may have lent it credence. According to one account, just weeks after his death studio department heads were invited to a screening room with name-plates on the seats, then watched a film of Disney sitting at his desk and eerily pointing to and addressing each of them on future plans. He concluded by smiling knowingly and saying that he would be seeing them soon.

In truth, Disney's final destination was fire, not ice; he had been cremated and his ashes interred in a mausoleum in a remote corner of the Forest Lawn Cemetery in Glendale, California, not far from his studio. But the persistence of the rumor, however outlandish, testified not only to the identification of Disney with futuristic technology late in his life but to a public unwillingness to let go of him, even to the point of mythologizing him as an immortal who could not be felled by natural forces. Arguably no single figure so bestrode American popular culture as Walt Disney. By one estimate, in 1966 alone, the year of his death, 240 million people saw a Disney movie, a weekly audience of 100 million watched a Disney television show, 80 million read a Disney book, 50 million listened to Disney records, 80 million bought Disney merchandise, 150 million read a Disney comic strip, 80 million saw a Disney educational film, and nearly 7 million visited Disneyland. By another estimate, during his lifetime Disney's live-action films grossed nearly $300 million and the feature animations just under $100 million, when these were astronomical figures, and more than 60 million people had visited Disneyland. *The Saturday Evening Post* once called him the "world's most celebrated entertainer and possibly its best known non-political public figure," and The New York

Times eulogized him as "probably the only man to have been praised by both the American Legion and the Soviet Union."

But Walt Disney's influence cannot be measured by numbers or encomia. It can only be measured by how thoroughly he reshaped the culture and the American consciousness. Disney was protean. In the late 1920s he began reinventing animation, gradually turning it from a novelty that emphasized movement and elasticity of line into an art form that emphasized character, narrative, and emotion. In doing so, he also helped reinvent graphic design by introducing the soft, round, bold, colorful forms that decades later would be adopted and adapted by a vanguard of fine artists. The critic Robert Hughes credited him with inventing Pop Art itself, not only in the look he bequeathed but also in the convergence of high art and low that he effected. "[I]t happened," Hughes wrote, "when, in *Fantasia*, Mickey Mouse clambered up to the (real) podium and shook hands with the (real) conductor Leopold Stokowski."

Beyond his animations, Disney changed the shape of American recreation with his Disneyland park. Obviously there had been amusement parks before Disneyland, but they had been grab-bag collections of various rides, games, and shows. Disney reconceptualized the amusement park as a full imaginative experience, a theme park, rather than a series of diversions, and just as his animation revised graphic design, his park eventually revised urban design. Detractors called the effect "Disneyfication," meaning the substitution of a synthetic world for a real one, but the urban planner James W. Rouse commended Disneyland as the "greatest piece of urban design in the United States" for the way it managed to serve its function and satisfy its guests, and architecture critic Peter Blake wrote, "It seems unlikely that any American school of architecture will ever again graduate a student without first requiring him to take a field trip to Orlando, [Florida]," the site of Walt Disney World Resort, the East Coast sequel to Disneyland. In time Disneyland, with its faux environments and manipulated experiences, would become a metaphor for a whole new consciousness in which, for better or worse, the fabricated was preferred over the authentic and the real could be purged of its threats. As Robert Hughes put it, "[H]is achievement became a large shift in the limits of unreality."

Disney's influence also impregnated the American mind in subtler, less widely recognized ways. As he reinvented animation and amusement, he changed Americans' view of their own history and values. In live-action films like *So Dear to My Heart*, *Old Yeller*, and *Pollyanna*, he refined and exploited a lode of nostalgia that became identifiable enough to be called "Disneyesque," and in others like *Davy Crockett*, *Westward Ho the Wagons!*, and *Johnny Tremain* he fashioned an American past of rugged heroes and bold accomplishment that for generations turned history into boyhood adventure. By the end of his life it was the saccharine values of the nostalgic films and the sturdy patriotism of the historical ones as much as the cartoons that one associated with Disney and that made him, along with Norman Rockwell, the leading avatar of small-town, flag-waving America. At the same time, however, his forward-looking television programs depicting the future helped shape attitudes about technological change, and NASA acknowledged

that Disney's early drumbeating for its program was instrumental in generating public support for space exploration. It was Disney, too, who created Tomorrowland at his Disneyland theme park and collaborated with Monsanto on a House of the Future attraction there, and Disney who advanced the ideas of monorails, "people movers," Audio-Animatronic robots, and other marvels, even to the point of designing an entire city that would, had it been built, have incorporated the latest in technology and urban planning. It made Disney at once a nostalgist and a futurist, a conservative and a visionary.

Then there was his effect on nature and conservation. By anthropomorphizing animals in his cartoons, Disney helped sensitize the public to environmental issues; with *Bambi* alone he triggered a national debate on hunting. Later when, basically for his own curiosity, he commissioned a husband-and-wife filmmaking team to shoot footage of a remote Alaskan island and then in 1948 had the film edited into a story of the seals who lived and bred there, *Seal Island*, he essentially created a new genre, the wildlife documentary, and though he would be sternly criticized in some quarters for imposing narratives on nature and turning animals into characters, his films may nevertheless have played a greater role than anything else in popular culture in educating the public on conservation and building a constituency for it.

Finally, there were Disney's accomplishments as an entrepreneur, albeit a reluctant one. He was the first motion picture mogul to realize the potential of television as an ally rather than an adversary, and his decision to make a series for the American Broadcasting Company opened the way for a rapprochement between the large screen and the small one. He was also the first to bundle television programs, feature animation, live-action films, documentaries, theme parks, music, books, comics, character merchandise, and educational films under one corporate shingle. In effect, as one observer put it, he created the first "modern multimedia corporation" and showed the way for the media conglomerates that would follow. One critic of Disney's even accused him of having dragged corporatism, in the form of the "precise, clean, insipid, mechanical image," into the daily lives of Americans and advised, "Throw him a kiss every time you get a computer letter."

Whenever someone manages to implant himself in American culture and the American psyche as deeply as Walt Disney did, analysts naturally look for explanations. In Disney's case they have pointed to the seeming innocence of his work, its gentle reassurance, its powerful sentimentality, its populism, its transport to childhood, its naive faith in perseverance and triumph, even its appeal to atavistic images of survival in which, by one analysis, Mickey Mouse's circular shape subliminally summons breasts, babies, and fruit. One scholar has attributed Disney's popularity to his having traversed the distance between the "sentimental populism" of the Great Depression with its nudging critique of the prevailing social order and the "sentimental libertarianism" of the Cold War era that came to embrace the social order. Taking a different tack, the novelist John Gardner, a Disney advocate, located in Disney's work a lightly secularized

Christian theology of hope and beneficence in which "God has things well under control" and life is fundamentally good. Essentially, as Gardner saw it, Disney had reinterpreted Christianity for mass culture.

There are certainly elements of all of these appeals in Disney's work, and its enormous popularity is undoubtedly the result of a combination of factors—indeed, of Disney's knack for splicing many disparate and even contradictory strains together. On the one hand, a Disney scholar could impute to Walt Disney a major role in the creation of a white, middle-class, Protestant ideal of childhood that turned American offspring in the 1950s into disciplined, self-sacrificing, thrifty, obedient consumers. On the other hand, another Disney scholar, citing the questioning of authority, the antagonism toward the moneyed class, the emphasis on personal liberation, the love of nature, and the advocacy of tolerance in his films, could credit him as the "primary creator of the counterculture, which the public imagination views as embracing values that are the antithesis of those that the body of his work supposedly communicated to children."

But if one source of Disney's magic was his ability to mediate between past and future, tradition and iconoclasm, the rural and the urban, the individual and the community, even between conservatism and liberalism, the most powerful source of his appeal as well as his greatest legacy may be that Walt Disney, more than any other American artist, defined the terms of wish fulfillment and demonstrated on a grand scale to his fellow Americans, and ultimately to the entire world, how one could be empowered by fantasy—how one could learn, in effect, to live within one's own illusions and even to transform the world into those illusions. "When You Wish Upon a Star," the song Disney borrowed from *Pinocchio* for his television theme, was his anthem and guiding principle. The key to his success was, as the journalist Adela Rogers St. John put it, that he "makes dreams come true," or at least gave the impression he did, and that he had "remolded a world not only nearer to his heart's desire, but to yours and mine." In numerous ways Disney struck what may be the very fundament of entertainment: the promise of a perfect world that conforms to our wishes.

He achieved this in part by managing, almost purely by instinct, to tap into archetypes that resonated with people of various ages, eras, and cultures. One of his greatest gifts was in finding the elemental and the essential of virtually every form in which he worked—its genetic code. Whether it was his fairy tales or his boy's adventures or his castle or Main Street or the Mark Twain Riverboat in Disneyland, each seemed to have been refined into the fairy tale, the boy's adventure, the castle or Main Street or riverboat of our mind's eye. In an idealized world where wish fulfillment prevailed, Disney had consistently concretized the ideal and provided the pleasure of things made simple and pure the way one imagined they should be, or at least the way one imagined they should be from childhood. He had Platonic templates in his head.

Others, virtually everyone in entertainment, attempt to tap this same reserve, but Disney understood wish fulfillment from the inside, which may be why his own longings connected so powerfully to his audience's. During a peripatetic childhood of material and emotional deprivation, at least as he remembered it, he began drawing and

retreating into his own imaginative worlds. That set a pattern. His life would become an ongoing effort to devise what psychologists call a "parcosm," an invented universe, that he could control as he could not control reality. From Mickey Mouse through *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* through Disneyland through EPCOT, he kept attempting to remake the world in the image of his own imagination, to certify his place as a force in that world and keep reality from encroaching upon it, to recapture a sense of childhood power that he either had never felt or had lost long ago.

It was this attempt, in fact, as much as the fairy tales he used for inspiration, that forged the bond between Disney and childhood, a bond he frequently disavowed by insisting that his films were not made for children. Whether in his movies or in his theme parks, Disney always promised a fantasy in which one could exercise the privileges of childhood—privileges he never abandoned in his own life. This will to power also explained why animation was his preferred medium. In animation one took the inanimate and brought it to life, or the illusion of life. In animation one could exercise the power of a god.

No doubt because he worked in what was regarded as a juvenile idiom, and because his films seemed naïve, unselfconscious, and unpretentious, the young Walt Disney was regarded in most circles as a kind of folk artist. In the 1930s, when he became a celebrity virtually overnight, intellectuals frequently compared him to another popular artist, Charlie Chaplin, and several, including Thornton Wilder, went so far as to say that Chaplin and Disney were the only true geniuses that the movies had produced. Still, there was always something in Disney that pegged him not just as a populist but as peculiarly American, and though an early biography of him was subtitled *An American Original*, he was less original in many respects than quintessential. He had been born in the Midwest in the very heart of the country at the turn of the century and at the fulcrum of an expiring agricultural nation that looked backward to an idyllic past and an aspiring industrialized one that looked forward to a technological future, and he had a foot in each. His childhood had even been divided between the country and the city. An American Everyman, he lived the American experience and seemed to embody it in his doggedness, his ide-alism, his informality, and his lack of affectation, perhaps above all in his sudden rise from poverty and anonymity to the summit of success. "[H]e emerged from the very heart of the people," one admirer rhapsodized. "Only so was it possible for him to respond to our subtlest moods." Another remarked that "[o]f all the activists of public diversion, Uncle Walt was the one most precisely in the American mainstream." The synchronicity between Disney and America would become his brand. His imagination formed a double helix with the American imagination.

Obviously Disney's work had universal appeal, but in America, with its almost religious belief in possibilities, his urge to wish fulfillment was especially resonant. In both Disney's imagination and the American imagination, one could assert one's will on the world; one could, through one's own power, or more accurately through the power of one's innate good-ness, achieve success. Indeed, in a typically American formulation, nothing but goodness and will mattered. Disney's best animations—*Snow White and the*

Seven Dwarfs, *Pinocchio*, *Bambi*, and *Dumbo*—were archetypal expressions of this idea. In large measure, they were about the process of a child making his or her claim upon the world, about the process of overcoming obstacles to become whatever he or she wanted to be. Similarly, in both Disney's imagination and the American imagination perfection was seen as an attainable goal. In a world that was often confusing, dangerous, and even tragic, a world that seemed beyond any individual's control, Disney and America both promised not only dominance but also improvement. Disneyland was just a modern variant on the old Puritan ideal of a shining City on a Hill, as Disney's Audio-Animatronic robots were just a variant on the American dream of making oneself anew.

The helix between America and Disney was especially tight in the anxiety-ridden Depression America of the 1930s, when his films seemed to capture and then soothe the national malaise. Virtually everyone interpreted *Three Little Pigs* as a Depression allegory, and many others saw in Mickey Mouse's pluck an intrepid American spirit. But among American critics the line between naive populism and cloying sentimentality proved to be thin. Already by the end of World War II Disney's artistic reputation was in decline, and intellectuals who had been swooning just a few years earlier over his innocence and artless artfulness now complained that he had lost his touch and become a mass artist rather than a folk artist. By the end of his life, though his iconic status as America's favorite uncle was probably more unshakable than ever, his artistic status had plummeted. What had once been hailed as an unerring sense of the American temper was now attacked by critics for having transmogrified into aesthetic demagoguery and vulgarization. As one disgruntled animator put it, "Walt Disney had the innate bad taste of the American public."

In the end he was widely identified with cultural degradation—the "rallying point for the subliterates of our society," as critic Richard Schickel wrote. Almost no one took him seriously any longer, except for the undiscriminating hordes who loved his work, and one could almost have divided the country between those who subscribed to the Disney vision and those who abhorred it. "A few years ago when you mentioned Walt Disney at a respectable party… the standard response was a head-shake and a groan," John Gardner wrote in 1973. "Intellectuals spoke of how he butchered the classics-from Pinocchio to Winnie the Pooh-how his wildlife pictures were sadistic and coy, how the World's Fair sculptures of hippopotamuses, etc., were a national if not international disgrace." The bill of indictment was, indeed, a long one. He had infantilized the culture and removed the danger from fairy tales in the process of popularizing them for a mass market, providing, in novelist Max Apple's words, "the illusion of life without any of the mess." He had promoted treacly values that seemed anachronistic and even idiotic in a complex, modern, often tragic world and that defined him as a cultural and political troglodyte. He had usurped each person's individual imagination with a homogenized corporate one and promoted conformity, prompting one critic to declare, "The borders of fantasy are closed now." Like a capitalist Midas, he had commercialized everything he touched, reducing it all, in another antagonist's view,

"to a sickening blend of cheap formulas packaged to sell… One feels our whole mass culture heading up the dark river to the source—that heart of darkness where Mr. Disney traffics in pastel-trinketed evil for gold and ivory." And at the same time that he was commercializing his own country, he was regarded by his detractors as perhaps the primary example of America's cultural imperialism, supplanting the myths of native cultures with his own myths just as he had supplanted the imaginations of his audience.

All of this antagonism was aimed at Disney in his role as studio head, but in his later years, and especially after his death, his personal image, at least among intellectuals, underwent a similar if somewhat more gradual transformation from beloved naïf to avaricious corporate kingpin and general villain. Much of this change was politically inspired. Ever since a cartoonists' strike in 1941 that wracked the studio and shattered its owner's utopianism, Disney had grown increasingly conservative, aligning himself with red-baiting anti-Communists and with the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party, thus putting himself in the political crosshairs. Whispered accusations of anti-Semitism and racism clearly eroded his image. But much of the criticism was also culturally inspired. His long identification with small-town, conformist America, which had been one source of his popularity, became a liability in the 1960s, when that America was itself increasingly under attack from intellectuals and political activists and was itself increasingly identified not with America's sinewy strength but with her prejudices. Disney became a symbol of an America facing backward—politically, culturally, and artistically.

One of the most important flash points in both crystallizing and advancing this revisionist view was Richard Schickel's 1968 critical study, *The Disney Version*, which portrayed Disney as mercenary and mendacious, his entire life "an illusion created by a vast machinery," so much so that even his own signature, used as the company's logo, had to be manufactured for him. (In truth, Disney's personal signature was far more flamboyantly loopy than the modified corporate version.) "Disney was a callous man, oblivious to patterns inherent in nature, art, literature," a critic wrote in an approving review of Schickel's book, delivering what rapidly became the standard intellectual verdict on Hollywood's chief fantasist. "He had a magic touch, but it turned things into gold, not art. He lacked perception and sensitivity for genuine artistic creativity, and his compulsion to control made him no respecter of the integrity of the works of others." Another biographer, drawing on the deep hostility that Disney now evoked among intellectuals, accused him of being everything from the illegitimate son of a Spanish dancer to an alcoholic to a bigot to an FBI informant. The book was subtitled *Hollywood's Dark Prince*.

By the 1950s Disney himself was well aware that as a producer he had headed up the river to the heart of commercial darkness and that as a person he had allowed himself to become lost in the corporate haze. He had created the studio; then the studio, with his complicity, created him, making him, he fully understood, as much a commodity as a man—the very sort of diffident, genial, plainspoken, unprepossessing, and childishly enthusiastic character who would have produced Walt Disney movies.

Essentially, he had become his own parcosm. Though he actually possessed all of those qualities, they were now simplified, like his signature, into an image and brand. He told one prospective employee that the studio was in the business of selling the name "Walt Disney." To another associate he commented, "I'm not Walt Disney anymore. Walt Disney is a thing. It's grown to become a whole different meaning than just one man."

Though Disney was anything but a dark prince, neither was he exactly the affable illusion that had subsumed him. For all his outward sociability, associates found him deeply private, complex, often moody, and finally opaque. No one seemed to know him. "He was a difficult man to understand," said Ben Sharpsteen, who worked for him in various capacities from the late 1920s on. "He never made his motives clear.… When I added up thirty years of employment, I found I understood him less at the end." Bill Peet, another longtime studio hand, wrote, "I do believe I knew Walt about as well as any employee could know him," then added, "even though he was never the same two days in a row." "I've always said that if you get forty people in a room together," Walt's nephew Roy E. Disney told an interviewer, "and ask each one of them to write down who Walt was, you'd get forty different Walts."

This book is an attempt to penetrate the image and decipher the mystery of Walt Disney—to understand the psychological, cultural, economic, and social forces that acted upon him and led to his art and his empire. And because Disney was so deeply embedded in the American psyche and scene, understanding him may also enable one to understand the power of popular culture in shaping the national consciousness, the force of possibility and perfectionism as American ideals, the ongoing interplay between commerce and art, and the evolution of the American imagination in the twentieth century. In short, to understand Walt Disney, one of the most emblematic of Americans, is to understand much about the country in which he lived and which he so profoundly affected.

Go-Getter (pp. 54–55)

Based primarily on familiar comic strips, early animations had no more narrative refinement than a day's installment of those strips—no real attempt to tell a story, much less create an arc. Usually when the animators began drawing, they did not even have any narrative master plan to follow. "The scenario would probably be on a single sheet of paper," Dick Huemer, an animator who had worked at Barré's studio back in 1916, said, "without any models, sketches, or anything; you made it up as you went along." Some twenty years after the introduction of ani-mation, it was still largely its novelty that held the appeal, though that appeal was waning. "We got very few laughs," Huemer added. "I can remember taking my family to see some bit of animation I was particularly proud of, and just as it went on, somebody behind me said, 'Oh, I hate these things.'"

But if very little visual or narrative craft was involved, animation nevertheless had a powerful subtext that would slowly emerge and at least subliminally resonate with the public, a subtext of which the first animators themselves may not even have been aware. Most had come to animation as a lark—typically a way to take advantage of

the movie boom for financial gain. Their "distinctive features," as one eminent animation historian described this pioneering group, were a "background in journalism, a compulsion to sketch, 'workaholic' tendencies, and a well developed but idiosyncratic sense of humor." Except for the journalism experience, for which he had once so achingly yearned, Walt Disney certainly fit this characterization. But Walt's growing attachment to animation seemed to be impelled by something beyond the inertia from print to film that ostensibly motivated so many other animators, or the prospect of money, or the technological appeal of the medium, or the possibility of success, or even the attention it might get him—all of which may have been the initial lures. Walt Disney also had a psychological connection to animation, a connection forged by his childhood experiences.

The process of animation was a process of giving life, of literally taking the inanimate and making it animate. It was, at base, a hubristic process in which the animator assumed and exercised godlike control over his materials, which was why it also offered a feeling of empowerment to its viewers who sensed the control. In Walt Disney's case the surge of empowerment was so great one might even have concluded that animation took the place of religion for him, since in his adulthood he showed little or no interest in formal religion and never attended church. Indeed, the animator created his own world—an alternative reality of his imagination in which the laws of physics and logic could be suspended. Though Walt Disney could never fully articulate why he was attracted to animation, falling back instead on vague generalities, it always had these two great and unmistakable blandishments. For a young man who had chafed within the stern, moralistic, anhedonic world of his father, animation provided escape, and for someone who had always been subjugated by that father, it provided absolute control. In animation Walt Disney had a world of his own. In animation Walt Disney could be the power.

The Mouse, pp. 115–119

Since he had no alternative plan, Walt had little choice but to keep forging ahead, making new Mickeys and depleting his treasury. But the same week he received the rejection from Metro, he got another brainstorm that in its own way was just as monumental as the invention of Mickey himself. Lillian recalled that it happened during a conversation between Roy and Walt, when Roy was again dejected over Mickey's faltering future. Walt suddenly blurted, "We'll make them over with sound." Roy had a different version. He said that they had screened a cartoon after *The Jazz Singer*, the Al Jolson film that is credited with being the first motion picture to synchronize the spoken word and the image. "That's it. That's it," Walt allegedly said. "It looks realistic, it'll be realistic. That's what we've got to do. Stop all these silent pictures." As Wilfred Jackson remembered it, Walt first broached the possibility to his staff at a gas meeting for the second *Mickey Mouse*, which most likely was held on May 29, 1928, at Walt's house. Everyone was immediately energized, which may have been part of Walt's calculation to

keep his crew's spirits from flagging. Jackson said he was so excited by the idea of a sound cartoon that he could not sleep that night.

Walt, however, was not the only animator thinking of sound. *The Jazz Singer*, after all, which was acclaimed as having ushered in the sound era, had premiered the previous October, and the Fleischers had already worked with a sound system called DeForest Phonofilm, while Paul Terry had a synchronized sound film in production with the RCA Photophone sound process. Even Mintz and Winkler were planning a sound project. But deploying sound was not just a matter of slapping a sound track onto a silent cartoon, even though that was precisely what Walt would later do with *Plane Crazy*. In the first place, there were psychological hurdles to overcome in the very notion of talking animations. Though audiences expected to hear people talk or sing, they were not initially accustomed to hearing voices from drawings. "Drawings are not vocal," Wilfred Jackson said. "Why should a voice come out of a cartoon character?" Animators were concerned that it would seem unnatural, peculiar, and off-putting, which was one reason why Walt insisted that his sound had to be realistic—in Jackson's words, "as if the noise was coming right from what the character was doing."

In the second place, there was the daunting technical matter of how one synchronized the drawings with the sound—an area in which no one, Walt Disney included, had any expertise. "Damn it, I know how fast film goes," Jackson overheard Walt griping one day, "but how fast does music go?" Jackson was still among the lowest in the Disney hierarchy, but he popped his head in the door, said his mother was a piano teacher, and suggested that Walt use a metronome to determine the number of frames of animation per beats of music. In short order Jackson devised a "dope sheet," later called a "bar sheet," that indicated the number of measures in each piece of musical accompaniment and then related the cartoon actions to the music. "We could break down the sound effects so that every eight frames we'd have an accent, or every sixteen frames, or every twelve frames," Les Clark said. "And on that twelfth drawing, say, we'd accent whatever was happening—a hit on the head or a footstep or whatever it would be, to synchronize the sound effect to the music."

It was the prospect of sound now that motivated the staff—the prospect of doing something no one had done. They finished animating the second Mickey, *The Gallopin' Gaucho*, a silent that was already in production when Walt hatched his plan, then eagerly moved on to the third cartoon—the sound cartoon. Just as Walt had spoofed Lindbergh in *Plane Crazy* and swashbuckler Douglas Fairbanks in *The Gaucho*, he decided to spoof comedian Buster Keaton's Steamboat Bill, Jr. for *Steamboat Willie*. Eager to test the proposition of sound, once again the staff worked quickly. Iwerks said that they resolved the story in a single night, and within weeks he had animated a musical test sequence of Mickey/Willie at the steamboat's wheel, tooting the pipes and whistling. Eager to see whether sound would augment the cartoon as he had anticipated, Walt had the scene inked, painted, and filmed even before the rest of the animation was completed, then recruited Jackson, who was the only member of the staff with any musical talent, to play

"Turkey in the Straw," one of Jackson's favorite tunes, and "Steamboat Bill," Walt's choice, on the harmonica.

One night, probably in late June, at about eight o'clock, Walt had a projector set up in the yard behind the studio bungalow so that the whirring of the machine would not contend with the accompaniment. The image was thrown through a window and onto a bedsheet hung in a large room off of Walt's office where the backgrounds were drawn. He stationed Jackson with his harmonica, animator Johnny Cannon, who could make sound effects with his mouth, and several other staff members behind his office door, which had a window in it that allowed them to see the back of the bedsheet. When Roy started the projector, Jackson played his music, Cannon made his sounds, and the others banged pencils against spittoons that served as gongs—all synchronized to Mickey's actions. They performed repeatedly so that each of the participants could witness the effect for himself. And with an appreciation for the magnitude of the event—the fate of the studio rested on the outcome—they had an audience. Walt had invited Lillian, Edna, Iwerks's wife Mildred, Hazel Sewell, and Jackson's girlfriend, later wife, Jane Ames, to watch what he hoped would be a historic occasion.

"I never saw such a reaction in an audience in my life," the usually taciturn Iwerks would recall, citing encore after encore. "The scheme worked perfectly. The sound itself gave the illusion of something emanating directly from the screen." Walt was exultant. He kept saying, "This is it, this is it! We've got it!" By the time the show finally ended, it was two in the morning, and the guests, hearing Jackson play his two tunes and hearing the staff hit the spittoons again and again, had gotten bored and drifted into the hallway, which only antagonized Walt. "You're out here talking about babies and we're in here making history," he reportedly groused. Twerks said he had never been so exhilarated, claiming years later that "nothing since has ever equaled it." It was "real intoxication," and like Walt, he said he knew they had been vindicated. "It was terrible, but it was wonderful!" Walt would say, criticizing the quality of the cartoon but appreciating the significance of the showing. "And it was something new!" which was, of course, the main point for the struggling studio. The staff were so jubilant that they reassembled at the studio at six in the morning, just a few hours after they had left, to finish the cartoon.

It would take another four weeks, during which Walt and Roy refinanced their Hyperion mortgage to raise money. On July 14 Walt requisitioned sheet music, and by month's end they held a second preview like the first, only this time of the entire cartoon. In the meantime Walt had become practically messianic about sound. He had his business cards reprinted. "Sound cartoons," they now read. As for *Steamboat Willie*, the eminent animation historian John Canemaker called it the "*Jazz Singer* of animation" for the effect it would have. After the loss of Oswald and most of his staff, Walt had, in a few short months, reinvented his studio and, he thought, the cartoon itself. Now all he had to do was find a way to get the sound and music on the film itself so that he could get a distributor to release the cartoons before his money was exhausted.

The Mouse, pp. 135–136

The biggest difference, however, between the Disney studio and the animation studios in New York was not in preparation or specialization; it was in expectation. Walt Disney had to be the best. As he had with the Alices and the Oswalds, though with indifferent results, Walt insisted upon excellence, and Sharpsteen admitted that he soon had some misgivings about joining the studio when he came to realize how high Walt's standards were. Assigned what he believed was a run-of-the-mill scene in one of the early Mickeys, he saw that Walt did not regard it or any scene that way. "In Walt's estimation, everything that was done had to be executed with a great deal of thought toward finesse in order to make it better." It could be a struggle convincing men who had spent their careers thinking of animation as a throwaway that they could and must accomplish something better. "I have encountered plenty of trouble getting my new men adjusted to our method of working," Walt complained to Giegerich that April, "but things are clearing up now and it looks like we are going to be able to sail along smoothly from now on."

Part of Walt's secret was that in insisting on quality from individuals of whom it had never been required, he inspired commitment. "We'd hate to go home at night," Iwerks recalled, "and we couldn't wait to get to the office in the morning. We had lots of vitality, and we had to work it off." Though only a short time earlier the atmosphere at the studio had been dismal, the success of the Mickeys lifted spirits. The animators would now play pranks on one another—pouring water on a chair as someone was about to sit in it or putting cheese on the light under a colleague's animation board or Art Gum eraser shavings in his pipe tobacco. "But all the horseplay and jokes," Iwerks said, "never got in the way of the work. We all loved what we were doing and the enthusiasm got onto the screen." Indeed, when a reporter glowingly described the carefree atmosphere at Hyperion, Walt actually took offense, griping to Giegerich that "one would gather we are nothing but a happy-go-lucky bunch of fellows without any system or organization about us, and that all I do is sit on my fanny and pass out the checks to the fellows."

There was something else too that gave the Disney studio an esprit and sense of fraternity: Walt's own informality. Freed from the constant demands and financial tensions of the Mintz era, he was a different man. He prided himself on being one of the guys, even cultivated it. "We haven't any president or any other officers," he told a visiting reporter proudly. "In fact, we are not even incorporated. I guess you couldn't call us a company. We voice our opinions and sometimes we have good old-fashioned scraps, but in the end things get ironed out and we have something we're all proud of." Most of the employees even had a key to the studio's front door. Walt could still be demanding and caustic, especially with longtime associates like Iwerks, but having learned from his experience with the mutineers who detested him, Walt drew closer to his animators, stopping by their desks to talk not just about their work but about their

interests and making suggestions to them without seeming overbearing. "The men loved it," Iwerks said, "and they all responded."

But as smoothly as Walt had the new operation running, his pursuit of excellence eventually ran up against an intractable reality that always seemed to bedevil him: money. Quality was expensive, and there never seemed to be enough money to support it. The early Mickeys cost between $4,180 (*Mickey's Follies*) and $5,357 (*The Karnival Kid*) to produce, which didn't include the royalties to Powers[55] for the Cinephone system, or the onerous yearly $13,000, or the debt to record *Steamboat Willie*, which the Disneys were still paying off nearly a year later. By May, Walt had received nearly $40,000 in fees and rentals from Powers, but he had to pay distribution costs and expenses, and had to retire loans, leaving him virtually nothing, especially since he had expanded his staff and was paying the new animators well. "The money has been coming in at a pretty fair rate," Roy determined later that summer, saying that Willie alone had grossed $15,000 and might eventually gross $25,000, "the question is what are the expenses—and they are enough you can bet." At the same time Walt was carrying the expenses of the recording studio, which despite his sunny predictions had yet to turn a profit and was draining money. He had, in fact, tried to borrow $2,500 from Powers to help keep it afloat.

Parnassus, pp. 285–286

Given the sudden emphasis on feature animations, it was natural to think of *Snow White* as the beginning of a new era in the studio, a golden age of cartoons in which the values were raised and the studio really was transformed into the communal guild of which Walt had dreamed. The truth as it turned out was something else. *Snow White* may have been less a beginning than an end—of old ways of crafting cartoons and running the studio. For one thing, with the feature's success had come a vast expansion in the workforce, as Walt braced for the new films to come. Nearly eight hundred employees were added to the payroll in the two years following *Snow White*, but because Walt had been slow to advance feature production as he awaited the results of that picture, he wound up creating a glut. Many of the new employees simply sat doing nothing through most of 1938. Sharpsteen didn't want to work with them because they weren't experienced enough. Ham Luske tried to find them assignments, but he remembered it as a "horrible deal."

Because there were so many new employees and because the studio was being converted virtually overnight from one that was dedicated to producing six- and seven-minute cartoons to one that was dedicated to producing seventy- and eighty-minute features, chaos began to descend. *Snow White* had been a long, deliberate labor of trial and error, but it was *sui generis*; it provided little guidance in making

[55] Patrick Powers was an early sound-film entrepreneur (Cinephone) who helped Disney launch Mickey Mouse. Disney looked up to Powers as a financial and strategic superior. Powers took advantage of Disney's naïvety and became an adversary who attempted to undermine Disney's studio.

features on a regular schedule, which was what the studio needed to do now. By Walt's own admission, the two years after *Snow White* were "years of confusion, swift expansion, reorganization." And he described the training of the new recruits as being "fitted into a machine for the manufacture of entertainment which had become bewilderingly complex"—a far cry from the heady, messy, lurching collaboration on *Snow White*. As he would later tell his employees, "The only way to have a [commanding] position in the field is to have an organization so that there will be no weak sisters coming from the plant." But for all Walt's earlier fitful attempts to routinize the process of animation and for all the increasing specialization, the studio had never really been a machine. Now he had to try to make it one.

Parnassus, pp. 296–298

With *Snow White* winding down at the time, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* seemed to strike a nerve with Walt. If the former was the story of Walt's youth, the latter was the story of his new power and his vexed relationship to it. Bill Tytla would draw the sorcerer with Walt's own famously cocked eyebrow and had named him Yen Sid, "Disney" backward, to make the connection between the sorcerer's magic omnipotence and Walt's. In the animation universe Walt Disney did control the elements as Yen Sid did in the cartoon. He was the master, the only one with the "whole equation" in his head, while his minions were the apprentices, helpless without him. But another possible interpretation may have been in Walt's own mind as he awaited the reception to *Snow White*: that he was not the sorcerer but was himself the hapless apprentice who dons the sorcerer's hat and summons the elements only to discover that they overwhelm him. As a continuity for *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* described it, "It is the picture of the typical little man and what he would like to do once given complete control of the earth and its elements." This turned *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* into a portent for the studio. (With war brewing in Europe and Asia, it may have also turned it into a portent for the world generally.) Once *Snow White* was completed, Walt must have sensed that the studio no longer served Walt Disney; rather, Walt Disney increasingly served the studio, unable to manage the forces that he had unleashed. In effect, the cartoon, which was itself a form of hubris, might be seen as Walt's own nightmare in which he is defeated by his own hubris.

But if Walt was using *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* to express his own concerns, he had another, more prosaic incentive for making the short: his dedication to one of his most stalwart supporters. Actress Helen Hayes recalled visiting the studio in 1937 and Walt showing her a new Mickey Mouse cartoon. "Of course you know Donald is the big thing now," Walt told her, "but it won't last. Mickey is forever. He'll have his moments in the shade, but he'll always come out in the bright lights again." In truth, if anything the shade had grown even darker for Mickey Mouse. The early Mickey Mouse had been, as John Updike described him, "America as it feels to itself—plucky, put-upon, inventive, resilient, good-natured, game." But as he had become increasingly domesticated, he had also become increasingly a cipher. "Our dilemma became one of trying to find new, logical material for Mickey, more sophisticated material, if you will," Ward Kimball

reflected. "As we got more personality and character into the other cartoons, it became more and more difficult to cope with Mickey... Mickey was really an abstraction. He wasn't based on anything that was remotely real." Animator Friz Freleng agreed: "Mickey Mouse was a nothing, really. After the novelty of animation was over, there was nothing left but a black-and-white drawing moving around. You really don't associate yourself with that character at all." Directors and animators began referring to him as a "Boy Scout" in reference to his lack of spikiness—his blandness.

Walt was not willing to surrender Mickey so easily. He asked Jack Kinney to develop Mickey narratively into something more than a supporting player to Donald Duck, and he charged Fred Moore and Ward Kimball (by one account Moore acted on his own initiative) with redesigning Mickey to make him look more appealing, which was Moore's stock in trade. As Thomas and Johnston reported it, Walt watched footage of Moore's newly redesigned Mickey in the sweatbox, demanding that it be run repeatedly until he finally paused, turned to Moore, and said, "Now that's the way I want Mickey to be drawn from now on!" Moore had made Mickey softer. Where the mouse had previously been constructed as a series of circles, which made him easy to draw, Moore now suggested that the "body is to be drawn as somewhat pear shape, fairly short and plump" so that Mickey had more curve and less rigidity. He also further enlarged the head and shrank the body. "Mickey is cuter when drawn with small shoulders with a suggestion of stomach and fanny and I like him pigeon-toed," he told an action analysis class.

Mickey gained mass and weight—"counter movements, counter thrusts," in Kimball's words. His cheeks began to move with his mouth, and Kimball himself converted Mickey's eyes from large, inexpressive black pupils to ovals surrounding pupils. All of these changes made Mickey even more childlike and less rodentlike, which had always been the direction of his evolution anyway. Though children's heads obviously become smaller in relation to their bodies as they grow, evolutionary biologist Stephen Jay Gould observed that Mickey had "traveled this ontogenetic pathway in reverse": the animators infantilized his appearance by enlarging his head, lowering his pants line, and covering his legs to shorten them, thickening his snout and moving his ears back on his head to make the forehead larger and more rounded.

This new Mickey was indisputably cuter, as Moore had said, than the old Mickey, and cute seemed to be the order of the day. "I think people think of Mickey as a cute character," Walt would tell a story meeting after the redesign. "[H]e is a cute character—and he should be more likable in everything he does." But in making him cuter and more of a child, the animators had removed the last remnants of his rude energy—"his vitality, his alertness, his bug-eyed cartoon readiness for adventure," in Updike's words. The old Chaplinesque devilry was completely expunged. (In truth, Chaplin had lost most of his devilry too.) If he became more expressive, he had less to be expressive about. As Updike wrote, referring specifically to Mickey's new eyes but equally applicable to the entire redesign, "It made him less abstract, less iconic, more merely cute and dwarfish."

Though he had approved the redesign, Walt understood that it had not solved the Mickey problem. (Years later he would say of Mickey's demise, "We got tired & we had new characters to play with.") Mickey needed something more to survive. He needed a vehicle. Ben Sharpsteen denied that Walt had decided to make *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* because he thought it was a way to rehabilitate Mickey, saying that Dopey had been considered initially. Still, apparently very early in the process, storyman Chester S. Cobb had been assigned to investigate possibilities for the film and concluded, "It would be difficult to invent an interesting apprentice—a kid wouldn't be comic enough." But, Cobb went on, "Mickey or the Goof [referring to a subsidiary character] in a good imaginative atmosphere would have a lot more audience value as the apprentice than any symphony-type character we might invent." Stokowski wasn't persuaded. "What would you think of creating an entirely new personality for this film instead of Mickey?" he wrote Walt in November 1937. "A personality which could represent You and Me—in other words, someone that would represent in the mind and heart of everyone seeing the film their own personality, so that they would enter into all the drama and emotional changes of the film in a most intense manner." It was one of the few times Walt disregarded a Stokowski suggestion. Walt did think of Mickey Mouse as "you and me," and in a last-ditch rescue mission, he had decided that the sorcerer's apprentice would be his alter ego.

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It had always been about control, about crafting a better reality than the one outside the studio, and about demonstrating that one had the capacity to do so. That was what Walt Disney provided to America—not escape, as so many analysts would surmise, but control and the vicarious empowerment that accompanied it. And that was what America seemed to want from him. Though the immediate postwar period had been triumphant for the country, the mood quickly turned from euphoria to uncertainty—what historian William Leuchtenberg would describe as a "troubled feast" in his account of the time. The feast was the nation's unprecedented economic growth, fueled largely by military spending. In the ten years after the war wages rose and working hours decreased, home ownership jumped, higher education was made available to returning veterans, and general consumption soared. All of which led sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset to declare, "The fundamental problems of the industrial revolution have been solved."

But despite the hopefulness, a general sense of malaise wafted through the nation. In part it was a result of the Cold War between the capitalist and Communist blocs, colder still after the Soviet Union detonated an atomic bomb in August 1949. Americans understandably felt they were threatened from without by Russia. They would also come to feel that they were threatened from within by a cadre of Communists and Communist sympathizers who had wedged their way into the government—the alleged fifth columnists that Senator Joseph McCarthy would ride to headlines. But it wasn't just the Communist threat to government that led to anxiety. No

less an authority than President Truman's attorney general, J. Howard McGrath, said Communists were everywhere—"in factories, offices, butcher stores, on street corners and in private business. And each carries in himself the death of society."

Dire as that sounded, probably more important was the feeling of dislocation that accompanied rapid change during the period. Along with the rise of wages and the growth of consumption, America was undergoing suburbanization, a revolution in mass communication with the introduction of television in the early 1950s, increased physical mobility with automobiles, a national highway construction program and a boom in commercial airlines, new technologies, bureaucratization, and even the development of a new personality type to negotiate the new society—a type that sociologist David Riesman would describe as "other-directed," or driven less by an internal compass than by a need to please others, and what William Whyte would call the "organization man," who was concerned as much with managing the bureaucracy as with acquiring skills. What all these phenomena-from McCarthyism to suburbanization to the organization man—had in common, historian William Chafe would write, was that all were related "to the existentialist dilemma of finding a way to create meaning in the face of forces over which one had no control."

Walt Disney, like General Dwight Eisenhower, who would be elected president in 1952 and hid an iron will behind a facade of affability, promised control. When America was enjoying its burst of self-confidence immediately after the war, critics generally disdained Disney's cartoons, in part because the films were shabbily made and the sense of control in them seemed to have diminished. But once the Cold War began, Americans seemed again to need reassurance, which may explain why Cinderella, an old-fashioned and familiar sort of Disney animation, a controlled animation, found favor. (Walt's own comment on the nuclear peril was, "If people would think more of fairies they would soon forget the atom bomb.") Disney, a tonic force during the Depression, was now a touchstone, providing comfort in a time of foreboding.

As was so often the case, what was true for the country was true for Walt Disney personally. If America found control and reassurance in his films, he had found both in his model trains, which was one reason he pursued them. But that was not the only reason. The trains were also the bridgehead of a much larger scheme that was organizing itself in Walt Disney's mind. At least as early as 1947 he had begun collecting miniatures—furniture, figurines, coaches, boats, farm machinery, even tiny liquor bottles and crates. Ostensibly these were adornments for the train layout and another pastime to take his mind off the studio when, as he wrote his sister, "problems become too hectic." But as Walt scoured miniature shops during his trip to Europe in 1949 and on his various forays to New York and even up into New England; as he attended miniature shows; as he enlisted friends to find miniatures for him; as he solicited miniatures through catalogs, midwestern newspapers, and hobbyist magazines (using the name of a studio secretary as he had used machinist Dick Jones to solicit model train information), he hit upon a plan. With his own two hands he would create an entire miniature

American turn-of-the-century village, a sort of Lilliputian Marceline,[56] and then display it in large cases across the country. True to Walt's new postwar persona, he said that the project would be a means to convey traditional values, though the underlying metaphor couldn't have been more transparent. Building the village was another way for Walt to assert his control at the very time he seemed to be losing it.

To realize the plan, Walt buttonholed layout artist Ken Anderson and offered to put him on his personal payroll: Anderson was to paint scenes of Americana that Walt would then bring to life with the miniatures. "You can paint some paintings like Norman Rockwell," Anderson recalled Walt saying, "and I'll build them." The work would be done secretly, not so much, it seemed, because Walt was afraid of the idea getting out as because he didn't want the project to be infected and corrupted by the studio's corporate mentality. This was his not the company's. He installed Anderson in a room on the third floor of the Animation Building to which only he and Anderson had the keys. Here Anderson painted. Eventually the two of them would take little expeditions to downtown Los Angeles, hunting for materials. Sometimes Walt would disappear for a day or two, Anderson said, and then return with a "whole sack full" of various items from which to construct the scenes. Walt himself admitted to one vendor of materials, "I become so absorbed that the cares of the studio fade away ... at least for a time." Indeed, as Anderson explained it, Walt was "having such fun making these things that he completely forgot to pay me," and when Walt happened to ask whether Anderson had been compensated and Anderson said he hadn't, "I got paid and paid and paid."

Over time Anderson drew nearly two dozen sketches of archetypal American scenes—among them a blacksmith reading a newspaper, a minister in the pulpit, a klatch of gossiping women, a general store, a granny in her rocker before a hearth. But even before he began constructing his tableaux, Walt came to two realizations. The first was that he couldn't fabricate the scenes completely by himself and that he would need more assistance. He recruited a sculptor named Christodoro to help make the figures and a sketch artist named Harper Goff, whom he had met in a London model train shop during his European trip to oversee Treasure Island. The second realization was that the scenes couldn't be static. They had to move, which required the additional recruitment of machinist Roger Broggie, who had helped Walt build his train, and an animator-cum-sculptor named Wathel Rogers.

Now Walt, inspired by wind-up toys that he had found and dissected in Europe, began an experiment. In February 1951 he hired the actor and dancer Buddy Ebsen to perform a short tap dance in front of a grid. (Walt directed it himself.) The performance was filmed on 35mm stock and then analyzed by Broggie and Rogers to determine how they might replicate the movements with a mechanical figure that Christodoro had made. Broggie later recalled that they examined the footage frame by frame, only to discover that Ebsen never exactly repeated his steps. Moreover, just as it had been difficult to animate clothing, Broggie and Rogers could never quite get the mechanical

[56] As a child, Walt lived for four years on a farm in Marceline, Missouri. Although he did not live there long, the farm—and the small town, with its warm and quaint Main Street—left a lasting impression.

figure's pants to flop in the same way that Ebsen's did. Still, they made the man dance, using the same kind of cam system that the wind-up toys employed, and Walt entered a new territory that further extended the metaphor of control. As the historian Jackson Lears would observe of this departure, "The quintessential product of the [Disney] empire would not be fantasy, but simulated reality; not the cartoon character, but the 'audio-animatronic' robot," of which the "mechanical man" was the first. Walt Disney had crept closer still to creating and perfecting life.

Already in January, even before the Ebsen experiment, Walt was writing a specialist in display cases that "it always takes a lot of time to work the bugs out of mechanical contraptions and this one must be absolutely right before I can go ahead on the others," but that he expected to have a "pretty good show worked up by next Christmas." At the time he had the crew work on another tableau, this one of a barbershop quartet, while he personally worked on the scene of Granny in her rocker. By March, when he asked shorts production chief Harry Tytle to handle the logistics of the touring show, he had already spent nearly $24,000 on the miniatures and the train, and he demanded as much value for his money as he had on the animations. He was constantly having miniatures sent to him on approval, then returning them for shoddy craftsmanship or lack of detail. For a man of his stature, he was also surprisingly concerned about the value of his own craftsmanship. He had designed and fabricated by hand small potbellied stoves that he sent on consignment to a miniatures dealer in New York, but he was incensed when the dealer charged only fifteen dollars and asked that she "keep them on display for a while longer and see what you can really get for them." When the dealer boosted the price to twenty-five dollars and sold one, Walt glowed. "The thing that pleases me is that you sold a stove for $25.00!"

Meanwhile, Walt forged ahead on his exhibition, which was now called Disneylandia and which he described as a series of "visual juke boxes with the record playing mechanism being replaced by a miniature stage setting." He was considering exhibiting the show in department stores or in railroad cars, where schoolchildren could bring coins to "play" the scenes, though Walt hesitated at having children come to freight yards, and in any case he had been told emphatically that the exhibition couldn't possibly be profitable. In the end, he settled for unveiling the scene of "Granny Kincaid" at a Festival of California Living at the Pan-Pacific Auditorium in Los Angeles in November 1952. The vitrine, roughly eight feet long, contained tiny rugs, a plank floor, a stone fire-place, lace curtains, dishes, and even an outhouse with a potty, and it featured a narration by actress Beulah Bondi, who had played Granny Kincaid in So Dear to My Heart. Columnist Hedda Hopper, who had visited the festival, marveled at Walt's handiwork and asked, "Why does he do it?" To which Walt answered, "Damned if I know."

But he knew very well why he did it. Beyond the psychological benisons of control and the tactile exhilaration of his own craftsmanship, beyond the way it preoccupied him while the studio seemed to wobble, he did it because he harbored an even larger, more audacious plana plan for which Disneylandia was only a trial run and

a plan that seemed to sustain him even as he was losing interest in the rest of his company.

It is impossible to say exactly when, but Walt Disney had decided to build an amusement park.

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Over the months, as the WED staff loosed their imaginations, the project underwent what one might call a philosophical transformation. From the first, Walt had never thought of Disneyland as a traditional amusement park; the whole idea had been to make something different, something better. But the conceptualization, in part limited by the relatively small site, had nevertheless been narrow too—a sort of combination of Knott's Berry Farm, with its rustic American setting, and a kiddieland with rides. By the time WED and Walt embarked on their constant plussing, Disneyland had evolved into something much more unusual and much more grandiose not just a park that could provide fun and diversion but a kind of full imaginative universe that could provide a unified experience. It was truly a land rather than an amusement park. At least that was how the planners and Walt had come to think of it. Disneyland would be something for which there was no antecedent.

But if there was no antecedent, in its planning the park had been the beneficiary of a host of forces and influences—the Edenic European gardens, like Tivoli, that Walt had visited; the expositions and fairs, like the Century of Progress in Chicago in 1933, the New York World's Fair in 1939, and even the Chicago Railroad Fair; historical re-creations, like Knott's Berry Farm, Greenfield Village, and Colonial Williamsburg, all of which Walt had seen and enjoyed; and, what may have been the most important influence of all, California architecture itself. As Edmund Wilson had once described Los Angeles flamboyance: "Here you see mixturesque beauty," a "Pekinese pagoda made of fresh and cracky peanut brittle then a snow white marshmallow igloo—or a toothsome pink nougat in the Florentine manner, rich and delicious with embedded nuts." Los Angeles was a fantastic, eclectic, architecturally unruly city, affected as it was by Hollywood, which was also fantastic, eclectic, and unruly, as well as by a general sense of possibility. All of Los Angeles was a movie set or, as one commentator in the 1920s called it, the "child of Hollywood out of Kansas" and the "Middle Westerner's Nirvana," which almost perfectly described the city's relationship to Walt Disney. His Disneyland would in many ways be the apotheosis of Los Angeles architecture, an apotheosis of Hollywood, and in talking about the park he would even describe its layout as if it were a movie: "This is scene one, this is scene two, and this is scene three."

Having borrowed the idiom of motion pictures for his park, Walt Disney had also borrowed the movies' intent. Hollywood—the creation largely of Eastern European Jews who expunged their pasts by devising a better world of their imaginations—refined and idealized reality. So would Disneyland, the creation of a wounded man who expunged what he saw as the darker passages of his past by devising a better world of his imagination, though one that was obviously colored by the images of Hollywood. One

of the sources of the power of Hollywood was that it created archetypes that, it was often said, managed to plumb some deep Jungian ocean of collective consciousness. Disneyland, essentially a giant movie set, would deploy the same archetypes and would plumb the same depths. As one Disney historian put it, "One could take every feature of the parks [Disneyland and later Walt Disney World] and explain its appeal in terms of some instinctive or emotional response common to almost all of us."

At Disneyland, Walt imagined a western town that was the movies' idea of the West, even, according to architectural historian Karal Ann Marling, instructing Harper Goff to model the saloon after one that Goff had designed for the recent film *Calamity Jane*. He imagined a jungle cruise ride that would be modeled after another recent film, *The African Queen*, which Goff loved. He imagined a castle that was the Platonic castle of everyone's imagination. He imagined a Main Street with its quaint shops, its horse-drawn carriages, its train station, fire station, and police station, its town hall and town square that was so quintessentially turn-of-the-century American that even Walt's promotional material boasted, "We want everyone to feel that this is MAIN STREET, U.S.A. and that you are actually living this period."

As Walt drew on these archetypal American images, he also drew on the archetypal images that he himself had created and that had become embedded in the American consciousness. "We enter the land of Disney with the sense of having been there before because we return to an America unified by our common experience," wrote one visitor in The New York Times, including in that collective past the experience of *Snow White*, *Cinderella*, *Three Little Pigs*, *Peter Pan*, and *Mickey and Minnie Mouse*. It was a testament to how much Walt Disney had helped shape the American imagination. And to make absolutely certain that guests to Disneyland would stay within their imaginations, Walt planned a high berm, or embankment, to surround the park and blot out the surroundings, like the berm he had built at the studio and at Carolwood so that his neighbors wouldn't be disturbed by his train. The berm literally kept the world at bay as Walt had always wanted to do at his studio. "[W]hen you enter DISNEYLAND," the promotional brochure announced, "you will find yourself in the land of yesterday, tomorrow, and fantasy. Nothing of the present exists in DISNEYLAND."

As Disneyland was designed to block out the world, it was also designed to offer a particular kind of psychological experience that one didn't ordinarily find at an amusement park or carnival, much less in reality. Most amusement parks, in fact, were like the Warner Bros. cartoons of the late 1940s—noisy, chaotic, bombastic, subversive. One was made to feel that the social rules didn't apply there, that one was entirely free. Walt Disney, the purveyor of comfort, intended his park to provide just the opposite not freedom but control and order. John Hench, one of its designers, said that the park had been drawn with the same kind of circles and loops as Mickey Mouse and with the same effect. Everything was harmonious, soft, and unthreatening, making Disneyland one of the most profound expressions of what Marling calls an "architecture of reassurance," in which one feels the palpable sense of "an order governing the disposition of things." When critics would later carp that Disneyland was too serene, too clean, too controlled,

too perfect, they were right. It was what one might have called the "tragedy of perfection"—that in seeking perfection Walt seemed to drive out anything human and real. Yet perfection was the whole basis for Disneyland's existence and the foundation of its appeal. It was a modern variant on the City on a Hill of Puritan dreams. It was the consummate act of wish fulfillment.

As such, of course, it was a reflection of its creator and his own overweening sense of wish fulfillment. But it reflected him in a much more personal way as well. By formulating the park with a walk down Main Street at the park's entrance, which led to Sleeping Beauty Castle at the street's end (what Walt, borrowing an old carnival term, called a "wienie" because it enticed guests to it presumably the way a wienie entices a dog) and then to the various lands that radiated from the castle (Fantasyland, Adventureland, Frontierland, and Tomorrowland), Walt Disney recreated his own life's journey: "the road map of Walt Disney's life," as WED veteran Marty Sklar would describe it. One entered the gates of the park into what was essentially the Main Street of Walt's boyhood Marceline. (At "story sessions" for Disneyland he would reminisce about Marceline by the hour.) At the end of the street one was offered a variety of options—fantasy, adventure, the frontier, the future so that a trip through the park became a metaphor for possibility. Like young Walt, visitors to the castle seemed to stand at the portal to their dreams with a child's sense of omnipotence. "The symbolism," Richard Schickel would write, "is almost too perfect—the strangers forced to recapitulate Disney's formative experiences before being allowed to visit his fancies and fantasies in other areas of the Magic Kingdom."

What was uncanny, as always, was how much Walt Disney's personal experience converged with the national experience. Early in the planning stages Walt had described the park as providing a lesson in American heritage, just as Disneylandia had been intended to do, and he wanted visitors to appreciate the kind of bedrock values of which he had become a representative after the war, values that were especially salient with the onset of the Cold War. "There's an American theme behind the whole park," he told columnist Hedda Hopper, which meant that Disneyland was intended to re-create not only Walt Disney's moment of possibility but also America's, when the country, like Walt, had been both innocent and ambitious.

Some regarded this nostalgia for a bygone era in a time of anxiety as yet another form of comfort and another source of the park's appeal. "So the Disney parks touch on two sources of the modern desire to return through time to an earlier state of mind: the childhood of the individual (Main Street; Fantasyland, based on children's literary classics; and the Play orientation of the parks' activities)," wrote one analyst, referring both to Disneyland and to its sequel, Walt Disney World, "and the childhood of the nation (early twentieth century settings and back through the frontier and colonial periods)." Another analyst observed that visitors to Disneyland "found themselves completely submerged in a fantasized but nearly pitch-perfect representation of their deepest commitments and beliefs"—commitments and beliefs that, like so much else in

his life, had now been idealized by Walt Disney. In the end, then, Disneyland was neither just a park nor even an experience. It was also a repository of values.

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Reclamation of the past was not all that Walt Disney promoted on his Disneyland television program. He also offered the appeal of *Tomorrowland*. While preparing the Disneyland show, he instructed Ward Kimball to hunt for subjects for the *Tomorrowland* episodes, and Kimball came upon a three-part series on space exploration, in Collier's magazine by three of the foremost experts on space, Wernher Von Braun, Willy Ley, and Heinz Haber. Walt read the series in one night and came to the studio the next day fired with enthusiasm. He told Kimball to get Von Braun, Ley, and Haber to the studio to prepare the programs. The result was another three-part miniseries, beginning with an animated documentary called *Man in Space*, that premiered on March 9, 1955. More than two years before the Soviet Union launched its Sputnik satellite and heated up the space race, *Man in Space* went a long way toward building a large constituency for space exploration, and President Eisenhower ordered that it be shown to his rocket experts. At the end of 1955 Walt met with nuclear scientists Glenn Seaborg, Edward Teller, and Ernest Lawrence about a program on atomic energy, to be titled *Our Friend the Atom*, that would have the same effect in creating a consensus behind that technology. As a result Walt Disney, who had become one of the chief purveyors of American values from the past, also became one of the chief popularizers of and cheerleaders for American science in the future.

Whether or not Disney had, as Watts believed, really shaped an American ideal—and he doubtless contributed to it—one could meaningfully speak in the 1950s of "Walt Disney's America." Evolving in the postwar decade, as the new Walt had, this America drew on democratic traditions of modesty, self-effacement, naïveté, and determination, which was what Crockett personified. Yet it also was forward-looking, evincing an almost childlike confidence in science and technology, the very sorts of things that seemed to threaten those old democratic traditions. On the one hand, it projected a quaint, white-picket-fence nostalgia of the sort Walt had celebrated in *So Dear to My Heart*; on the other, it projected a futuristic vision of the sort he expressed in *Man in Space*. Like Walt's own image, "Walt Disney's America" was a confection and an aesthetic—smoothly blended from Hollywood, Booth Tarkington, Horatio Alger, Norman Rockwell, Thomas Edison, and Buck Rogers—but in the same way that Walt had begun to internalize his image, America in the 1950s began to internalize hers. As *Time*'s chest-thumping suggested, "Walt Disney's America" was a reassuring artifice that was embraced as a realty the spiritual equivalent of Disneyland. It was the face, or the carapace, that the country had assumed to show to itself and to the world.

Slouching Toward Utopia, pp. 632–633

He had changed the world. He had created a new art form and then produced several indisputable classics within it—films that, even when they had not found an audience or been profitable on first release, had, as Walt predicted, become profitable upon reissue. He had provided escape from the Depression, strength during war, and reassurance afterward, and he had shown generations of children how to accept responsibility while at the same time allowing them to vent vicariously their antagonisms toward the adult world they would soon enter. He had refined traditional values and sharpened American myths and archetypes, even if, as his detractors said, he may have also gutted them. And from another vantage point, he had reinforced American iconoclasm, communitarianism, and tolerance and helped mold a countercultural generation. He had advanced color films and then color television. He had reimagined the amusement park, and in doing so he had altered American consciousness, for better or worse, so that his countrymen would prefer wish fulfillment to reality, the faux to the authentic. He had encouraged and popularized conservation, space exploration, atomic energy, urban planning, and a deeper historical awareness. He had built one of the most powerful empires in the entertainment world—one that would, despite his fears, long survive him. And because his films were so popular overseas, he had helped establish American popular culture as the dominant culture in the world. He had founded a school of the arts, and nearly forty years after his death his name would adorn a concert hall in downtown Los Angeles financed largely with Disney family money. Yet all of these accumulated contributions paled before a larger one: he demonstrated how one could assert one's will on the world at the very time when everything seemed to be growing beyond control and beyond comprehension. In sum, Walt Disney had been not so much a master of fun or irreverence or innocence or even wholesomeness. He had been a master of order.

The master of order had been so terrified of death that he hadn't left instructions for his interment. He had told Lillian only that he wanted to be cremated and that he wanted the ceremony to be small and private because he desperately wanted to avoid the undignified public displays he had seen at other celebrity funerals. It was his sons-in-law who chose the Little Church of the Flowers at Forest Lawn in Glendale for the funeral service, which was held at five o'clock the day after his death. Only the family attended, and even then Ruth didn't appear for fear that she might be hounded by the media on her way from Portland to California. At Lillian's request the Episcopal minister from Diane's church in Encino officiated. Bob Brown had suggested that "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which Walt had loved, be played at the close of the service, and as the song concluded Lillian slowly made her way to the front of the church where the coffin was, placed her hands on it and keened, "I loved you so much. I loved you so much." No one spoke publicly about the funeral afterward.

For nearly a year after the cremation, Walt Disney's ashes remained at Forest Lawn uninterred, the family resisting making a decision on a final resting place. It was

only after Bob Brown, Sharon's husband, was suddenly felled by cancer less than a year after Walt's death that Sharon, having decided her father and her husband should be interred together, moved to take action on burying her father's ashes. She and Diane chose an inconspicuous plot outside the Freedom Mausoleum at Forest Lawn, dedicated as a "sacred memorial to the freedom bequeathed to us through the courage, the wisdom and the faith of our forefathers," located at a remote corner of the three-hundred-acre cemetery where their father, resting with Bob Brown, would not be alone in death as he had so often been alone in life.

A plain, rectangular bronze plaque now adorns the white brick wall of the mausoleum that encloses a small garden to mark the burial place of his ashes. It bears only the name "Walter Elias Disney." It was here, guarded by a hedge of orange olivias and red azaleas, and hidden behind a holly tree and behind a white statue of Hans Christian Andersen's Little Mermaid gazing contemplatively at invisible water, that Walt Disney seemed to have fulfilled his family's destiny. He had escaped. And it was here that he fulfilled his own destiny, too, for which he had striven so mightily and restlessly all his life. He had passed beyond the afflictions of this world. Walt Disney had at last attained perfection.

Walter Isaacson, *The Real Leadership Lessons of Steve Jobs*

His saga is the entrepreneurial creation myth writ large: Steve Jobs cofounded Apple in his parents' garage in 1976, was ousted in 1985, returned to rescue it from near bankruptcy in 1997, and by the time he died, in October 2011, had built it into the world's most valuable company. Along the way he helped to transform seven industries: personal computing, animated movies, music, phones, tablet computing, retail stores, and digital publishing. He thus belongs in the pantheon of America's great innovators, along with Thomas Edison, Henry Ford, and Walt Disney. None of these men was a saint, but long after their personalities are forgotten, history will remember how they applied imagination to technology and business.

In the months since my biography of Jobs came out, countless commentators have tried to draw management lessons from it. Some of those readers have been insightful, but I think that many of them (especially those with no experience in entrepreneurship) fixate too much on the rough edges of his personality. The essence of Jobs, I think, is that his personality was integral to his way of doing business. He acted as if the normal rules didn't apply to him, and the passion, intensity, and extreme emotionalism he brought to everyday life were things he also poured into the products he made. His petulance and impatience were part and parcel of his perfectionism.

One of the last times I saw him, after I had finished writing most of the book, I asked him again about his tendency to be rough on people. "Look at the results," he replied. "These are all smart people I work with, and any of them could get a top job at another place if they were truly feeling brutalized. But they don't." Then he paused for a few moments and said, almost wistfully, "And we got some amazing things done." Indeed, he and Apple had had a string of hits over the past dozen years that was greater than that of any other innovative company in modern times: iMac, iPod, iPod nano, iTunes Store, Apple Stores, MacBook, iPhone, iPad, App Store, OS X Lion—not to mention every Pixar film. And as he battled his final illness, Jobs was surrounded by an intensely loyal cadre of colleagues who had been inspired by him for years and a very loving wife, sister, and four children.

So I think the real lessons from Steve Jobs have to be drawn from looking at what he actually accomplished. I once asked him what he thought was his most important creation, thinking he would answer the iPad or the Macintosh. Instead he said it was Apple the company. Making an enduring company, he said, was both far harder and more important than making a great product. How did he do it? Business schools will be studying that question a century from now. Here are what I consider the keys to his success.

Focus

When Jobs returned to Apple in 1997, it was producing a random array of computers and peripherals, including a dozen different versions of the Macintosh. After a few weeks of product review sessions, he'd finally had enough. "Stop!" he shouted. "This is

crazy." He grabbed a Magic Marker, padded in his bare feet to a whiteboard, and drew a two-by-two grid. "Here's what we need," he declared. Atop the two columns, he wrote "Consumer" and "Pro." He labeled the two rows "Desktop" and "Portable." Their job, he told his team members, was to focus on four great products, one for each quadrant. All other products should be canceled. There was a stunned silence. But by getting Apple to focus on making just four computers, he saved the company. "Deciding what not to do is as important as deciding what to do," he told me. "That's true for companies, and it's true for products."

After he righted the company, Jobs began taking his "top 100" people on a retreat each year. On the last day, he would stand in front of a whiteboard (he loved whiteboards, because they gave him complete control of a situation and they engendered focus) and ask, "What are the 10 things we should be doing next?" People would fight to get their suggestions on the list. Jobs would write them down—and then cross off the ones he decreed dumb. After much jockeying, the group would come up with a list of 10. Then Jobs would slash the bottom seven and announce, "We can only do three."

Focus was ingrained in Jobs's personality and had been honed by his Zen training. He relentlessly filtered out what he considered distractions. Colleagues and family members would at times be exasperated as they tried to get him to deal with issues—a legal problem, a medical diagnosis—they considered important. But he would give a cold stare and refuse to shift his laserlike focus until he was ready.

Near the end of his life, Jobs was visited at home by Larry Page, who was about to resume control of Google, the company he had cofounded. Even though their companies were feuding, Jobs was willing to give some advice. "The main thing I stressed was focus," he recalled. Figure out what Google wants to be when it grows up, he told Page. "It's now all over the map. What are the five products you want to focus on? Get rid of the rest, because they're dragging you down. They're turning you into Microsoft. They're causing you to turn out products that are adequate but not great." Page followed the advice. In January 2012 he told employees to focus on just a few priorities, such as Android and Google+, and to make them "beautiful," the way Jobs would have done.

Simplify

Jobs's Zenlike ability to focus was accompanied by the related instinct to simplify things by zeroing in on their essence and eliminating unnecessary components. "Simplicity is the ultimate sophistication," declared Apple's first marketing brochure. To see what that means, compare any Apple software with, say, Microsoft Word, which keeps getting uglier and more cluttered with nonintuitive navigational ribbons and intrusive features. It is a reminder of the glory of Apple's quest for simplicity.

Jobs learned to admire simplicity when he was working the night shift at Atari as a college dropout. Atari's games came with no manual and needed to be uncomplicated enough that a stoned freshman could figure them out. The only instructions for its Star

Trek game were: "1. Insert quarter. 2. Avoid Klingons." His love of simplicity in design was refined at design conferences he attended at the Aspen Institute in the late 1970s on a campus built in the Bauhaus style, which emphasized clean lines and functional design devoid of frills or distractions.

When Jobs visited Xerox's Palo Alto Research Center and saw the plans for a computer that had a graphical user interface and a mouse, he set about making the design both more intuitive (his team enabled the user to drag and drop documents and folders on a virtual desktop) and simpler. For example, the Xerox mouse had three buttons and cost $300; Jobs went to a local industrial design firm and told one of its founders, Dean Hovey, that he wanted a simple, single-button model that cost $15. Hovey complied.

Jobs aimed for the simplicity that comes from conquering, rather than merely ignoring, complexity. Achieving this depth of simplicity, he realized, would produce a machine that felt as if it deferred to users in a friendly way, rather than challenging them. "It takes a lot of hard work," he said, "to make something simple, to truly understand the underlying challenges and come up with elegant solutions."

In Jony Ive, Apple's industrial designer, Jobs met his soul mate in the quest for deep rather than superficial simplicity. They knew that simplicity is not merely a minimalist style or the removal of clutter. In order to eliminate screws, buttons, or excess navigational screens, it was necessary to understand profoundly the role each element played. "To be truly simple, you have to go really deep," Ive explained. "For example, to have no screws on something, you can end up having a product that is so convoluted and so complex. The better way is to go deeper with the simplicity, to understand everything about it and how it's manufactured."

During the design of the iPod interface, Jobs tried at every meeting to find ways to cut clutter. He insisted on being able to get to whatever he wanted in three clicks. One navigation screen, for example, asked users whether they wanted to search by song, album, or artist. "Why do we need that screen?" Jobs demanded. The designers realized they didn't. "There would be times when we'd rack our brains on a user interface problem, and he would go, 'Did you think of this?'" says Tony Fadell, who led the iPod team. "And then we'd all go, 'Holy shit.' He'd redefine the problem or approach, and our little problem would go away." At one point Jobs made the simplest of all suggestions: Let's get rid of the on/off button. At first the team members were taken aback, but then they realized the button was unnecessary. The device would gradually power down if it wasn't being used and would spring to life when reengaged.

Likewise, when Jobs was shown a cluttered set of proposed navigation screens for iDVD, which allowed users to burn video onto a disk, he jumped up and drew a simple rectangle on a whiteboard. "Here's the new application," he said. "It's got one window. You drag your video into the window. Then you click the button that says 'Burn.' That's it. That's what we're going to make."

In looking for industries or categories ripe for disruption, Jobs always asked who was making products more complicated than they should be. In 2001 portable music

players and ways to acquire songs online fit that description, leading to the iPod and the iTunes Store. Mobile phones were next. Jobs would grab a phone at a meeting and rant (correctly) that nobody could possibly figure out how to navigate half the features, including the address book. At the end of his career he was setting his sights on the television industry, which had made it almost impossible for people to click on a simple device to watch what they wanted when they wanted.

Take Responsibility End to End

Jobs knew that the best way to achieve simplicity was to make sure that hardware, software, and peripheral devices were seamlessly integrated. An Apple ecosystem—an iPod connected to a Mac with iTunes software, for example—allowed devices to be simpler, syncing to be smoother, and glitches to be rarer. The more complex tasks, such as making new playlists, could be done on the computer, allowing the iPod to have fewer functions and buttons.

Jobs and Apple took end-to-end responsibility for the user experience—something too few companies do. From the performance of the ARM microprocessor in the iPhone to the act of buying that phone in an Apple Store, every aspect of the customer experience was tightly linked together. Both Microsoft in the 1980s and Google in the past few years have taken a more open approach that allows their operating systems and software to be used by various hardware manufacturers. That has sometimes proved the better business model. But Jobs fervently believed that it was a recipe for (to use his technical term) crappier products. "People are busy," he said. "They have other things to do than think about how to integrate their computers and devices."

Part of Jobs's compulsion to take responsibility for what he called "the whole widget" stemmed from his personality, which was very controlling. But it was also driven by his passion for perfection and making elegant products. He got hives, or worse, when contemplating the use of great Apple software on another company's uninspired hardware, and he was equally allergic to the thought that unapproved apps or content might pollute the perfection of an Apple device. It was an approach that did not always maximize short-term profits, but in a world filled with junky devices, inscrutable error messages, and annoying interfaces, it led to astonishing products marked by delightful user experiences. Being in the Apple ecosystem could be as sublime as walking in one of the Zen gardens of Kyoto that Jobs loved, and neither experience was created by worshipping at the altar of openness or by letting a thousand flowers bloom. Sometimes it's nice to be in the hands of a control freak.

When Behind, Leapfrog

The mark of an innovative company is not only that it comes up with new ideas first. It also knows how to leapfrog when it finds itself behind. That happened when Jobs built the original iMac. He focused on making it useful for managing a user's photos and videos, but it was left behind when dealing with music. People with PCs were

downloading and swapping music and then ripping and burning their own CDs. The iMac's slot drive couldn't burn CDs. "I felt like a dope," he said. "I thought we had missed it."

But instead of merely catching up by upgrading the iMac's CD drive, he decided to create an integrated system that would transform the music industry. The result was the combination of iTunes, the iTunes Store, and the iPod, which allowed users to buy, share, manage, store, and play music better than they could with any other devices.

After the iPod became a huge success, Jobs spent little time relishing it. Instead he began to worry about what might endanger it. One possibility was that mobile phone makers would start adding music players to their handsets. So he cannibalized iPod sales by creating the iPhone. "If we don't cannibalize ourselves, someone else will," he said.

Put Products Before Profit

When Jobs and his small team designed the original Macintosh, in the early 1980s, his injunction was to make it "insanely great." He never spoke of profit maximization or cost trade-offs. "Don't worry about price, just specify the computer's abilities," he told the original team leader. At his first retreat with the Macintosh team, he began by writing a maxim on his whiteboard: "Don't compromise." The machine that resulted cost too much and led to Jobs's ouster from Apple. But the Macintosh also "put a dent in the universe," as he said, by accelerating the home computer revolution. And in the long run he got the balance right: Focus on making the product great and the profits will follow.

John Sculley, who ran Apple from 1983 to 1993, was a marketing and sales executive from Pepsi. He focused more on profit maximization than on product design after Jobs left, and Apple gradually declined. "I have my own theory about why decline happens at companies," Jobs told me: They make some great products, but then the sales and marketing people take over the company, because they are the ones who can juice up profits. "When the sales guys run the company, the product guys don't matter so much, and a lot of them just turn off. It happened at Apple when Sculley came in, which was my fault, and it happened when Ballmer took over at Microsoft."

When Jobs returned, he shifted Apple's focus back to making innovative products: the sprightly iMac, the PowerBook, and then the iPod, the iPhone, and the iPad. As he explained, "My passion has been to build an enduring company where people were motivated to make great products. Everything else was secondary. Sure, it was great to make a profit, because that was what allowed you to make great products. But the products, not the profits, were the motivation. Sculley flipped these priorities to where the goal was to make money. It's a subtle difference, but it ends up meaning everything—the people you hire, who gets promoted, what you discuss in meetings."

Don't Be a Slave to Focus Groups

When Jobs took his original Macintosh team on its first retreat, one member asked whether they should do some market research to see what customers wanted. "No," Jobs replied, "because customers don't know what they want until we've shown them." He invoked Henry Ford's line "If I'd asked customers what they wanted, they would have told me, 'A faster horse!'"

Caring deeply about what customers want is much different from continually asking them what they want; it requires intuition and instinct about desires that have not yet formed. "Our task is to read things that are not yet on the page," Jobs explained. Instead of relying on market research, he honed his version of empathy—an intimate intuition about the desires of his customers. He developed his appreciation for intuition—feelings that are based on accumulated experiential wisdom—while he was studying Buddhism in India as a college dropout. "The people in the Indian countryside don't use their intellect like we do; they use their intuition instead," he recalled. "Intuition is a very powerful thing—more powerful than intellect, in my opinion."

Sometimes that meant that Jobs used a one-person focus group: himself. He made products that he and his friends wanted. For example, there were many portable music players around in 2000, but Jobs felt they were all lame, and as a music fanatic he wanted a simple device that would allow him to carry a thousand songs in his pocket. "We made the iPod for ourselves," he said, "and when you're doing something for yourself, or your best friend or family, you're not going to cheese out."

Bend Reality

Jobs's (in)famous ability to push people to do the impossible was dubbed by colleagues his Reality Distortion Field, after an episode of Star Trek in which aliens create a convincing alternative reality through sheer mental force. An early example was when Jobs was on the night shift at Atari and pushed Steve Wozniak to create a game called Breakout. Woz said it would take months, but Jobs stared at him and insisted he could do it in four days. Woz knew that was impossible, but he ended up doing it.

Those who did not know Jobs interpreted the Reality Distortion Field as a euphemism for bullying and lying. But those who worked with him admitted that the trait, infuriating as it might be, led them to perform extraordinary feats. Because Jobs felt that life's ordinary rules didn't apply to him, he could inspire his team to change the course of computer history with a small fraction of the resources that Xerox or IBM had. "It was a self-fulfilling distortion," recalls Debi Coleman, a member of the original Mac team who won an award one year for being the employee who best stood up to Jobs. "You did the impossible because you didn't realize it was impossible."

One day Jobs marched into the cubicle of Larry Kenyon, the engineer who was working on the Macintosh operating system, and complained that it was taking too long to boot up. Kenyon started to explain why reducing the boot-up time wasn't possible, but Jobs cut him off. "If it would save a person's life, could you find a way to shave 10

seconds off the boot time?" he asked. Kenyon allowed that he probably could. Jobs went to a whiteboard and showed that if five million people were using the Mac and it took 10 seconds extra to turn it on every day, that added up to 300 million or so hours a year—the equivalent of at least 100 lifetimes a year. After a few weeks Kenyon had the machine booting up 28 seconds faster.

When Jobs was designing the iPhone, he decided that he wanted its face to be a tough, scratchproof glass, rather than plastic. He met with Wendell Weeks, the CEO of Corning, who told him that Corning had developed a chemical exchange process in the 1960s that led to what it dubbed "Gorilla glass." Jobs replied that he wanted a major shipment of Gorilla glass in six months. Weeks said that Corning was not making the glass and didn't have that capacity. "Don't be afraid," Jobs replied. This stunned Weeks, who was unfamiliar with Jobs's Reality Distortion Field. He tried to explain that a false sense of confidence would not overcome engineering challenges, but Jobs had repeatedly shown that he didn't accept that premise. He stared unblinking at Weeks. "Yes, you can do it," he said. "Get your mind around it. You can do it." Weeks recalls that he shook his head in astonishment and then called the managers of Corning's facility in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, which had been making LCD displays, and told them to convert immediately to making Gorilla glass full-time. "We did it in under six months," he says. "We put our best scientists and engineers on it, and we just made it work." As a result, every piece of glass on an iPhone or an iPad is made in America by Corning.

Impute

Jobs's early mentor Mike Markkula wrote him a memo in 1979 that urged three principles. The first two were "empathy" and "focus." The third was an awkward word, "impute," but it became one of Jobs's key doctrines. He knew that people form an opinion about a product or a company on the basis of how it is presented and packaged. "Mike taught me that people *do* judge a book by its cover," he told me.

When he was getting ready to ship the Macintosh in 1984, he obsessed over the colors and design of the box. Similarly, he personally spent time designing and redesigning the jewellike boxes that cradle the iPod and the iPhone and listed himself on the patents for them. He and Ive believed that unpacking was a ritual like theater and heralded the glory of the product. "When you open the box of an iPhone or iPad, we want that tactile experience to set the tone for how you perceive the product," Jobs said.

Sometimes Jobs used the design of a machine to "impute" a signal rather than to be merely functional. For example, when he was creating the new and playful iMac, after his return to Apple, he was shown a design by Ive that had a little recessed handle nestled in the top. It was more semiotic than useful. This was a desktop computer. Not many people were really going to carry it around. But Jobs and Ive realized that a lot of people were still intimidated by computers. If it had a handle, the new machine would seem friendly, deferential, and at one's service. The handle signaled permission to touch

the iMac. The manufacturing team was opposed to the extra cost, but Jobs simply announced, "No, we're doing this." He didn't even try to explain.

Push for Perfection

During the development of almost every product he ever created, Jobs at a certain point "hit the pause button" and went back to the drawing board because he felt it wasn't perfect. That happened even with the movie Toy Story. After Jeff Katzenberg and the team at Disney, which had bought the rights to the movie, pushed the Pixar team to make it edgier and darker, Jobs and the director, John Lasseter, finally stopped production and rewrote the story to make it friendlier. When he was about to launch Apple Stores, he and his store guru, Ron Johnson, suddenly decided to delay everything a few months so that the stores' layouts could be reorganized around activities and not just product categories.

The same was true for the iPhone. The initial design had the glass screen set into an aluminum case. One Monday morning Jobs went over to see Ive. "I didn't sleep last night," he said, "because I realized that I just don't love it." Ive, to his dismay, instantly saw that Jobs was right. "I remember feeling absolutely embarrassed that he had to make the observation," he says. The problem was that the iPhone should have been all about the display, but in its current design the case competed with the display instead of getting out of the way. The whole device felt too masculine, task-driven, efficient. "Guys, you've killed yourselves over this design for the last nine months, but we're going to change it," Jobs told Ive's team. "We're all going to have to work nights and weekends, and if you want, we can hand out some guns so you can kill us now." Instead of balking, the team agreed. "It was one of my proudest moments at Apple," Jobs recalled.

A similar thing happened as Jobs and Ive were finishing the iPad. At one point Jobs looked at the model and felt slightly dissatisfied. It didn't seem casual and friendly enough to scoop up and whisk away. They needed to signal that you could grab it with one hand, on impulse. They decided that the bottom edge should be slightly rounded, so that a user would feel comfortable just snatching it up rather than lifting it carefully. That meant engineering had to design the necessary connection ports and buttons in a thin, simple lip that sloped away gently underneath. Jobs delayed the product until the change could be made.

Jobs's perfectionism extended even to the parts unseen. As a young boy, he had helped his father build a fence around their backyard, and he was told they had to use just as much care on the back of the fence as on the front. "Nobody will ever know," Steve said. His father replied, "But you will know." A true craftsman uses a good piece of wood even for the back of a cabinet against the wall, his father explained, and they should do the same for the back of the fence. It was the mark of an artist to have such a passion for perfection. In overseeing the Apple II and the Macintosh, Jobs applied this lesson to the circuit board inside the machine. In both instances he sent the engineers back to make the chips line up neatly so the board would look nice. This seemed particularly odd to the engineers of the Macintosh, because Jobs had decreed that the

machine be tightly sealed. “Nobody is going to see the PC board,” one of them protested. Jobs reacted as his father had: “I want it to be as beautiful as possible, even if it’s inside the box. A great carpenter isn’t going to use lousy wood for the back of a cabinet, even though nobody’s going to see it.” They were true artists, he said, and should act that way. And once the board was redesigned, he had the engineers and other members of the Macintosh team sign their names so that they could be engraved inside the case. “Real artists sign their work,” he said.

Tolerate Only “A” Players

Jobs was famously impatient, petulant, and tough with the people around him. But his treatment of people, though not laudable, emanated from his passion for perfection and his desire to work with only the best. It was his way of preventing what he called “the bozo explosion,” in which managers are so polite that mediocre people feel comfortable sticking around. “I don’t think I run roughshod over people,” he said, “but if something sucks, I tell people to their face. It’s my job to be honest.” When I pressed him on whether he could have gotten the same results while being nicer, he said perhaps so. “But it’s not who I am,” he said. “Maybe there’s a better way—a gentlemen’s club where we all wear ties and speak in this Brahmin language and velvet code words—but I don’t know that way, because I am middle-class from California.”

Was all his stormy and abusive behavior necessary? Probably not. There were other ways he could have motivated his team. “Steve’s contributions could have been made without so many stories about him terrorizing folks,” Apple’s cofounder, Wozniak, said. “I like being more patient and not having so many conflicts. I think a company can be a good family.” But then he added something that is undeniably true: “If the Macintosh project had been run my way, things probably would have been a mess.”

It’s important to appreciate that Jobs’s rudeness and roughness were accompanied by an ability to be inspirational. He infused Apple employees with an abiding passion to create groundbreaking products and a belief that they could accomplish what seemed impossible. And we have to judge him by the outcome. Jobs had a close-knit family, and so it was at Apple: His top players tended to stick around longer and be more loyal than those at other companies, including ones led by bosses who were kinder and gentler. CEOs who study Jobs and decide to emulate his roughness without understanding his ability to generate loyalty make a dangerous mistake.

“I’ve learned over the years that when you have really good people, you don’t have to baby them,” Jobs told me. “By expecting them to do great things, you can get them to do great things. Ask any member of that Mac team. They will tell you it was worth the pain.” Most of them do. “He would shout at a meeting, ‘You asshole, you never do anything right,’” Debi Coleman recalls. “Yet I consider myself the absolute luckiest person in the world to have worked with him.”

Engage Face-to-Face

Despite being a denizen of the digital world, or maybe because he knew all too well its potential to be isolating, Jobs was a strong believer in face-to-face meetings. "There's a temptation in our networked age to think that ideas can be developed by email and iChat," he told me. "That's crazy. Creativity comes from spontaneous meetings, from random discussions. You run into someone, you ask what they're doing, you say 'Wow,' and soon you're cooking up all sorts of ideas."

He had the Pixar building designed to promote unplanned encounters and collaborations. "If a building doesn't encourage that, you'll lose a lot of innovation and the magic that's sparked by serendipity," he said. "So we designed the building to make people get out of their offices and mingle in the central atrium with people they might not otherwise see." The front doors and main stairs and corridors all led to the atrium; the café and the mailboxes were there; the conference rooms had windows that looked out onto it; and the 600-seat theater and two smaller screening rooms all spilled into it. "Steve's theory worked from day one," Lasseter recalls. "I kept running into people I hadn't seen for months. I've never seen a building that promoted collaboration and creativity as well as this one."

Jobs hated formal presentations, but he loved freewheeling face-to-face meetings. He gathered his executive team every week to kick around ideas without a formal agenda, and he spent every Wednesday afternoon doing the same with his marketing and advertising team. Slide shows were banned. "I hate the way people use slide presentations instead of thinking," Jobs recalled. "People would confront a problem by creating a presentation. I wanted them to engage, to hash things out at the table, rather than show a bunch of slides. People who know what they're talking about don't need PowerPoint."

Know Both the Big Picture and the Details

Jobs's passion was applied to issues both large and minuscule. Some CEOs are great at vision; others are managers who know that God is in the details. Jobs was both. Time Warner CEO Jeff Bewkes says that one of Jobs's salient traits was his ability and desire to envision overarching strategy while also focusing on the tiniest aspects of design. For example, in 2000 he came up with the grand vision that the personal computer should become a "digital hub" for managing all of a user's music, videos, photos, and content, and thus got Apple into the personal-device business with the iPod and then the iPad. In 2010 he came up with the successor strategy—the "hub" would move to the cloud—and Apple began building a huge server farm so that all a user's content could be uploaded and then seamlessly synced to other personal devices. But even as he was laying out these grand visions, he was fretting over the shape and color of the screws inside the iMac.

Combine the Humanities with the Sciences

"I always thought of myself as a humanities person as a kid, but I liked electronics," Jobs told me on the day he decided to cooperate on a biography. "Then I read something that one of my heroes, Edwin Land of Polaroid, said about the importance of people who could stand at the intersection of humanities and sciences, and I decided that's what I wanted to do." It was as if he was describing the theme of his life, and the more I studied him, the more I realized that this was, indeed, the essence of his tale.

He connected the humanities to the sciences, creativity to technology, arts to engineering. There were greater technologists (Wozniak, Gates), and certainly better designers and artists. But no one else in our era could better firewire together poetry and processors in a way that jolted innovation. And he did it with an intuitive feel for business strategy. At almost every product launch over the past decade, Jobs ended with a slide that showed a sign at the intersection of Liberal Arts and Technology Streets.

The creativity that can occur when a feel for both the humanities and the sciences exists in one strong personality was what most interested me in my biographies of Franklin and Einstein, and I believe that it will be a key to building innovative economies in the 21st century. It is the essence of applied imagination, and it's why both the humanities and the sciences are critical for any society that is to have a creative edge in the future.

Even when he was dying, Jobs set his sights on disrupting more industries. He had a vision for turning textbooks into artistic creations that anyone with a Mac could fashion and craft—something that Apple announced in January 2012. He also dreamed of producing magical tools for digital photography and ways to make television simple and personal. Those, no doubt, will come as well. And even though he will not be around to see them to fruition, his rules for success helped him build a company that not only will create these and other disruptive products, but will stand at the intersection of creativity and technology as long as Jobs's DNA persists at its core.

Stay Hungry, Stay Foolish

Steve Jobs was a product of the two great social movements that emanated from the San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1960s. The first was the counterculture of hippies and antiwar activists, which was marked by psychedelic drugs, rock music, and antiauthoritarianism. The second was the high-tech and hacker culture of Silicon Valley, filled with engineers, geeks, wireheads, phreakers, cyberpunks, hobbyists, and garage entrepreneurs. Overlying both were various paths to personal enlightenment—Zen and Hinduism, meditation and yoga, primal scream therapy and sensory deprivation, Esalen and est.

An admixture of these cultures was found in publications such as Stewart Brand's Whole Earth Catalog. On its first cover was the famous picture of Earth taken from space, and its subtitle was "access to tools." The underlying philosophy was that technology could be our friend. Jobs—who became a hippie, a rebel, a spiritual seeker, a

phone phreaker, and an electronic hobbyist all wrapped into one—was a fan. He was particularly taken by the final issue, which came out in 1971, when he was still in high school. He took it with him to college and then to the apple farm commune where he lived after dropping out. He later recalled: "On the back cover of their final issue was a photograph of an early morning country road, the kind you might find yourself hitchhiking on if you were so adventurous. Beneath it were the words: 'Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish.'" Jobs stayed hungry and foolish throughout his career by making sure that the business and engineering aspect of his personality was always complemented by a hippie nonconformist side from his days as an artistic, acid-dropping, enlightenment-seeking rebel. In every aspect of his life—the women he dated, the way he dealt with his cancer diagnosis, the way he ran his business—his behavior reflected the contradictions, confluence, and eventual synthesis of all these varying strands.

Even as Apple became corporate, Jobs asserted his rebel and counterculture streak in its ads, as if to proclaim that he was still a hacker and a hippie at heart. The famous "1984" ad showed a renegade woman outrunning the thought police to sling a sledgehammer at the screen of an Orwellian Big Brother. And when he returned to Apple, Jobs helped write the text for the "Think Different" ads: "Here's to the crazy ones. The misfits. The rebels. The troublemakers. The round pegs in the square holes…" If there was any doubt that, consciously or not, he was describing himself, he dispelled it with the last lines: "While some see them as the crazy ones, we see genius. Because the people who are crazy enough to think they can change the world are the ones who do."

Peter Thiel, *Zero to One*

Chapter 3—All Happy Companies Are Different

The business version of our contrarian question[57] is: *what valuable company is nobody building*? This question is harder than it looks, because your company could create a lot of value without becoming very valuable itself. Creating value is not enough—you also need to capture some of the value you create.

This means that even very big businesses can be bad businesses. For example, U.S. airline companies serve millions of passengers and create hundreds of billions of dollars of value each year. But in 2012, when the average airfare each way was $178, the airlines made only 37 cents per passenger trip. Compare them to Google, which creates less value but captures far more. Google brought in $50 billion in 2012 (versus $160 billion for the airlines), but it kept 21% of those revenues as profits—more than 100 times the airline industry's profit margin that year. Google makes so much money that it's now worth three times more than every U.S. airline combined.

The airlines compete with each other, but Google stands alone. Economists use two simplified models to explain the difference: perfect competition and monopoly.

"Perfect competition" is considered both the ideal and the default state in Economics 101. So-called perfectly competitive markets achieve equilibrium when producer supply meets consumer demand. Every firm in a competitive market is undifferentiated and sells the same homogeneous products. Since no firm has any market power, they must all sell at whatever price the market determines. If there is money to be made, new firms will enter the market, increase supply, drive prices down, and thereby eliminate the profits that attracted them in the first place. If too many firms enter the market, they'll suffer losses, some will fold, and prices will rise back to sustainable levels. Under perfect competition, in the long run *no company makes an economic profit*.

The opposite of perfect competition is monopoly. Whereas a competitive firm must sell at the market price, a monopoly owns its market, so it can set its own prices. Since it has no competition, it produces at the quantity and price combination that maximizes its profits.

To an economist, every monopoly looks the same, whether it deviously eliminates rivals, secures a license from the state, or innovates its way to the top. In this book, we're not interested in illegal bullies or government favorites: by "monopoly," we mean the kind of company that's so good at what it does that no other firm can offer a close substitute. Google is a good example of a company that went from 0 to 1: it hasn't competed in search since the early 2000s, when it definitively distanced itself from Microsoft and Yahoo!

Americans mythologize competition and credit it with saving us from socialist bread lines. Actually, capitalism and competition are apposites. Capitalism is premised

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[57] "*What important truth do very few people agree with you on?*" (*Zero to One*, pp. 12)

on the accumulation of capital, but under perfect competition all profits get competed away. The lesson for entrepreneurs is clear: if you want to create and capture lasting value, don't build an undifferentiated commodity business.

Lies People Tell

How much of the world is actually monopolistic? How much is truly competitive? It's hard to say, because our common conversation about these matters is so confused. To the outside observer, all businesses can seem reasonably alike, so it's easy to perceive only small differences between them.

But the reality is much more binary than that. There's an enormous difference between perfect competition and monopoly, and most businesses are much closer to one extreme than we commonly realize.

Reality: Differences Are Deep

The confusion comes from a universal bias for describing market conditions in self-serving ways: both monopolists and competitors are incentivized to bend the truth.

Monopoly Lies

Monopolists lie to protect themselves. They know that bragging about their great monopoly invites being audited, scrutinized, and attacked. Since they very much want their monopoly profits to continue unmolested, they tend to do whatever they can to conceal their monopoly—usually by exaggerating the power of their (nonexistent) competition.

Think about how Google talks about its business. It certainly doesn't claim to be a monopoly. But is it one? Well, it depends: a monopoly in what? Let's say that Google is primarily a search engine. As of May 2014, it owns about 68% of the search market. (Its closest competitors, Microsoft and Yahoo!, have about 19% and 10%, respectively.) If that doesn't seem dominant enough, consider the fact that the word "google" is now an official entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary*—as a verb. Don't hold your breath waiting for that to happen to Bing.

But suppose we say that Google is primarily an advertising company. That changes things. The U.S. search engine advertising market is $17 billion annually. Online advertising is $37 billion annually. The entire U.S. advertising market is $150 billion. And global advertising is a $495 billion market. So even if Google completely monopolized U.S. search engine advertising, it would own just 3.4% of the global advertising market. From this angle, Google looks like a small player in a competitive world.

What if we frame Google as a multifaceted technology company instead? This seems reasonable enough; in addition to its search engine, Google makes dozens of other software products, not to mention robotic cars, Android phones, and wearable computers. But 95% of Google's revenue comes from search advertising; its other products generated just $2.35 billion in 2012, and its consumer tech products a mere

fraction of that. Since consumer tech is a $964 billion market globally, Google owns less than 0.24% of it—a far cry from relevance, let alone monopoly. Framing itself as just another tech company allows Google to escape all sorts of unwanted attention.

Competitive Lies

Non-monopolists tell the opposite lie: "we're in a league of our own." Entrepreneurs are always biased to understate the scale of competition, but that is the biggest mistake a startup can make. The fatal temptation is to describe your market extremely narrowly so that you dominate it by definition.

Suppose you want to start a restaurant that serves British food in Palo Alto. "No one else is doing it," you might reason. "We'll own the entire market." But that's only true if the relevant market is the market for British food specifically. What if the actual market is the Palo Alto restaurant market in general? And what if all the restaurants in nearby towns are part of the relevant market as well?

These are hard questions, but the bigger problem is that you have an incentive not to ask them at all. When you hear that most new restaurants fail within one or two years, your instinct will be to come up with a story about how yours is different. You'll spend time trying to convince people that you are exceptional instead of seriously considering whether that's true. It would be better to pause and consider whether there are people in Palo Alto who would rather eat British food above all else. It's very possible they don't exist.

In 2001, my co-workers at PayPal and I would often get lunch on Castro Street in Mountain View. We had our pick of restaurants, starting with obvious categories like Indian, sushi, and burgers. There were more options once we settled on a type: North Indian or South Indian, cheaper or fancier, and so on. In contrast to the competitive local restaurant market, PayPal was at that time the only email-based payments company in the world. We employed fewer people than the restaurants on Castro Street did, but our business was much more valuable than all of those restaurants combined. Starting a new South Indian restaurant is a really hard way to make money. If you lose sight of competitive reality and focus on trivial differentiating factors—maybe you think your naan is superior because of your great-grandmother's recipe—your business is unlikely to survive.

Creative industries work this way, too. No screenwriter wants to admit that her new movie script simply rehashes what has already been done before. Rather, the pitch is: "This film will combine various exciting elements in entirely new ways." It could even be true. Suppose her idea is to have Jay-Z star in a cross between *Hackers* and *Jaws*: rap star joins elite group of hackers to catch the shark that killed his friend. That has definitely never been done before. But, like the lack of British restaurants in Palo Alto, maybe that's a good thing.

Non-monopolists exaggerate their distinction by defining their market as the *intersection* of various smaller markets:

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British food ∩ restaurant ∩ Palo Alto
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Rap star ∩ hackers ∩ sharks
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Monopolists, by contrast, disguise their monopoly by framing their market as the *union* of several large markets:

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search engine ∪ mobile phones ∪ wearable computers ∪ self-driving cars
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What does a monopolist's union story look like in practice? Consider a statement from Google chairman Eric Schmidt's testimony at a 2011 congressional hearing:

> We face an extremely competitive landscape in which consumers have a multitude of options to access information.

Or, translated from PR-speak to plain English:

> Google is a small fish in a big pond. We could be swallowed whole at any time. We are not the monopoly that the government is looking for.

The problem with a competitive business goes beyond lack of profits. Imagine you're running one of those restaurants in Mountain View. You're not that different from dozens of your competitors, so you've got to fight hard to survive. If you offer affordable food with low margins, you can probably pay employees only minimum wage. And you'll need to squeeze out every efficiency: that's why small restaurants put Grandma to work at the register and make the kids wash dishes in the back. Restaurants aren't much better even at the very highest rungs, where reviews and ratings like Michelin's star system enforce a culture of intense competition that can drive chefs crazy. (French chef and winner of three Michelin stars Bernard Loiseau was quoted as saying, "If I lose a star, I will commit suicide." Michelin maintained his rating, but Loiseau killed himself anyway in 2003 when a competing French dining guide downgraded his restaurant.) The competitive ecosystem pushes people toward ruthlessness or death.

A monopoly like Google is different. Since it doesn't have to worry about competing with anyone, it has wider latitude to care about its workers, its products, and its impact on the wider world. Google's motto—"Don't be evil"—is in part a branding ploy, but it's also characteristic of a kind of business that's successful enough to take ethics seriously without jeopardizing its own existence. In business, *money is either an important thing or it is everything*. Monopolists can afford to think about things other than making money; non-monopolists can't. In perfect competition, a business is so focused on today's margins that it can't possibly plan for a long-term future. Only one thing can allow a business to transcend the daily brute struggle for survival: monopoly profits.

Monopoly Capitalism

So, a monopoly is good for everyone on the inside, but what about everyone on the outside? Do outsized profits come at the expense of the rest of society? Actually, yes: profits come out of customers' wallets, and monopolies deserve their bad reputation—*but only in a world where nothing changes*.

In a static world, a monopolist is just a rent collector. If you corner the market for something, you can jack up the price; others will have no choice but to buy from you. Think of the famous board game: deeds are shuffled around from player to player, but the board never changes. There's no way to win by inventing a better kind of real estate development. The relative values of the properties are fixed for all time, so all you can do is try to buy them up.

But the world we live in is dynamic: it's possible to invent new and better things. Creative monopolists give customers more choices by adding entirely new categories of abundance to the world. Creative monopolies aren't just good for the rest of society; they're powerful engines for making it better.

Even the government knows this: that's why one of its departments works hard to create monopolies (by granting patents to new inventions) even though another part hunts them down (by prosecuting antitrust cases). It's possible to question whether anyone should really be awarded a *legally enforceable* monopoly simply for having been the first to think of something like a mobile software design. But it's clear that something like Apple's monopoly profits from designing, producing, and marketing the iPhone were the reward for creating greater abundance, not artificial scarcity: customers were happy to finally have the choice of paying high prices to get a smartphone that actually works.

The dynamism of new monopolies itself explains why old monopolies don't strangle innovation. With Apple's iOS at the forefront, the rise of mobile computing has dramatically reduced Microsoft's decades-long operating system dominance. Before that, IBM's hardware monopoly of the '60s and '70s was overtaken by Microsoft's software monopoly. AT&T had a monopoly on telephone service for most of the 20th century, but now anyone can get a cheap cell phone plan from any number of providers. If the tendency of monopoly businesses were to hold back progress, they would be dangerous and we'd be right to oppose them. But the history of progress is a history of better monopoly businesses replacing incumbents.

Monopolies drive progress because the promise of years or even decades of monopoly profits provides a powerful incentive to innovate. Then monopoles can keep innovations because profits enable them to make the long-term plans and to finance the ambitious research projects that firms locked in competition can't dream of.

So why are economists obsessed with competition as an ideal state? It's a relic of history. Economists copied their mathematics from the work of 19th-century physicists: they see individuals and businesses as interchangeable atoms, not as unique creators. Their theories describe an equilibrium state of perfect competition because that's what's easy to model, not because it represents the best of business. But it's worth recalling that

the long-run equilibrium predicted by 19th-century physics was a state in which all energy is evenly distributed and everything comes to rest—also known as the heat death of the universe. Whatever your views on thermodynamics, it's a powerful metaphor: in business, equilibrium means stasis, and stasis means death. If your industry is in a competitive equilibrium, the death of your business won't matter to the world; some other undifferentiated competitor will always be ready to take your place.

Perfect equilibrium may describe the void that is most of the universe. It may even characterize many businesses. But every new creation takes place far from equilibrium. In the real world outside economic theory, every business is successful exactly to the extent that it does something others cannot. Monopoly is therefore not a pathology or an exception. *Monopoly is the condition of every successful business*.

Tolstoy opens *Anna Karenina* by observing: "All happy families are alike; each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way." Business is the opposite. All happy companies are different: each one earns a monopoly by solving a unique problem. All failed companies are the same: they failed to escape competition.

Chapter 4—The Ideology of Competition

Creative monopoly means new products that benefit everybody and sustainable profits for the creator. Competition means no profits for anybody, no meaningful differentiation, and a struggle for survival. So why do people believe that competition is healthy? The answer is that competition is not just an economic concept or a simple inconvenience that individuals and companies must deal with in the marketplace. More than anything else, competition is an ideology—*the* ideology—that pervades our society and distorts our thinking. We preach competition, internalize its necessity, and enact its commandments; and as a result, we trap ourselves within it—even though the more we compete, the less we gain.

This is a simple truth, but we've all been trained to ignore it. Our educational system both drives and reflects our obsession with competition. Grades themselves allow precise measurement of each student's competitiveness; pupils with the highest marks receive status and credentials. We teach every young person the same subjects in mostly the same ways, irrespective of individual talents and preferences. Students who don't learn best by sitting still at a desk are made to feel somehow inferior, while children who excel on conventional measures like tests and assignments end up defining their identities in terms of this weirdly contrived academic parallel reality.

And it gets worse as students ascend to higher levels of the tournament. Elite students climb confidently until they reach a level of competition sufficiently intense to beat their dreams out of them. Higher education is the place where people who had big plans in high school get stuck in fierce rivalries with equally smart peers over conventional careers like management consulting and investment banking. For the privilege of being turned into conformists, students (or their families) pay hundreds of thousands of dollars in skyrocketing tuition that continues to outpace inflation. Why are we doing this to ourselves?

I wish I had asked myself when I was younger. My path was so tracked that in my 8th-grade yearbook, one of my friends predicted—accurately—that four years later I would enter Stanford as a sophomore. And after a conventionally successful undergraduate career, I enrolled at Stanford Law School, where I competed even harder for the standard badges of success.

The highest prize in a law student's world is unambiguous: out of tens of thousands of graduates each year, only a few dozen get a Supreme Court clerkship. After clerking on a federal appeals court for a year, I was invited to interview for clerkships with Justices Kennedy and Scalia. My meetings with the Justices went well. I was so close to winning this last competition. If only I got the clerkship, I thought, I would be set for life. But I didn't. At the time, I was devastated.

In 2004, after I had built and sold PayPal, I ran into an old friend from law school who had helped me prepare my failed clerkship applications. We hadn't spoken in nearly a decade. His first question wasn't "How are you doing?" or "Can you believe it's been so long?" Instead, he grinned and asked: "So, Peter, aren't you glad you didn't get that clerkship?" With the benefit of hindsight, we both knew that winning that ultimate competition would have changed my life for the worse. Had I actually clerked on the Supreme Court, I probably would have spent my entire career taking depositions or drafting other people's business deals instead of creating anything new. It's hard to say how much would be different, but the opportunity costs were enormous. All Rhodes Scholars had a great future in their past.

War and Peace

Professors downplay the cutthroat culture of academia, but managers never tire of comparing business to war. MBA students carry around copies of Clausewitz and Sun Tzu. War metaphors invade our everyday business language: we use *headhunters* to build up a sales *force* that will enable us to take a *captive market* and *make a killing*. But really it's competition, not business, that is like war: allegedly necessary, supposedly valiant, but ultimately destructive.

Why do people compete with each other? Marx and Shakespeare provide two models for understanding almost every kind of conflict.

According to Marx, people fight because they are different. The proletariat fights the bourgeoisie because they have completely different ideas and goals (generated, for Marx, by their very different material circumstances). The greater the differences, the greater the conflict.

To Shakespeare, by contrast, all combatants look more or less alike. It's not at all clear why they should be fighting, since they have nothing to fight about. Consider the opening line from *Romeo and Juliet*: "Two households, both alike in dignity." The two houses are alike, yet they hate each other. They grow even more similar as the feud escalates. Eventually, they lose sight of why they started fighting in the first place.

In the world of business, at least, Shakespeare proves the superior guide. Inside a firm, people become obsessed with their competitors for career advancement. Then the

firms themselves become obsessed with their competitors in the marketplace. Amid all the human drama, people lose sight of what matters and focus on their rivals instead.

Let's test the Shakespearean model in the real world. Imagine a production called *Gates and Schmidt*, based on *Romeo and Juliet*. Montague is Microsoft. Capulet is Google. Two great families, run by alpha nerds, sure to clash on account of their sameness.

As with all good tragedy, the conflict seems inevitable only in retrospect. In fact it was entirely avoidable. These families came from very different places. The House of Montague built operating systems and office applications. The House of Capulet wrote a search engine. What was there to fight about?

Lots, apparently. As a startup, each clan had been content to leave the other alone and prosper independently. But as they grew, they began to focus on each other. Montagues obsessed about Capulets obsessed about Montagues. The result? Windows vs. Chrome OS, Bing vs. Google Search, Explorer vs. Chrome, Office vs. Docs, and Surface vs. Nexus.

Just as war cost the Montagues and Capulets their children, it cost Microsoft and Google their dominance: Apple came along and overtook them all. In January 2013, Apple's market capitalization was $500 billion, while Google and Microsoft combined were worth $467 billion. Just three years before, Microsoft and Google were *each* more valuable than Apple. War is costly business.

Rivalry causes us to overemphasize old opportunities and slavishly copy what has worked in the past. Consider the recent proliferation of mobile credit card readers. In October 2010, a startup called Square released a small, white, square-shaped product that let anyone with an iPhone swipe and accept credit cards. It was the first good payment processing solution for mobile handsets. Imitators promptly sprang into action. A Canadian company called NetSecure launched its own card reader in a half-moon shape. Intuit brought a cylindrical reader to the geometric battle. In March 2012, eBays PayPal unit launched its own copycat card reader. It was shaped like a triangle—a clear jab at Square, as three sides are simpler than four. One gets the sense that this Shakespearean saga won't end until the apes run out of shapes.

The hazards of imitative competition may partially explain why individuals with an Asperger's-like social ineptitude seem to be at an advantage in Silicon Valley today. If you're less sensitive to social cues, you're less likely to do the same things as everyone else around you. If you're interested in making things or programming computers, you'll be less afraid to pursue those activities single-mindedly and thereby become incredibly good at them. Then when you apply your skills, you're a little less likely than others to give up your own convictions: this can save you from getting caught up in crowds competing for obvious prizes.

Competition can make people hallucinate opportunities where none exist. The crazy '90s version of this was the fierce battle for the online pet store market. It was Pets.com vs. PetStore.com vs. Petopia.com vs. what seemed like dozens of others. Each company was obsessed with defeating its rivals, precisely because there were no substantive differences to focus on. Amid all the tactical questions—Who could price

chewy dog toys most aggressively? Who could create the best Super Bowl ads?—these companies totally lost sight of the wider question of whether the online pet supply market was the right space to be in. Winning is better than losing, but everybody loses when the war isn't one worth fighting. When Pets.com folded after the dot-com crash, $300 million of investment capital disappeared with it.

Other times, rivalry is just weird and distracting. Consider the Shakespearean conflict between Larry Ellison, cofounder and CEO of Oracle, and Tom Siebel, a top salesman at Oracle and Ellison's protégé before he went on to found Siebel Systems in 1993. Ellison was livid at what he thought was Siebel's betrayal. Siebel hated being in the shadow of his former boss. The two men were basically identical—hard-charging Chicagoans who loved to sell and hated to lose—so their hatred ran deep. Ellison and Siebel spent the second half of the '90s trying to sabotage each other. At one point, Ellison sent truckloads of ice cream sandwiches to Siebel's headquarters to try to convince Siebel employees to jump ship. The copy on the wrappers? "Summer is near. Oracle is here. To brighten your day and your career."

Strangely, Oracle intentionally accumulated enemies. Ellison's theory was that it's always good to have an enemy, so long as it was large enough to *appear* threatening (and thus motivational to employees) but not so large as to actually threaten the company. So Ellison was probably thrilled when in 1996 a small database company called Informix put up a billboard near Oracle's Redwood Shores headquarters that read: CAUTION: DINOSAUR CROSSING. Another Informix billboard on northbound Highway 101 read: YOU'VE JUST PASSED REDWOOD SHORES. SO DID WE.

Oracle shot back with a billboard that implied that Informix's software was slower than snails. Then Informix CEO Phil White decided to make things personal. When White learned that Larry Ellison enjoyed Japanese samurai culture, he commissioned a new billboard depicting the Oracle logo along with a broken samurai sword. The ad wasn't even really aimed at Oracle as an entity, let alone the consuming public; it was a personal attack on Ellison. But perhaps White spent a little too much time worrying about the competition: while he was busy creating billboards, Informix imploded in a massive accounting scandal and White soon found himself in federal prison for securities fraud.

If you can't beat a rival, it may be better to merge. I started Confinity with my co-founder Max Levchin in 1998. When we released the PayPal product in late 1999, Elon Musk's X.com was right on our heels: our companies' offices were four blocks apart on University Avenue in Palo Alto, and X's product mirrored ours feature-for-feature. By late 1999, we were in all-out war. Many of us at PayPal logged 100-hour workweeks. No doubt that was counterproductive, but the focus wasn't on objective productivity; the focus was defeating X.com. One of our engineers actually designed a bomb for this purpose; when he presented the schematic at a team meeting, calmer heads prevailed and the proposal was attributed to extreme sleep deprivation.

But in February 2000, Elon and I were more scared about the rapidly inflating tech bubble than we were about each other: a financial crash would ruin us both before

we could finish our fight. So in early March we met on neutral ground—a café almost exactly equidistant to our offices— and negotiated a 50-50 merger. De-escalating the rivalry. post-merger wasn't easy, but as far as problems go, it was a good one to have. As a unified team, we were able to ride out the dot-com crash and then build a successful business.

Sometimes you do have to fight. Where that's true, you should fight and win. There is no middle ground: either don't throw any punches, or strike hard and end it quickly.

This advice can be hard to follow because pride and honor can get in the way. Hence Hamlet:

> *Exposing what is mortal and unsure*
> *To all that fortune, death, and danger dare,*
> *Even for an eggshell. Rightly to be great*
> *Is not to stir without great argument,*
> *But greatly to find quarrel in a straw*
> *When honor's at the stake.*

For Hamlet, greatness means willingness to fight for reasons as thin as an eggshell: *anyone* would fight for things that matter; true heroes take their personal honor so seriously they will fight for things that *don't* matter. This twisted logic is part of human nature, but it's disastrous in business. If you can recognize competition as a destructive force instead of a sign of value, you're already more sane than most.

Haonan Li and Victor Yaw, "*The True Story of Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore*"

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There is no authoritarian in modern history as well-regarded as Lee Kuan Yew among the Western elite. Henry Kissinger called Lee "one of the asymmetries of history." Margaret Thatcher once remarked that Lee was "never wrong." Out west, Netflix executives study Lee's life in their leadership course. On the East Coast, Harvard Kennedy School pores over the "Grand Master's insights."

The Western student of international politics knows to nod approvingly when Lee's name is mentioned. Frustrated by the sludge of partisan politics in his own country, he sees in Lee's legacy a kind of exotic escape. If asked, he remarks sagely: Singapore is proof of what enlightened authoritarianism can achieve.

On this alone, the Chinese elite agree with their Western counterparts. For them, early Singapore is proof of the effectiveness of one party rule. Let the West squabble over legislatures and obsess over separated powers, while China moves boldly to reclaim its rightful place on the world stage. Africa is no exception to this consensus. In Rwanda, Paul Kagame styles himself in Lee's image. In the words of The Washington Post: "to really understand Rwanda is to study Singapore."

A broad consensus has solidified among elites that early Singapore should serve as a model for other developing nations to study and replicate. At a time when Western democracies are under stress and challengers from Chinese socialism to 'illiberal democracy' are ascendant, this consensus deserves to be examined carefully. China in particular has become something like a case study for Singapore-inspired technocracy, and the Chinese Communist Party itself reinforces the link between the two.

What exactly is the Singapore Model? Beyond the crude label of enlightened authoritarianism, what are the philosophical assumptions that underlie the Singaporean approach to governance? What are the limitations of these assumptions? What has happened when foreigners have attempted to replicate the Singaporean model, or when Singaporeans try to export it?

Both official and dissident accounts of early Singaporean history reveal a model with three key elements: high modernism, centralized authority, and weak civil society.

However, these accounts also provide a challenge to the idea that Singapore's model can be exported. In fact, it was highly conditioned by Singapore's own context, and how Lee and the People's Action Party (PAP) responded to the political dynamics of the time. The resulting model is effective in Singapore itself, yet inevitably limited by scale. Large social processes are more complex than any schemata can capture—and yet, authoritarian high modernist states must rely on schemata to make centralized decisions. This leads to its failure in larger geographies, since abstractions and errors inevitably compound as the distance from ground reality increases. Soviet agricultural collectivism, the Chinese Great Leap Forward, and the Le Corbusian projects in Brasilia and Chandigarh are haunting reminders of the limitations of the model.

But the rise of Singapore provides compelling lessons of a different sort, ones which help us understand how the city-state was built in its unique conditions. Today, the new U.S.-China rivalry is playing out in the divergence between different development paths—a divergence which may end the mythos of a universally applicable model. While Lee's admirers in the art of statecraft cannot import a Singaporean model, they can learn from the ardent pragmatism which drove him to reject the easy solutions of outsiders and build a state which defied all conventions.

The Gospel According to the People's Action Party

The current consensus around Singapore is the product of careful narrative by the PAP, Singapore's governing party. This version of history revolves primarily around the figure of Lee Kuan Yew.

The construction of this national narrative begins in Singaporean schools, where every student studies the Singapore story under the National Education program. Students learn that Singapore began as a sleepy Malay village until Stamford Raffles arrived in 1819 to set up a British trading post. Raffles' colony thrived, attracting hundreds of thousands of Chinese immigrants, as well as Malays and Indians. But the Japanese subsequently humiliated the British in World War II, captured Singapore, and subjected its residents to trauma and oppression from 1942-1945.

With the end of World War II, Britain returned and set about executing a "painless exit strategy" of gradual decolonization. In the 1950s, Lee Kuan Yew and his colleagues in the PAP outmaneuvered a violent Communist party to emerge victorious in the election of 1959. From 1963-1965, Lee attempted to integrate Singapore into the Malaysian Federation in order to fend off the Communists and maintain economic and political stability. The merger proved to be temporary and by August 1965, Singapore separated from Malaysia and became independent. A short clip of Lee at the press conference announcing separation, overcome with emotion and crying openly, is familiar to every Singaporean.

Miraculously, Lee overcame this setback and took Singapore from Third World to First. Lee built modern flats to replace squalid shophouses and kampongs. He created a conscription army and built an officer corps from scratch. He prioritized education and built a world class education system. He soothed racial discord and social disharmony with smart housing policy and a firm criminal justice system. In the PAP's telling, the Singapore story is the story of Lee Kuan Yew.

When Lee died in March 2015, Singapore's military activated Operation White Light. Within three hours, a state funeral was underway. So much manpower was thrown at the operation that colonels were acting as drivers. Tens of thousands stood in the heavy rain to pay tribute to him. His son, current Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, remarked: "The light that has guided us all these years has been extinguished."

This version of the Singaporean story has several advantageous features. First, it collapses the accomplishments of many individuals into the single figure of Lee Kuan Yew. There is a reason, after all, that Hollywood makes use of composite

characters—they make the story easier to tell. Second, it makes the implicit case that the early authoritarianism of the PAP was a desirable quality. Without it, Singapore would not have been able to enact sweeping reforms. By this logic, illiberal leaders in countries like Zimbabwe and North Korea have failed despite the centralization of power in their countries. If only Mugabe and Kim had the character, intelligence, and statecraft of a Lee Kuan Yew, their countries would develop rapidly.

The Struggle for Modern Singapore

On the other side of this narrative conflict are those aligned with the various factions of the opposition. Historians on this side tell a different story. Rather than analyzing Singapore's climb from Third World to First, the opposition instead focuses on the early days of Singapore where political norms were nascent and the leadership of Singapore contested. In particular, they see the period of struggle as culminating with Singapore's "original sin": Operation Coldstore.

Three political parties dominated Singapore in the early 1950s: the People's Progressive Party, the Democratic Party, and the Labour Front. The first two parties were widely seen as out of touch British stooges dedicated to preserving the interests of the rich. The Labour Front was interested in labor issues, but was led by, in Lee's estimation, a "bunch of clowns." The political landscape was ripe for disruption.

Lee Kuan Yew and his fellow English-educated socialists wanted to seize this opportunity. But Lee and his broken Mandarin could not win the support of the mass of Chinese speaking laborers alone. Beijing-led Communist ideology resonated deeply with the Chinese working class in Singapore. After their humiliating defeat to the Japanese in World War II, the British had lost their mandate to rule. Yet to be a Chinese laborer in 1950s Singapore was still to be a "second-class citizen in the land of your birth." Singaporean Chinese citizens were no longer willing to tolerate forms of colonial exploitation, massive inequality, "structural wage discrimination, and unsafe labor conditions. Trade unionists and pro-Communists who articulated these frustrations in fiery rhetoric were political dynamite. "Any man who wants to carry the Chinese-speaking people with him cannot afford to be anti-Communist," Lee realized.

And so Lee set out to court the trade unionists, progressives, and Communists. At the PAP's inauguration ceremony in November of 1954, Lee articulated objectives carefully calibrated to appeal to them. The PAP declared that it would seek to soften local sedition laws and secure the right for trade unions to participate in politics. "The problems and struggles of the trade union movement," the PAP signaled after the ceremony, "must find increasing expression in Party policy." These sweet words found eager ears among prominent trade unionists in search of allies. Lee soon found himself working closely with a man named Lim Chin Siong.

Later observers would describe Lim as "a comet on the [1950s] Singapore scene" and a "dominant political figure in [early 1960s] Singapore." A capable organizer and a charismatic orator in Mandarin and Hokkien, Lim could connect with Chinese-educated

audiences in a way that Lee could not. Contemporary accounts of Lim's political talent are giddy with praise.

> There were 40,000 people, each mesmerised by Lim Chin Siong's oratory. 'The British say you cannot stand on your own two feet,' he jeered. 'Show them how you can stand!' And 40,000 people leapt up—shining with sweat, fists in the air—shouting, Merdeka.

By inviting prominent trade unionists and left-wing factions—some of whom were pro-Communist—into the PAP, Lee was making a calculated gamble. Could he channel their popularity into electoral success without ceding internal control of the party to them?

In 1957, the Communists staged a coup inside the PAP. They hoped to wrest control of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) from Lee in order to oppose his plans for independence through merger with Malaya. Further, the Communists opposed the establishment of an Internal Security Council that ceded control of Singapore's internal affairs to the UK and Malaya that Lee had assented to in London. The left-wing coalition quickly secured six of twelve CEC seats. Lee had lost control.

This pro-Communist triumph was a brief one. Under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance, the government arrested five of the six newly elected members of the PAP CEC. Lim Yew Hock, then Chief Minister of Singapore, had ordered a brutal crackdown of Communist and leftist groups. Lim Yew Hock's forceful application of the Internal Security Act won him many admirers in the British government. Comforted by reduced Communist activity, the United Kingdom Parliament passed the State of Singapore Act in 1958, granting Singapore full internal self government.

Publicly, Lee stood in solidarity with his imprisoned colleagues. Lee issued a declaration that the PAP would be standing for election but, in the event of victory, would refuse to take office unless all eight imprisoned members of the PAP were released. In parallel, however, Lee created four types of membership in the PAP: probationary, ordinary, probationary cadre, and full cadre. Under this new system, only full cadres would be able to vote for CEC elections. A Board of Selection filled with PAP moderates would decide which party members were full cadres. Lee was determined to prevent another coup.

In May of 1959, the PAP crushed its competitors, winning 43 seats out of 51 seats in the newly established Singaporean Legislative Assembly. To ensure a smooth transition, the government immediately released the eight alleged Communist members of the CEC. Lee's gamble had paid off handsomely. In just five years, the PAP had gone from nothing to Singapore's dominant political party. PAP moderates began to look for an opportunity to end their partnership with the pro-Communist faction. To preserve the party's legitimacy, a split would have to be over a principled policy disagreement. With Lim Chin Siong out of prison and able to lead, the Communists and their allies pushed yet again for the government to release all political detainees and abolish the hated

Internal Security Council. Yet their public statements did not alter PAP policy substantially. Lim Chin Siong was likewise beginning to tire of the political alliance.

These tensions reached a breaking point over the issue of merger with Malaya. During a motion of confidence, thirteen PAP assemblymen refused to vote for the PAP's merger proposal. Led by Lim Chin Siong, these thirteen assemblymen and five other prominent trade unionists left the PAP and formed their own party, called Barisan Sosialis, in July of 1961. In the wake of Lim's departure, 19 out of 23 PAP Organising Secretaries left to join Barisan. 25 out of 51 branch executive committees resigned en bloc. In total, 80% of PAP members would leave the party by the end of 1961.

Lim and Barisan Sosialis became a formidable opposition to the PAP, campaigning fiercely against Lee's proposal for merger. When Lee emerged victorious in a referendum for merger, Lim stated publicly:

> The PAP used threats and cheated to gain victory… the people can clearly see that if the PAP can juggle with the law and threaten and cheat today, they will be able to do so tomorrow…But as long as the authorities preserve the conditions for peaceful constitutional struggle, we will continue to carry out peaceful constitutional struggle. If the PAP continue to cheat and threaten, we will keep exposing their cheating and threats. If they want to juggle around with and break the parliamentary democratic system, they have to bear all the consequences.

Unable to detain and neutralize Lim without evidence of violent subversion, Lee bided his time. Then on December 8th, an armed rebellion in Brunei broke out. Lim and the Barisan issued a statement in support of the rebellion, declaring "a popular uprising against British colonialism and must command the support of all genuine anti-colonialists." Further, police had spotted Lim lunching with Azahari, the leader of the rebellion a few days ago. Lee had his opening.

On February 2nd, 1963, the Internal Security Council executed Operation Coldstore. Under the cover of darkness, police arrested 113 alleged Communists and detained them without trial. Among them was Lim Chin Siong. In one fell swoop, Lee dismantled the political network around Lim and his allies, ending their chances of intellectual leadership and political power.

Official Singaporean materials obscure the human cost of Operation Coldstore. The PAP casts Operation Coldstore as a harsh, but necessary action that crippled a violent Communist Party of Malaya. In contrast, the opposition identifies Coldstore as the moment political pluralism was wiped out on the island—Singapore's original sin. Lim Chin Siong is likewise a political totem. For Lee's supporters, his victory would have doomed Singapore to stagnation, conflict, and foreign domination. Opposition sympathizers instead imagine an alternative history where Lim was the one to build modern Singapore.

In reality, Lim would spend the next six years in prison, culminating in an attempt to commit suicide in 1969. After his release, Lim moved to England, working

odd jobs. For a time, he worked as a grocer in London. Lim never returned to politics and died after a heart attack in Singapore.

Scholars will continue to advance competing interpretations of this moment in history. As recently as 2018, Singapore's Home Affairs and Law Minister Kasiviswanathan Shanmugam spent six hours cross-examining dissident historian Thum Ping Tjin on his analysis of Operation Coldstore. The historiography of this affair is far from settled. Did Barisan intend to use violence to subvert the constitution and overthrow the government? Was the Communist threat real? Was Lim Chin Siong himself a Communist? Was he really willing to resort to violence?

Whether motivated by genuine security concerns or political gain, Operation Coldstore made the rules of engagement clear for the body politic. Lee would not hesitate to sacrifice pluralism or cripple civil society in the pursuit of a modern Singapore.

Lee Kuan Yew's High Modernism

By the mid 1960s, Lee had finally assembled two key components of the Singapore Model: Centralized authority and a weak civil society. These two conditions provided the blank canvas upon which Lee could impose his vision for Singapore. Yet what was the underlying philosophy that animated Lee's vision? To identify this third component of the Singapore Model, one must understand how Lee's time at Cambridge shaped his worldview.

Two centuries before Lee Kuan Yew's arrival at Cambridge, high modernism as an ideology emerged in Western Europe. Europe in the 1800s saw unprecedented advancements in chemistry, physics, medicine, math, and engineering. Modernists hoped to apply the fruits of linear progress in the sciences to shape society through the state. For some, this took the form of liberal technocracy or Fabian social democracy. For others, particularly Marxists, revolution had to overthrow those classes which opposed progress. Just as engineers can study and optimize the functioning of a steam engine, so too did the various modernists seek to calibrate social order. For the first time in history, governments could shape society not by custom and historical accident but according to conscious and scientific planning.

These themes suffuse Lee's 1971 Foundation Lecture at Cambridge. In it, Lee remarked unapologetically that industrialization in the developing world could only be achieved if "new value systems and behaviour patterns are grafted on the old." Leaders, according to Lee, could not afford to be sentimental. In his words:

> It requires bold and determined leadership to eradicate those values which hamper the advance of a people into the higher sciences. It requires strong will to force the adoption of values and attitudes which can quicken the pace of change.

For Lee, Southeast Asian populations were "soft societies." Modernization of Singapore's economy was impossible without the scientific alteration of society. In this sense, Lee was the prototypical high modernist.

Lee's Singapore reflects his modernist convictions. As Prime Minister, Lee's Housing and Development Board (HDB) replaced the chaos of kampongs with neatly ordered concrete flats. HDB flats of the same generation look identical apart from varying pastel paint jobs. Every detail from the placement of trees, to the ratio of playgrounds per resident, to the proportions of races in each building is carefully orchestrated. Lee's HDB sells these flats to Singaporean citizens at below the market rate.

A strictly enforced quota system prevents racial enclaves from forming by ensuring each block is racially integrated. Further, citizens do not actually own their property—they purchase a 99 year lease from the government. At the end of the lease, the government reclaims the property. With citizens largely holding leaseholds and the government owning 90% of Singapore's land, urban planners can tear down anything old that falls outside of narrowly defined heritage areas. It is in short, something straight out of modernist architect Le Corbusier's radical manifesto "Towards a New Architecture"—technocratic, mass-produced, and ruthlessly modern.

When Modernism Fails

Yet history is littered with the failures of authoritarian modernist regimes. Indeed, the record of utopian schemes to improve the human condition is dismal in the 20th century. In the Soviet Union, Stalin's plan to transform "small, backward and scattered peasant farms to amalgamated, large scale socialized farms" led to brutality and starvation for millions. In China, Mao's Great Leap Forward propelled the nation into the Great Chinese Famine. Even Le Corbusierian plans in Brasilia or Chandigarh have become embarrassing examples of government hubris. Why did authoritarian modernism work well for Singapore and poorly for others?

The key difference is scale. Authoritarian governments by nature concentrate authority in centralized decision-makers. Decision-makers must rely on simplified models to make their decisions. All schemata are by nature imperfect representations of reality. Indeed, a scheme that reflected reality perfectly would be cluttered and uninterpretable. The reality is always more complex than the plan. In large countries, the planner is further from ground reality than in tiny city-states. Abstractions and errors inevitably compound as the distance increases.

Part of the mythos of Lee Kuan Yew is that he succeeded as an authoritarian where so many others have failed. Would-be Lees around the world use the Singapore story to argue that authoritarian modernism works if the authoritarian himself is brilliant and wise. Perhaps it is the case that with the right leader, the problems of scale can be overcome? Nixon, for one, believed if Lee had led a larger country he would have "attained the world stature of a Churchill, Disraeli, or Gladstone."

History provides us with a natural experiment. In 1994, Lee Kuan Yew and Chinese Vice Premier Li Lanqing signed the "Agreement on the Joint Development of Suzhou Industrial Park." Under the agreement, Singapore would maintain a 65% ownership stake in the project and develop the city of Suzhou into a modern industrial

powerhouse—all running on Singapore's public-administration and industrial development expertise. Central to its success was the transfer of Singapore's management prowess to Chinese bureaucrats who hoped to glean valuable insight into the Grand Master's methods and Singapore's institutional DNA. Both Singaporean and senior Chinese officials were eager to have the project succeed—this was a chance to prove that the Singapore model was applicable beyond Singapore itself.

The careful choice of location for the project reflected the public endorsement of Jiang Zemin, Vice Premier Li Lanqing, and Premier Li Ping. Located in Jiangsu, China's richest province, Suzhou was a cultural and intellectual center. Universities, polytechnics and vocational schools in the area could easily supply the labor necessary for development. Modern expressways, a railway line, waterways, and an international airport connected the city to the rest of the country and the world. Lee was confident that the project had the endorsement it needed to succeed, assuring partners: "we can guarantee that the agreement we have reached with China about Suzhou will be honored." More broadly by 1993, China was growing at a blistering pace of 13% per year. The project was poised to succeed.

Yet by 1999, Lee had failed in Suzhou. Five years into the project's 20-year development plan, Suzhou Industrial Park had only attracted $754 million dollars of investment out of target of $20 billion, 5,000 residents out of target of 600,000 and 14,000 employees out of a target of 360,000. The Far East Economic Review reported that development costs had climbed to nearly $400 million but "profitability remain[ed] a distant hope." Singapore subsequently disengaged from the project in 2001, reducing its stake to 35%. Lee had meticulously transplanted Singapore's methods to Suzhou. Even the 'ready-built factories' constructed in Suzhou Industrial Park were made by the same government-linked organization that oversaw much of Singapore's earlier industrial development. Yet competition for foreign direct investment from nearby Suzhou New District—a smaller, older, and less-supported development that Singapore previously dismissed—proved too fierce. Singapore's elite group of civil servants simply could not navigate China's multi-level government and apply the Singapore model at scale.
Frustrated by the lack of results, Lee flew frequently to meet with Jiang Zemin personally. Jiang would act decisively to assist the Singaporeans, on one occasion sending an allegedly uncooperative Mayor of Suzhou away to Harvard Business School for a 'leave of absence.' It was to no avail. Lee's bet on a universal Singapore model was wrong.

Beyond the Singapore Model

A seductive assumption underlies the euphoria around the Singapore model: that models of development can be scientific and universal. Those who are afflicted with this euphoria search eagerly for examples of universality. But there is far more to the Singaporean story than mere technocracy. Political strategy and a keen understanding of domestic and international power were central to the success of Lee's PAP. This allowed him to create the institutional foundations for Singapore's famous technocratic model.

Likewise, there is far more to the rise of China than an imported Singaporean model—a story frequently told by stringing together study-mission statistics and a couple of Deng anecdotes.

That story ignores, for example, China's decentralized system of de facto fiscal federalism and fierce xian level competition—which have no Singaporean equivalent—because it is inconvenient for their thesis. They sweep aside the fact that the father of Singapore himself and a legion of elite Singapore civil servants could not scale the model under optimal conditions. Some are so oblivious of Singaporean history that they do not even realize they are advocating for a developmental model that contradicts their own ideological views. This analytical trap ends up not understanding Singapore, or China, or arguably the Western development path itself.

Ironically, Lee Kuan Yew himself had no patience for other people's models. In his words, "I am not following any prescription given to me by any theoretician on democracy or whatever. I work from first principles: what will get me there?" If there is a lesson from Singapore's development it is this: forget grand ideologies and others' models. There is no replacement for experimentation, independent thought, and ruthless pragmatism.