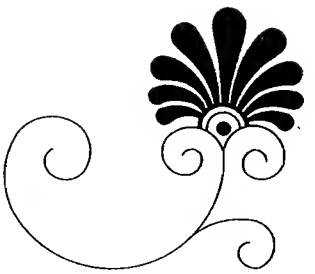

BOOK IV

And Adeimantus interrupted and said, "What would your apology[1] be, Socrates, if someone were to say that you're hardly making these men happy, and further, that it's their own fault—they to whom the city in truth belongs but who enjoy nothing good from the city as do others, who possess lands, and build fine big houses, and possess all the accessories that go along with these things, and make private sacrifices to gods, and entertain foreigners, and, of course, also acquire what you were just talking about, gold and silver and all that's conventionally held to belong to men who are going to be blessed? But, he would say, they look exactly like mercenary auxiliaries who sit in the city and do nothing but keep watch." *419 a* *420 a*

"Yes," I said, "and besides they do it for food alone; they get no wages beyond the food, as do the rest. So, if they should wish to make a private trip away from home, it won't even be possible for them, or give gifts to lady companions, or make expenditures wherever else they happen to wish, such as those made by the men reputed to be happy. You leave these things and a throng of others like them out of the accusation."

"Well," he said, "let them too be part of the accusation."

"You ask what our apology will then be?" *b*

"Yes."

420 b "Making our way by the same road," I said, "I suppose we'll find what has to be said. We'll say that it wouldn't be surprising if these men, as they are, are also happiest. However, in founding the city we are not looking to the exceptional happiness of any one group among us but, as far as possible, that of the city as a whole. We supposed we would find justice most in such a city, and injustice, in its turn, in the c worst-governed one, and taking a careful look at them, we would judge what we've been seeking for so long. Now then, we suppose we're fashioning the happy city—a whole city, not setting apart a happy few and putting them in it. We'll consider its opposite presently. Just as if we were painting statues[2] and someone came up and began to blame us, saying that we weren't putting the fairest colors on the fairest parts of the animal—for the eyes, which are fairest, had not been painted d purple but black—we would seem to make a sensible apology to him by saying: 'You surprising man, don't suppose we ought to paint eyes so fair that they don't even look like eyes, and the same for the other parts; but observe whether, assigning what's suitable to each of them, we make the whole fair. So now too, don't compel us to attach to the guardians a happiness that will turn them into everything except guard- e ians. We know how to clothe the farmers in fine robes and hang gold on them and bid them work the earth at their pleasure, and how to make the potters recline before the fire, drinking in competition from left to right[3] and feasting, and having their wheel set before them as often as they get a desire to make pots, and how to make all the others blessed in the same way just so the city as a whole may be happy. But don't give us this kind of advice, since, if we were to be persuaded by 421 a you, the farmer won't be a farmer, nor the potter a potter, nor will anyone else assume any of those roles that go to make up a city. The argument has less weight for these others. That men should become poor menders of shoes, corrupted and pretending to be what they're not, isn't so terrible for a city. But you surely see that men who are not guardians of the laws and the city, but seem to be, utterly destroy an entire city, just as they alone are masters of the occasion to govern it well and to make it happy.' Now if we're making true guardians, men b least likely to do harm to the city, and the one who made that speech is making some farmers and happy banqueters, like men at a public festival and not like members of a city, then he must be speaking of something other than a city. So we have to consider whether we are establishing the guardians looking to their having the most happiness. Or else, whether looking to this happiness for the city as a whole, we must see if it comes to be in the city, and must compel and persuade c these auxiliaries and guardians to do the same, so that they'll be the best possible craftsmen at their jobs, and similarly for all the others, and, with the entire city growing thus and being fairly founded, we

must let nature assign to each of the groups its share of happiness." *421 c*

"You seem to me," he said, "to speak finely."

"Then, will I," I said, "also seem to you to speak sensibly if I say what is akin to that?"

"What exactly?"

"Take the other craftsmen again and consider whether these things *d* corrupt them so as to make them bad."

"What are they?"

"Wealth and poverty," I said.

"How?"

"Like this: in your opinion, will a potter who's gotten rich still be willing to attend to his art?"

"Not at all," he said.

"And will he become idler and more careless than he was?"

"By far."

"Doesn't he become a worse potter then?"

"That, too, by far," he said.

"And further, if from poverty he's not even able to provide himself with tools or anything else for his art, he'll produce shoddier works, and he'll make worse craftsmen of his sons or any others he teaches." *e*

"Of course."

"Then from both poverty and wealth the products of the arts are worse and the men themselves are worse."

"It looks like it."

"So, as it seems, we've found other things for the guardians to guard against in every way so that these things never slip into the city without their awareness."

"What are they?"

"Wealth and poverty," I said, "since the one produces luxury, *422 a* idleness, and innovation, while the other produces illiberality and wrongdoing as well as innovation."

"Most certainly," he said. "However, Socrates, consider this: how will our city be able to make war when it possesses no money, especially if it's compelled to make war against a wealthy one?"

"It's plain," I said, "that against one it would be harder, but against two of that sort it would be easier." *b*

"How do you mean?" he said.

"Well," I said, "in the first place, if the guardians should have to fight, won't it be as champions in war fighting with rich men?"

"Yes," he said, "that's so."

"Now, then, Adeimantus," I said, in your opinion, wouldn't one boxer with the finest possible training in the art easily fight with two rich, fat nonboxers?"

"Perhaps not at the same time," he said.

422 b "Not even if it were possible for him to withdraw a bit," I said,
c "and turning on whichever one came up first, to strike him, and if he did this repeatedly in sun and stifling heat? Couldn't such a man handle even more of that sort?"

"Undoubtedly," he said, "that wouldn't be at all surprising."

"But don't you suppose the rich have more knowledge and experience of boxing than of the art of war?"

"I do," he said.

"Then in all likelihood our champions will easily fight with two or three times their number."

"I'll grant you that," he said, "for what you say is right in my opinion."

d "What if they sent an embassy to the other city and told the truth? 'We make use of neither gold nor silver, nor is it lawful for us, while it is for you. So join us in making war and keep the others' property.' Do you suppose any who hear that will choose to make war against solid, lean dogs[4] rather than with the dogs against fat and tender sheep?"

"Not in my opinion," he said. "But if the money of the others is
e gathered into one city, look out that it doesn't endanger the city that isn't rich."

"You are a happy one," I said, "if you suppose it is fit to call 'city' another than such as we have been equipping."

"What else then?" he said.

"The others ought to get bigger names," I said. "For each of them is very many cities but not a city, as those who play say.[5] There are
423 a two, in any case, warring with each other, one of the poor, the other of the rich. And within each of these there are very many. If you approach them as though they were one, you'll be a complete failure; but if you approach them as though they were many, offering to the ones the money and the powers or the very persons of the others, you'll always have the use of many allies and few enemies. And as long as your city is moderately governed in the way it was just arranged, it will be biggest; I do not mean in the sense of good reputation but truly biggest, even if it should be made up of only one thousand defenders. You'll not easily find one city so big as this, either among the Greeks or the bar-
b barians, although many seem to be many times its size. Or do you suppose otherwise?"

"No, by Zeus," he said.

"Therefore," I said, "this would also be the fairest boundary for our rulers; so big must they make the city, and, bounding off enough land so that it will be of that size, they must let the rest go."

"What boundary?" he said.

"I suppose this one," I said, "up to that point in its growth at which it's willing to be one, let it grow, and not beyond." *423 b*

"That's fine," he said. *c*

"Therefore, we'll also set this further command on the guardians, to guard in every way against the city's being little or seemingly big; rather it should be sufficient and one."

"This is," he said, "perhaps a slight task we will impose on them."

"And still slighter than that," I said, "is what we mentioned earlier when we said that if a child of slight ability were born of the guardians, he would have to be sent off to the others, and if a serious one were born of the others, he would have to be sent off to the guardians. This was intended to make plain that each of the other citizens too must be brought to that which naturally suits him—one man, one job—so that each man, practicing his own, which is one, will not become many but one; and thus, you see, the whole city will naturally grow to be one and not many." *d*

"This is indeed," he said, "a lesser task than the other."

"Yet, my good Adeimantus," I said, "these are not, as one might think, many great commands we are imposing on them, but they are all slight if, as the saying goes, they guard the one great—or, rather than great, sufficient—thing." *e*

"What's that?" he said.

"Their education and rearing," I said. "If by being well educated they become sensible men, they'll easily see to all this and everything else we are now leaving out—that the possession of women, marriage, and procreation of children must as far as possible be arranged according to the proverb that friends have all things in common." *424 a*

"Yes," he said, "that would be the most correct way."

"And hence," I said, "the regime, once well started, will roll on like a circle in its growth. For sound rearing and education, when they are preserved, produce good natures; and sound natures, in their turn receiving such an education, grow up still better than those before them, for procreation as well as for the other things, as is also the case with the other animals." *b*

"It's likely," he said.

"Now, to state it briefly, the overseers of the city must cleave to this, not letting it be corrupted unawares, but guarding it against all comers: there must be no innovation in gymnastic and music contrary to the established order; but they will guard against it as much as they can, fearing that when someone says

> Human beings esteem most that song
> Which floats newest from the singer[6]

424 c someone might perchance suppose the poet means not new songs, but a new way of song, and praises that. Such a saying shouldn't be praised, nor should this one be taken in that sense. For they must beware of change to a strange form of music, taking it to be a danger to the whole. For never are the ways[7] of music moved without the greatest political laws being moved, as Damon says, and I am persuaded."

"Include me, too," said Adeimantus, "among those who are persuaded."

d "So it's surely here in music, as it seems," I said, "that the guardians must build the guardhouse."

"At least," he said, "this kind of lawlessness[8] easily creeps in unawares."

"Yes," I said, "since it's considered to be a kind of play and to do no harm."

"It doesn't do any, either," he said, "except that, establishing itself bit by bit, it flows gently beneath the surface into the dispositions and practices, and from there it emerges bigger in men's contracts with one another; and it's from the contracts, Socrates, that it attacks laws *e* and regimes with much insolence until it finally subverts everything private and public."

"Well, well," I said. "Is that so?"

"In my opinion," he said.

"Then, as we were saying at the beginning, mustn't our boys take part in more lawful play straight away, since, if play becomes lawless itself and the children along with it, it's not possible that they'll grow *425 a* up to be law-abiding, good men?"

"Of course, they must," he said.

"It's precisely when the boys make a fine beginning at play and receive lawfulness from music that it—as opposed to what happened in the former case—accompanies them in everything and grows, setting right anything in the city that may have previously been neglected."

"Quite true," he said.

"Then, these men," I said, "will also find out the seemingly small conventions that were all destroyed by their predecessors."

"What kind of things?"

b "Such as the appropriate silence of younger men in the presence of older ones, making way for them and rising, care of parents; and hair-dos, clothing, shoes, and, as a whole, the bearing of the body, and everything else of the sort. Or don't you think so?"

"I do."

"But to set them down as laws is, I believe, foolish.[9] Surely they

don't come into being, nor would they be maintained, by being set down as laws in speech and in writing." *425 b*

"How could they?"

"At least it's likely, Adeimantus," I said, "that the starting point of a man's education sets the course of what follows too. Or doesn't like always call forth like?" *c*

"Of course."

"Then, I suppose we'd also say that the final result is some one complete and hardy thing, whether good or the opposite."

"Of course," he said.

"That," I said, "is why I for one wouldn't go further and undertake to set down laws about such things."

"That's proper," he said.

"And, in the name of the gods," I said, "what about that market business—the contracts individuals make with one another in the market, and, if you wish, contracts with manual artisans, and libel, insult, lodging of legal complaints, and the appointment of judges, and, of course, whatever imposts might have to be collected or assessed in the markets or harbors, or any market, town, or harbor regulations, or anything else of the kind—shall we bring ourselves to set down laws for any of these things?" *d*

"It isn't worth-while," he said, "to dictate to gentlemen. Most of these things that need legislation they will, no doubt, easily find for themselves." *e*

"Yes, my friend," I said, "provided, that is, a god grants them the preservation of the laws we described before."

"And if not," he said, "they'll spend their lives continually setting down many such rules and correcting them, thinking they'll get hold of what's best."

"You mean," I said, "that such men will live like those who are sick but, due to licentiousness, aren't willing to quit their worthless way of life."

"Most certainly."

"And don't they go on charmingly? For all their treatment, they get nowhere, except, of course, to make their illnesses more complicated and bigger, always hoping that if someone would just recommend a drug, they will be—thanks to it—healthy." *426 a*

"Yes," he said, "the affections of men who are sick in this way are exactly like that."

"What about this?" I said. "Isn't it charming in them that they believe the greatest enemy of all is the man who tells the

And I said, "For us, nothing. However for the Apollo at Delphi[11] there remain the greatest, fairest, and first of the laws which are given." *427 b*

"What are they about?" he said.

"Foundings of temples, sacrifices, and whatever else belongs to the care of gods, demons, and heroes; and further, burial of the dead and all the services needed to keep those in that other place gracious. For such things as these we neither know ourselves, nor in founding a city shall we be persuaded by any other man, if we are intelligent, nor *c* shall we make use of any interpreter other than the ancestral one. Now this god is doubtless the ancestral interpreter of such things for all humans, and he sits in the middle of the earth at its navel and delivers his interpretations."

"What you say is fine," he said. "And that's what must be done."

"So then, son of Ariston," I said, "your city would now be founded. In the next place, get yourself an adequate light somewhere; *d* and look yourself—and call in your brother and Polemarchus and the others—whether we can somehow see where the justice might be and where the injustice, in what they differ from one another, and which the man who's going to be happy must possess, whether it escapes the notice of all gods and humans or not."

"You're talking nonsense," said Glaucon. "You promised you would look for it because it's not holy for you not to bring help to *e* justice in every way in your power."

"What you remind me of is true," I said, "and though I must do so, you too have to join in."

"We'll do so," he said.

"Now, then," I said, "I hope I'll find it in this way. I suppose our city—if, that is, it has been correctly founded—is perfectly good."

"Necessarily," he said.

"Plainly, then, it's wise, courageous, moderate and just."

"Plainly."

"Isn't it the case that whichever of them we happen to find will leave as the remainder what hasn't been found?"

"Of course." *428 a*

"Therefore, just as with any other four things, if we were seeking any one of them in something or other and recognized it first, that would be enough for us; but if we recognized the other three first, this would also suffice for the recognition of the thing looked for. For plainly it couldn't be anything but what's left over."

"What you say is correct," he said.

428 a "With these things too, since they happen to be four, mustn't we look for them in the same way?"

"Plainly."

"Well, it's wisdom, in my opinion, which first comes plainly to
b light in it. And something about it looks strange."

"What?" he said.

"The city we described is really wise, in my opinion. That's because it's of good counsel,[12] isn't it?"

"Yes."

"And further, this very thing, good counsel, is plainly a kind of knowledge. For it's surely not by lack of learning, but by knowledge, that men counsel well."

"Plainly."

"But, on the other hand, there's much knowledge of all sorts in the city."

"Of course."

"Then, is it thanks to the carpenters' knowledge that the city must be called wise and of good counsel?"

"Not at all," he said, "thanks to that it's called skilled in carpen-
c try."

"Then, it's not thanks to the knowledge that counsels about how wooden implements would be best that a city must be called wise."

"Surely not."

"And what about this? Is it thanks to the knowledge of bronze implements or any other knowledge of such things?"

"Not to any knowledge of the sort," he said.

"And not to the knowledge about the production of the crop from the earth; for that, rather, it is called skilled in farming."

"That's my opinion."

"What about this?" I said. "Is there in the city we just founded a kind of knowledge belonging to some of the citizens that counsels not
d about the affairs connected with some particular thing in the city, but about how the city as a whole would best deal with itself and the other cities?"

"There is indeed."

"What and in whom is it?" I said.

"It's the guardian's skill," he said, "and it's in those rulers whom we just now named perfect guardians."

"Thanks to this knowledge, what do you call the city?"

"Of good counsel," he said, "and really wise."

"Then, do you suppose," I said, "that there will be more smiths in
e our city than these true guardians?"

"Far more smiths," he said.

"Among those," I said, "who receive a special name for possessing some kind of knowledge, wouldn't the guardians be the fewest of all in number?" *428 e*

"By far."

"It is, therefore, from the smallest group and part of itself and the knowledge in it, from the supervising[13] and ruling part, that a city founded according to nature would be wise as a whole. And this class, which properly has a share in that knowledge which alone among the various kinds of knowledge ought to be called wisdom, has, as it seems, the fewest members by nature." *429 a*

"What you say," he said, "is very true."

"So we've found—I don't know how—this one of the four, both it and where its seat in the city is."

"In my opinion, at least," he said, "it has been satisfactorily discovered."

"And, next, courage, both itself as well as where it's situated in the city—that courage thanks to which the city must be called courageous—isn't very hard to see."

"How's that?"

"Who," I said, "would say a city is cowardly or courageous while looking to any part other than the one that defends it and takes the field on its behalf?" *b*

"There's no one," he said, "who would look to anything else."

"I don't suppose," I said, "that whether the other men in it are cowardly or courageous would be decisive for its being this or that."

"No, it wouldn't."

"So a city is also courageous by a part of itself, thanks to that part's having in it a power that through everything will preserve the opinion about which things are terrible—that they are the same ones and of the same sort as those the lawgiver transmitted in the education. Or don't you call that courage?" *c*

"I didn't quite understand what you said," he said. "Say it again."

"I mean," I said, "that courage is a certain kind of preserving."

"Just what sort of preserving?"

"The preserving of the opinion produced by law through education about what—and what sort of thing—is terrible. And by preserving through everything I meant preserving that opinion and not casting it out in pains and pleasures and desires and fears. If you wish I'm willing to compare it to what I think it's like." *c*

"But I do wish."

"Don't you know," I said, "that the dyers, when they want to dye wool purple, first choose from all the colors the single nature belonging to white things; then they prepare it beforehand and care for it with no

429 d little preparation so that it will most receive the color; and it is only
e then that they dye? And if a thing is dyed in this way, it becomes color-fast, and washing either without lyes or with lyes can't take away its color. But those things that are not so dyed—whether one dyes other colors or this one without preparatory care—you know what they become like."

"I do know," he said, "that they're washed out and ridiculous."

"Hence," I said, "take it that we too were, to the extent of our power, doing something similar when we selected the soldiers and
430 a educated them in music and gymnastic. Don't think we devised all that for any other purpose than that—persuaded by us—they should receive the laws from us in the finest possible way like a dye, so that their opinion about what's terrible and about everything else would be color-fast because they had gotten the proper nature and rearing, and their dye could not be washed out by those lyes so terribly effective at scouring, pleasure—more terribly effective for this than any Chalestrean
b soda[14] and alkali; and pain, fear, and desire—worse than any other lye. This kind of power and preservation, through everything, of the right and lawful opinion about what is terrible and what not, I call courage; and so I set it down, unless you say something else."

"But I don't say anything else," he said. "For, in my opinion, you regard the right opinion about these same things that comes to be without education—that found in beasts and slaves—as not at all lawful[15] and call it something other than courage."

c "What you say," I said, "is very true."

"Well, then, I accept this as courage."

"Yes, do accept it, but as political courage,"[16] I said, "and you'd be right in accepting it. Later, if you want, we'll give it a still finer treatment. At the moment we weren't looking for it, but for justice. For that search, I suppose, this is sufficient."

"What you say is fine," he said.

"Well, now," I said, "there are still two left that must be seen in
d the city, moderation and that for the sake of which we are making the whole search, justice."

"Most certainly."

"How could we find justice so we won't have to bother about moderation any further?"

"I for my part don't know," he said, "nor would I want it to come to light before, if we aren't going to consider moderation any further. If you want to gratify me, consider this before the other."

e "But I do want to," I said, "so as not to do an injustice."

"Then consider it," he said. *430 e*

"It must be considered," I said. "Seen from here, it's more like a kind of accord and harmony than the previous ones."

"How?"

"Moderation," I said, "is surely a certain kind of order and mastery of certain kinds of pleasures and desires, as men say when they use—I don't know in what way—the phrase 'stronger than himself'; and some other phrases of the sort are used that are, as it were, its tracks.[17] Isn't that so?"

"Most surely," he said.

"Isn't the phrase 'stronger than himself' ridiculous though? For, of course, the one who's stronger than himself would also be weaker than himself, and the weaker stronger. The same 'himself' is referred to in *431 a* all of them."

"Of course it is."

"But," I said, "this speech looks to me as if it wants to say that, concerning the soul, in the same human being there is something better and something worse. The phrase 'stronger than himself' is used when that which is better by nature is master over that which is worse. At least it's praise. And when, from bad training or some association, the smaller and better part is mastered by the inferior multitude, then this, as though it were a reproach, is blamed and the man in this condition is *b* called weaker than himself and licentious."

"Yes," he said, "that's likely."

"Now, then," I said, "take a glance at our young city, and you'll find one of these conditions in it. For you'll say that it's justly designated stronger than itself, if that in which the better rules over the worse must be called moderate and 'stronger than itself.'"

"Well, I am glancing at it," he said, "and what you say is true."

"And, further, one would find many diverse desires, pleasures, and pains, especially in children, women, domestics, and in those who *c* are called free among the common many."

"Most certainly."

"But the simple and moderate desires, pleasures and pains, those led by calculation accompanied by intelligence and right opinion, you will come upon in few, and those the ones born with the best natures and best educated."

"True," he said.

"Don't you see that all these are in your city too, and that there the desires in the common many are mastered by the desires and the *d* prudence in the more decent few?"

431 d "I do," he said.

"If, therefore, any city ought to be designated stronger than pleasures, desires, and itself, then this one must be so called."

"That's entirely certain," he said.

"And then moderate in all these respects too?"

"Very much so," he said.

"And, moreover, if there is any city in which the rulers and the e ruled have the same opinion about who should rule, then it's this one. Or doesn't it seem so?"

"Very much so indeed," he said.

"In which of the citizens will you say the moderation resides, when they are in this condition? In the rulers or the ruled?"

"In both, surely," he said.

"You see," I said, "we divined pretty accurately a while ago that moderation is like a kind of harmony."

"Why so?"

"Because it's unlike courage and wisdom, each of which resides in 432 a a part, the one making the city wise and the other courageous. Moderation doesn't work that way, but actually stretches throughout the whole, from top to bottom of the entire scale,[18] making the weaker, the stronger and those in the middle—whether you wish to view them as such in terms of prudence, or, if you wish, in terms of strength, or multitude, money or anything else whatsoever of the sort—sing the same chant together. So we would quite rightly claim that this unanimity is moderation, an accord of worse and better, according to nature, as to which must rule in the city and in each one."

b "I am," he said, "very much of the same opinion."

"All right," I said. "Three of them have been spied out in our city, at least sufficiently to form some opinion. Now what would be the remaining form thanks to which the city would further partake in virtue? For, plainly, this is justice."

"Plainly."

"So then, Glaucon, we must, like hunters, now station ourselves in a circle around the thicket and pay attention so that justice doesn't slip through somewhere and disappear into obscurity. Clearly it's c somewhere hereabouts. Look to it and make every effort to catch sight of it; you might somehow see it before me and could tell me."

"If only I could," he said. "However, if you use me as a follower and a man able to see what's shown him, you'll be making quite sensible use of me."

"Follow," I said, "and pray with me."

"I'll do that," he said, "just lead."

"The place really appears to be hard going and steeped in shadows," I said. "At least it's dark and hard to search out. But, all the same, we've got to go on." *432 c*

"Yes," he said, "we've got to go on." *d*

And I caught sight of it and said, "Here! Here![19] Glaucon. Maybe we've come upon a track; and, in my opinion, it will hardly get away from us."

"That's good news you report," he said.

"My, my," I said, "that was a stupid state we were in."

"How's that?"

"It appears, you blessed man, that it's been rolling around[20] at our feet from the beginning and we couldn't see it after all, but were quite ridiculous. As men holding something in their hand sometimes seek what they're holding, we too didn't look at it but turned our gaze *e* somewhere far off, which is also perhaps just the reason it escaped our notice."

"How do you mean?" he said.

"It's this way," I said. "In my opinion, we have been saying and hearing it all along without learning from ourselves that we were in a way saying it."

"A long prelude," he said, "for one who desires to hear."

"Listen whether after all I make any sense," I said. "That rule we *433 a* set down at the beginning as to what must be done in everything when we were founding the city—this, or a certain form of it, is, in my opinion, justice. Surely we set down and often said, if you remember, that each one must practice one of the functions in the city, that one for which his nature made him naturally most fit."

"Yes, we were saying that."

"And further, that justice is the minding of one's own business and not being a busybody, this we have both heard from many others and have often said ourselves." *b*

"Yes, we have."

"Well, then, my friend," I said, "this—the practice of minding one's own business—when it comes into being in a certain way, is probably justice. Do you know how I infer this?"

"No," he said, "tell me."

"In my opinion," I said, "after having considered moderation, courage, and prudence, this is what's left over in the city; it provided the power by which all these others came into being; and, once having come into being, it provides them with preservation as long as it's in the city. And yet we were saying that justice would be what's left over *c* from the three if we found them."

433 c "Yes, we did," he said, "and it's necessarily so."

"Moreover," I said, "if one had to judge which of them by coming to be will do our city the most good, it would be a difficult judgment. Is it the unity of opinion among rulers and ruled? Or is it the coming into being in the soldiers of that preserving of the lawful opinion as to which things are terrible and which are not? Or is it the prudence and
d guardianship present in the rulers? Or is the city done the most good by the fact that—in the case of child, woman, slave, freeman, craftsman, ruler and ruled—each one minded his own business and wasn't a busybody?"

"It would, of course," he said, "be a difficult judgment."

"Then, as it seems, with respect to a city's virtue, this power that consists in each man's minding his own business in the city is a rival to wisdom, moderation and courage."

"Very much so," he said.

"Wouldn't you name justice that which is the rival of these others
e in contributing to a city's virtue?"

"That's entirely certain."

"Now consider if it will seem the same from this viewpoint too. Will you assign the judging of lawsuits in the city to the rulers?"

"Of course."

"Will they have any other aim in their judging than that no one have what belongs to others, nor be deprived of what belongs to him?"

"None other than this."

"Because that's just?"

"Yes."

"And therefore, from this point of view too, the having and doing
434 a of one's own and what belongs to oneself would be agreed to be justice."

"That's so."

"Now see if you have the same opinion as I do. A carpenter's trying to do the job of a shoemaker or a shoemaker that of a carpenter, or their exchanging tools or honors with one another, or even the same man's trying to do both, with everything else being changed along with it, in your opinion, would that do any great harm to the city?"

"Hardly," he said.

"But, I suppose, when one who is a craftsman or some other kind
b of money-maker by nature, inflated by wealth, multitude, strength, or something else of the kind, tries to get into the class[21] of the warrior, or one of the warriors who's unworthy into that of the adviser and guardian, and these men exchange tools and honors with one another;

or when the same man tries to do all these things at once—then I suppose it's also your opinion that this change in them and this meddling are the destruction of the city." *434 b*

"That's entirely certain."

"Meddling among the classes, of which there are three, and exchange with one another is the greatest harm for the city and would most correctly be called extreme evil-doing." *c*

"Quite certainly."

"Won't you say that the greatest evil-doing against one's own city is injustice?"

"Of course."

"Then, that's injustice. Again, let's say it this way. The opposite of this—the money-making, auxiliary, and guardian classes doing what's appropriate, each of them minding its own business in a city—would be justice and would make the city just."

"My opinion," he said, "is also that and no other." *d*

"Let's not assert it so positively just yet," I said. "But, if this form is applied to human beings singly and also agreed by us to be justice there, then we'll concede it. What else will there be for us to say? And if not, then we'll consider something else. Now let's complete the consideration by means of which we thought that, if we should attempt to see justice first in some bigger thing that possessed it, we would more easily catch sight of what it's like in one man. And it was our opinion that this bigger thing is a city; so we founded one as best we could, *e* knowing full well that justice would be in a good one at least. Let's apply what came to light there to a single man, and if the two are in agreement, everything is fine. But if something different should turn up in the single man, we'll go back again to the city and test it; perhaps, considering them side by side and rubbing them together like sticks, *435 a* we would make justice burst into flame, and once it's come to light, confirm it for ourselves."

"The way to proceed is as you say," he said, "and it must be done."

"Then," I said, "is that which one calls the same, whether it's bigger or smaller, unlike or like in that respect in which it's called the same?"

"Like," he said.

"Then the just man will not be any different from the just city *b* with respect to the form itself of justice, but will be like it."

"Yes," he said, "he will be like it."

"But a city seemed to be just when each of the three classes of

435 b natures present in it minded its own business and, again, moderate, courageous, and wise because of certain other affections and habits of these same classes."

"True," he said.

"Then it's in this way, my friend, that we'll claim that the single
c man—with these same forms in his soul—thanks to the same affections as those in the city, rightly lays claim to the same names."

"Quite necessarily," he said.

"Now it's a slight question about the soul we've stumbled upon, you surprising man," I said. "Does it have these three forms in it or not?"

"In my opinion, it's hardly a slight question," he said. "Perhaps, Socrates, the saying that fine things are hard is true."

"It looks like it," I said. "But know well, Glaucon, that in my
d opinion, we'll never get a precise grasp of it on the basis of procedures[22] such as we're now using in the argument. There is another longer and further road leading to it. But perhaps we can do it in a way worthy of what's been said and considered before."

"Mustn't we be content with that?" he said. "It would be enough for me to present."

"Well, then," I said, "it will quite satisfy me too."

"So don't grow weary," he said, "but go ahead with the consideration."

e "Isn't it quite necessary for us to agree that the very same forms and dispositions as are in the city are in each of us?" I said. "Surely they haven't come there from any other place. It would be ridiculous if someone should think that the spiritedness didn't come into the cities from those private men who are just the ones imputed with having this character,[23] such as those in Thrace, Scythia, and pretty nearly the whole upper region; or the love of learning, which one could most im-
436 a pute to our region, or the love of money, which one could affirm is to be found not least among the Phoenicians and those in Egypt."[24]

"Quite so," he said.

"This is so, then," I said, "and not hard to know."

"Surely not."

"But this now is hard. Do we act in each of these ways as a result of the same part of ourselves, or are there three parts and with a different one we act in each of the different ways? Do we learn with one, become spirited with another of the parts within us, and desire the pleasures of nourishment and generation and all their kin with a third;
b or do we act with the soul as a whole in each of them once we are started? This will be hard to determine in a way worthy of the argument."

"That's my opinion too," he said. 436

"Now let's try to determine whether these things are the same or different from each other in this way."

"How?"

"It's plain that the same thing won't be willing at the same time to do or suffer opposites with respect to the same part and in relation to the same thing.[25] So if we should ever find that happening in these things, we'll know they weren't the same but many."

"All right."

"Now consider what I say."

"Say on," he said.

"Is it possible that the same thing at the same time and with respect to the same part should stand still and move?"

"Not at all."

"Now let's have a still more precise agreement so that we won't have any grounds for dispute as we proceed. If someone were to say of a human being standing still, but moving his hands and his head, that the same man at the same time stands still and moves, I don't suppose we'd claim that it should be said like that, but rather that one part of him stands still and another moves. Isn't that so?"

"Yes, it is."

"Then if the man who says this should become still more charming and make the subtle point that tops as wholes stand still and move at the same time when the peg is fixed in the same place and they spin, or that anything else going around in a circle on the same spot does this too, we wouldn't accept it because it's not with respect to the same part of themselves that such things are at that time both at rest and in motion. But we'd say that they have in them both a straight and a circumference; and with respect to the straight they stand still since they don't lean in any direction—while with respect to the circumference they move in a circle; and when the straight inclines to the right, the left, forward, or backward at the same time that it's spinning, then in no way does it stand still."

"And we'd be right," he said.

"Then the saying of such things won't scare us, or any the more persuade us that something that is the same, at the same time, with respect to the same part and in relation to the same thing, could ever 437 suffer, be, or do opposites."

"Not me at least," he said.

"All the same," I said, "so we won't be compelled to go through all such objections and spend a long time assuring ourselves they're not true, let's assume that this is so and go ahead, agreed that if it should ever appear otherwise, all our conclusions based on it will be undone."

437 a "That," he said, "is what must be done."

b "Then, would you set down all such things as opposites to one another," I said, "acceptance to refusal, longing to take something to rejecting it, embracing to thrusting away, whether they are actions or affections?" That won't make any difference."

"Yes," he said, "they are opposites."

"What about this?" I said. "Being thirsty and hungry and generally the desires, and further, willing and wanting—wouldn't you c set all these somewhere in those classes[26] we just mentioned? For example, won't you say that the soul of a man who desires either longs for what it desires or embraces that which it wants to become its own; or again, that, insofar as the soul wills that something be supplied to it, it nods assent to itself as though someone had posed a question and reaches out toward the fulfillment of what it wills?"

"I shall."

"And what about this? Won't we class not-wanting, and not-willing and not-desiring with the soul's thrusting away from itself and driving out of itself and along with all the opposites of the previously mentioned acts?"

d "Of course."

"Now since this is so, shall we assert that there is a form of desires and that what we call being thirsty and hungry are the most vivid of them?"

"Yes," he said, "we shall assert it."

"Isn't the one for drink and the other for food?"

"Yes."

"Insofar as it's thirst, would it be a desire in the soul for something more than that of which we say it is a desire? For example, is thirst thirst for hot drink or cold, or much or little, or, in a word, for any particular kind of drink? Or isn't it rather that in the case where e heat is present in addition to the thirst, the heat would cause the desire to be also for something cold as well; and where coldness, something hot; and where the thirst is much on account of the presence of muchness, it will cause the desire to be for much, and where it's little, for little? But, thirsting itself will never be a desire for anything other than that of which it naturally is a desire—for drink alone—and, similarly, hungering will be a desire for food?"

"That's the way it is," he said. "Each particular desire itself is only for that particular thing itself of which it naturally is, while the desire for this or that kind depends on additions."

438 a "Now let no one catch us unprepared," I said, "and cause a disturbance, alleging that no one desires drink, but good drink, nor

food, but good food; for everyone, after all, desires good things; if, then, thirst is a desire, it would be for good drink or for good whatever it is, and similarly with the other desires." 438

"Perhaps," he said, "the man who says that would seem to make some sense."

"However," I said, "of all things that are such as to be related to something, those that are of a certain kind are related to a thing of a certain kind, as it seems to me, while those that are severally themselves are related only to a thing that is itself."

"I don't understand," he said.

"Don't you understand," I said, "that the greater is such as to be greater than something?"

"Certainly."

"Than the less?"

"Yes."

"And the much-greater than the much-less, isn't that so?"

"Yes."

"And, then, also the once-greater than the once-less, and the-going-to-be-greater than the-going-to-be-less?"

"Of course," he said.

"And, further, the more in relation to the fewer, the double to the half, and everything of the sort; and, again, heavier to lighter, faster to slower; and further, the hot to the cold, and everything like them—doesn't the same thing hold?" c

"Most certainly."

"And what about the various sorts of knowledge? Isn't it the same way? Knowledge itself is knowledge of learning itself, or of whatever it is to which knowledge should be related; while a particular kind of knowledge is of a particular kind of thing. I mean something like this. When knowledge of constructing houses came to be, didn't it differ from the other kinds of knowledge and was thus called housebuilding?" c

"Of course."

"Wasn't this by its being a particular kind of thing that is different from the others?"

"Yes."

"Since it was related to a particular kind of thing, didn't it too become a particular kind of thing itself? And isn't this the way with the other arts and sorts of knowledge too?"

"It is."

"Well, then," I said, "say that what I wanted to say then, if you now understand after all, is that of all things that are such as to be

438 d related to something, those that are only themselves are related to things that are only themselves, while those that are related to things of a particular kind are of a particular kind. And I in no sense mean that
e they are such as the things to which they happen to be related, so that it would follow that the knowledge of things healthy and sick is healthy and sick and that of bad and good is itself bad and good. But when knowledge became knowledge not of that alone to which knowledge is related but of a particular sort of thing, and this was health and sickness, it as a consequence also became of a certain sort itself; and this caused it not to be called knowledge simply any more but, with the particular kind having been added to it, medicine."

"I understand," he said, "and, in my opinion, that's the way it is."

439 a "And then, as for thirst," I said, "won't you include it among those things that are related to something? Surely thirst is in relation to . . ."

"I will," he said, "and it's related to drink."

"So a particular sort of thirst is for a particular kind of drink, but thirst itself is neither for much nor little, good nor bad, nor, in a word, for any particular kind, but thirst itself is naturally only for drink."

"That's entirely certain."

"Therefore, the soul of the man who's thirsty, insofar as it thirsts,
b wishes nothing other than to drink, and strives for this and is impelled toward it."

"Plainly."

"If ever something draws it back when it's thirsting, wouldn't that be something different in it from that which thirsts and leads it like a beast to drink? For of course, we say, the same thing wouldn't perform opposed actions concerning the same thing with the same part of itself at the same time."

"No, it wouldn't."

"Just as, I suppose, it's not fair to say of the archer that his hands at the same time thrust the bow away and draw it near, but that one hand pushes it away and the other pulls it in."

c "That's entirely certain," he said.

"Now, would we assert that sometimes there are some men who are thirsty but not willing to drink?"

"Surely," he said, "many and often."

"What should one say about them?" I said. "Isn't there something in their soul bidding them to drink and something forbidding them to do so, something different that masters that which bids?"

"In my opinion there is," he said.

"Doesn't that which forbids such things come into being—when it

comes into being—from calculation,[27] while what leads and draws *439 d*
is present due to affections and diseases?"

"It looks like it."

"So we won't be irrational," I said, "if we claim they are two and different from each other, naming the part of the soul with which it calculates, the calculating, and the part with which it loves, hungers, thirsts and is agitated by the other desires, the irrational[28] and desiring, companion of certain replenishments and pleasures."

"No, we won't," he said. "It would be fitting for us to believe *e*
that."

"Therefore," I said, "let these two forms in the soul be distinguished. Now, is the part that contains spirit and with which we are spirited a third, or would it have the same nature as one of these others?"

"Perhaps," he said, "the same as one of them, the desiring."

"But," I said, "I once heard something that I trust. Leontius, the son of Aglaion, was going up from the Piraeus under the outside of the North Wall[29] when he noticed corpses lying by the public executioner.[30] He desired to look, but at the same time he was disgusted and made himself turn away; and for a while he struggled and covered his face. But finally, overpowered by the desire, he opened his eyes *440 a*
wide, ran toward the corpses and said: 'Look, you damned wretches, take your fill of the fair sight.'"

"I too have heard it," he said.

"This speech," I said, "certainly indicates that anger sometimes makes war against the desires as one thing against something else."

"Yes," he said, "it does indicate that."

"And in many other places, don't we," I said, "notice that, when desires force someone contrary to calculation, he reproaches him- *b*
self and his spirit is roused against that in him which is doing the forcing; and, just as though there were two parties at faction, such a man's spirit becomes the ally of speech? But as for its making common cause with the desires to do what speech has declared must not be done, I suppose you'd say you had never noticed anything of the kind happening in yourself, nor, I suppose, in anyone else."

"No, by Zeus," he said.

"And what about when a man supposes he's doing injustice?" I *c*
said. "The nobler he is, won't he be less capable of anger at suffering hunger, cold or anything else of the sort inflicted on him by one whom he supposes does so justly; and, as I say, won't his spirit be unwilling to rouse itself against that man?"

"True," he said.

440 c "And what about when a man believes he's being done injustice? Doesn't his spirit in this case boil and become harsh and form an alliance for battle with what seems just; and, even if it suffers in hunger, cold and everything of the sort, doesn't it stand firm and con-
d quer, and not cease from its noble efforts before it has succeeded, or death intervenes, or before it becomes gentle, having been called in by the speech within him like a dog by a herdsman?"[31]

"Most certainly, it resembles the likeness you make. And, of course, we put the auxiliaries in our city like dogs obedient to the rulers, who are like shepherds of a city."

"You have," I said, "a fine understanding of what I want to say. But beyond that, are you aware of this too?"

e "What?"

"That what we are now bringing to light about the spirited is the opposite of our recent assertion. Then we supposed it had something to do with the desiring part; but now, far from it, we say that in the faction of the soul it sets its arms on the side of the calculating part."

"Quite so," he said.

"Is it then different from the calculating part as well, or is it a particular form of it so that there aren't three forms in the soul but two, the calculating and the desiring? Or just as there were three classes in
441 a the city that held it together, money-making, auxiliary, and deliberative, is there in the soul too this third, the spirited, by nature an auxiliary to the calculating part, if it's not corrupted by bad rearing?"

"Necessarily," he said, "there is the third."

"Yes," I said, "if it should come to light as something other than the calculating part, just as it has come to light as different from the desiring part."

"But it's not hard," he said, "for it to come to light as such. For, even in little children, one could see that they are full of spirit straight from birth, while, as for calculating, some seem to me never to get a
b share of it, and the many do so quite late."

"Yes, by Zeus," I said, "what you have said is fine. Moreover, in beasts one could see that what you say is so. And to them can be added the testimony of Homer that we cited in that other place somewhere earlier,

> He smote his breast and reproached
> his heart with word. . .[32]

c Here, you see, Homer clearly presents that which has calculated about better and worse and rebukes that which is irrationally spirited as though it were a different part."

"What you say is entirely correct," he said. *441*

"Well," I said, "we've had a hard swim through that and pretty much agreed that the same classes that are in the city are in the soul of each one severally and that their number is equal."

"Yes, that's so."

"Isn't it by now necessary that the private man be wise in the same way and because of the same thing as the city was wise?"

"Of course."

"And, further, that a city be courageous because of the same thing and in the same way as a private man is courageous, and that in everything else that has to do with virtue both are alike?"

"Yes, that is necessary."

"And, further, Glaucon, I suppose we'll say that a man is just in the same manner that a city too was just."

"This too is entirely necessary."

"Moreover, we surely haven't forgotten that this city was just because each of the three classes in it minds its own business."

"We haven't in my opinion forgotten," he said.

"Then we must remember that, for each of us too, the one within whom each of the parts minds its own business will be just and mind his own business."

"Indeed," he said, "that must be remembered."

"Isn't it proper for the calculating part to rule, since it is wise and has forethought about all of the soul, and for the spirited part to be obedient to it and its ally?"

"Certainly."

"So, as we were saying, won't a mixture of music and gymnastic make them accordant, tightening the one and training it in fair speeches and learning, while relaxing the other with soothing tales, *442* taming it by harmony and rhythm?"

"Quite so," he said.

"And these two, thus trained and having truly learned their own business and been educated, will be set over the desiring—which is surely most of the soul in each and by nature most insatiable for money—and they'll watch it for fear of its being filled with the so-called pleasures of the body and thus becoming big and strong, and then not minding its own business, but attempting to enslave and rule what is not appropriately ruled by its class and subverting everyone's entire life."

"Most certainly," he said.

"So," I said, "wouldn't these two do the finest job of guarding against enemies from without on behalf of all of the soul and the body,

142 b the one deliberating, the other making war, following the ruler, and with its courage fulfilling what has been decided?"

"Yes, that's so."

c "And then I suppose we call a single man courageous because of that part—when his spirited part preserves, through pains and pleasures, what has been proclaimed by the speeches about that which is terrible and that which is not."

"Correct," he said.

"And wise because of that little part which ruled in him and proclaimed these things; it, in its turn, possesses within it the knowledge of that which is beneficial for each part and for the whole composed of the community of these three parts."

"Most certainly."

"And what about this? Isn't he moderate because of the friendship and accord of these parts—when the ruling part and the two ruled parts are of the single opinion that the calculating part ought to rule and *d* don't raise faction against it?"

"Moderation, surely," he said, "is nothing other than this, in city or in private man."

"Now, of course, a man will be just because of that which we are so often saying, and in the same way."

"Quite necessarily."

"What about this?" I said. "Has our justice in any way been blunted so as to seem to be something other than what it came to light as in the city?"

"Not in my opinion," he said.

"If there are still any doubts in our soul," I said, "we could *e* reassure ourselves completely by testing our justice in the light of the vulgar standards."

"Which ones?"

"For example, if, concerning this city and the man who by nature and training is like it, we were required to come to an agreement about whether, upon accepting a deposit of gold or silver, such a man would seem to be the one to filch it—do you suppose anyone would suppose that he would be the man to do it and not rather those who are not such *143 a* as he is?"

"No one would," he said.

"And as for temple robberies, thefts, and betrayals, either of comrades in private or cities in public, wouldn't this man be beyond them?"

"Yes, he would be beyond them."

"And, further, he would in no way whatsoever be faithless in oaths or other agreements."

"Of course not." *443 a*

"Further, adultery, neglect of parents, and failure to care for the gods are more characteristic of every other kind of man than this one."

"Of every other kind, indeed," he said.

"Isn't the cause of all this that, so far as ruling and being ruled are *b* concerned, each of the parts in him minds its own business?"

"That and nothing else is the cause."

"Are you still looking for justice to be something different from this power which produces such men and cities?"

"No, by Zeus," he said. "I'm not."

"Then that dream of ours has reached its perfect fulfillment.[33] I mean our saying that we suspected that straight from the beginning of the city's founding, through some god, we probably hit upon an origin and model for justice." *c*

"That's entirely certain."

"And this, Glaucon, turns out to be after all a kind of phantom of justice—that's also why it's helpful—the fact that the shoemaker by nature rightly practices shoemaking and does nothing else, and the carpenter practices carpentry, and so on for the rest."

"It looks like it."

"But in truth justice was, as it seems, something of this sort; however, not with respect to a man's minding his external business, but with respect to what is within, with respect to what truly concerns him *d* and his own. He doesn't let each part in him mind other people's business or the three classes in the soul meddle with each other, but really sets his own house in good order and rules himself; he arranges himself, becomes his own friend, and harmonizes the three parts, exactly like three notes in a harmonic scale, lowest, highest and middle. And if there are some other parts in between, he binds them together and becomes entirely one from many, moderate and harmonized. Then, and only then, he acts, if he does act in some *e* way—either concerning the acquisition of money, or the care of the body, or something political, or concerning private contracts. In all these actions he believes and names a just and fine action one that preserves and helps to produce this condition, and wisdom the knowledge that supervises[34] this action; while he believes and names an unjust action one that undoes this condition, and lack of learning, in its turn, the opinion that supervises this action." *444 a*

"Socrates," he said, "what you say is entirely true."

"All right," I said. "If we should assert that we have found the just man and city and what justice really is in them, I don't suppose we'd seem to be telling an utter lie."

444 a "By Zeus, no indeed," he said.

"Shall we assert it then?"

"Let's assert it."

"So be it," I said. "After that, I suppose injustice must be considered."

"Plainly."

b "Mustn't it, in its turn, be a certain faction among those three—a meddling, interference, and rebellion of a part of the soul against the whole? The purpose of the rebellious part is to rule in the soul although this is not proper, since by nature it is fit to be a slave to that which belongs to the ruling class.[35] Something of this sort I suppose we'll say, and that the confusion and wandering of these parts are injustice, licentiousness, cowardice, lack of learning, and, in sum, vice entire."

"Certainly," he said, "that is what they are."

c "Then," I said, "as for performing unjust actions and being unjust and, again, doing just things, isn't what all of them are by now clearly manifest, if injustice and justice are also manifest?"

"How so?"

"Because," I said, "they don't differ from the healthy and the sick; what these are in a body, they are in a soul."

"In what way?" he said.

"Surely healthy things produce health and sick ones sickness."

"Yes."

"Doesn't doing just things also produce justice and unjust ones in-

d justice?"

"Necessarily."

"To produce health is to establish the parts of the body in a relation of mastering, and being mastered by, one another that is according to nature, while to produce sickness is to establish a relation of ruling, and being ruled by, one another that is contrary to nature."

"It is."

"Then, in its turn," I said, "isn't to produce justice to establish the parts of the soul in a relation of mastering, and being mastered by, one another that is according to nature, while to produce injustice is to establish a relation of ruling, and being ruled by, one another that is contrary to nature?"

"Entirely so," he said.

"Virtue, then, as it seems, would be a certain health, beauty and

e good condition of a soul, and vice a sickness, ugliness and weakness."

"So it is."

"Don't fine practices also conduce to the acquisition of virtue and base ones to vice?"

"Necessarily."

"So, as it seems, it now remains for us to consider whether it is profitable to do just things, practice fine ones, and be just—whether or not one's being such remains unnoticed; or whether it is profitable to do injustice and be unjust—provided one doesn't pay the penalty and become better as a result of punishment." *444 e* *445 a*

"But Socrates," he said, "that inquiry looks to me as though it has become ridiculous by now. If life doesn't seem livable with the body's nature corrupted, not even with every sort of food and drink and every sort of wealth and every sort of rule, will it then be livable when the nature of that very thing by which we live is confused and corrupted, even if a man does whatever else he might want except that which will rid him of vice and injustice and will enable him to acquire justice and virtue? Isn't this clear now that all of these qualities have manifested their characters in our description?" *b*

"Yes, it is ridiculous," I said. "But all the same, since we've come to the place from which we are able to see most clearly that these things are so, we mustn't weary."

"Least of all, by Zeus," he said, "must we shrink back."

"Now come here," I said, "so you too can see just how many forms vice, in my opinion, has; those, at least, that are worth looking at." *c*

"I am following," he said. "Just tell me."

"Well," I said, "now that we've come up to this point in the argument, from a lookout as it were, it looks to me as though there is one form for virtue and an unlimited number for vice, but some four among them are also worth mentioning."

"How do you mean?"

"There are," I said, "likely to be as many types of soul as there are types of regimes possessing distinct forms."

"How many is that?"

"Five of regimes," I said, "and five of soul." *d*

"Tell me what they are," he said.

"I say that one type of regime would be the one we've described, but it could be named in two ways," I said. "If one exceptional man arose among the rulers, it would be called a kingship, if more, an aristocracy."

"True," he said.

"Therefore," I said, "I say that this is one form. For whether it's many or one who arise, none of the city's laws that are worth mentioning would be changed, if he uses that rearing and education we described." *e*

"It's not likely," he said.