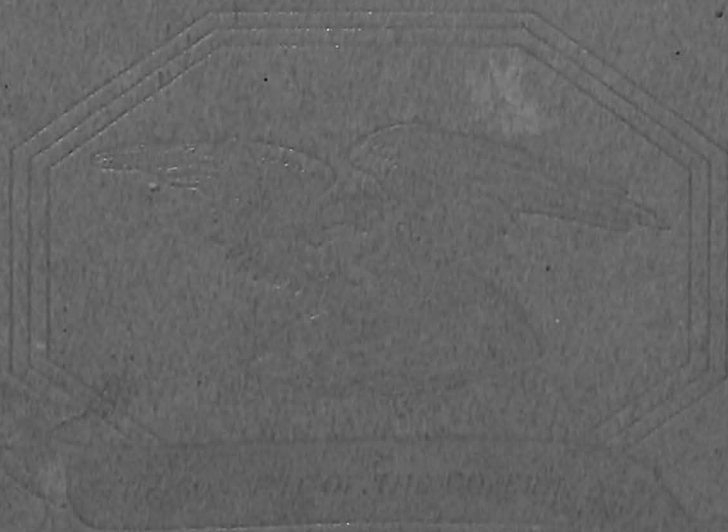




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THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED

A FEW BITS OF IMMORTAL
WISDOM ON THE SUBJECT
OF DEMOCRACY, PUBLISHED
IN THE YEAR OF OUR NEED

Privately printed by
DR. C. CHARLES BURLINGAME
New York & Hartford

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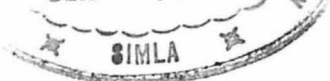
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BY DR. C. CHARLES BURLINGAME

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☆
☆ *FOREWORD* ☆
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THE DIGNITY inherent in liberty confers itself upon those who have the courage and the strength to stand, whatever comes, for what they know to be the truth. The greatness of liberty lies in the basic concept of government by the consent of the governed, the inalienable right of men to control the governments they obey in the disposition of laws which offer opportunity to the strong while guaranteeing protection to the weak.

For centuries men have based their dreams upon this universal human need — the need for freedom of mind and body and spirit. Some among these men have found words to capture the essence of freedom and to immortalize its greatness and its dignity.

As long as what is being done is “with the consent of the governed” we are free men; as long as we have the free, honest, secret ballot and the unmolested freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom

of the radio, I cannot be too apprehensive regarding our future, but these things we must fight for.

Christmas, because it stands so essentially for freedom of the spirit, is the day above all others upon which we shall do well to remember those men who have appreciated their liberty and have given it voice. And in thus re-dedicating ourselves to the cause of liberty, there must flow from our hearts, this year above all, thankfulness for the blessings of liberty whose full measure is denied to so many.

I had originally planned to place in your hands a volume on Shakespeare, who, I believe, was one of the great psychiatrists of his day, but the old documents which I had hoped to use were trapped in France, and Shakespeare was called upon to yield in favor of this little book which I dedicate to you, my friends, on this twenty-fifth day of December, nineteen hundred and forty-one.

C. CHARLES BURLINGAME

AND UNLESS that liberty which is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, which alone is the fruit of piety, of justice, of temperance, and unadulterated virtue, shall have taken a deep root in your minds and hearts, there will not long be wanting one who will snatch from you by treachery what you have acquired by arms. . . . Your peace will only be a more distressing war; and that which you imagined liberty will prove the worst of slavery. Unless by the means of piety, not frothy and loquacious, but operative, unadulterated, and sincere, you clear the horizon of the mind from those mists of superstition which arise from . . . ignorance, you will always have those who will bend your necks to the yoke as if you were brutes, who, notwithstanding all your triumphs, will put you up to the highest bidder, as if you were mere booty made in war; and will find an exuberant source of wealth in your ignorance and superstition . . . you will find that you have cherished a more stubborn and intractable despot at home, than you ever encountered in the field.

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METHINKS I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging



A people may prefer a free government, but if, from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice, or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it: if they will not fight for it when it is directly attacked; if they can be deluded by the artifices used to cheat them out of it: if by momentary discouragement, or temporary panic, or a fit of enthusiasm for an individual, they can be induced to lay their liberties at the feet even of a great man, or trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions: in all these cases they are more or less unfit for liberty: and though it may be for their good to have had it even for a short time, they are unlikely long to enjoy it.

JOHN MILLER

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



“... they are unlikely long to enjoy it”

and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means . . .

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JOHN STUART MILL 1806-1873

A PEOPLE may prefer a free government; but if, from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice, or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it; if they will not fight for it when it is directly attacked; if they can be deluded by the artifices used to cheat them out of it; if, by momentary discouragement, or temporary panic, or a fit of enthusiasm for an individual, they can be induced to lay their liberties at the feet of a great man, or trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions — in all these cases they are more or less unfit for liberty; and though it may be for their good to have had it even for a short time, they are unlikely long to enjoy it.

☆ ☆ ☆

JAMES MADISON 1787
In "Federalist Papers"

IS IT NOT the glory of the people of America, that, whilst they have paid a decent regard to the opinions

of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to overrule the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their situation, and the lesson of their own experience? To this manly spirit posterity will be indebted for the possession, and the world for example, of the numerous innovations displayed on the American theatre, in favor of private rights and public happiness.

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SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH

WE NEED NOT take shelter when someone cries "Radical!" If measures proposed are unsound, debate will reveal this fact better than anything else that has been discovered in the affairs of government. But if the measures are sound, we want them under whatever name they come to us.

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN 1755

Historical Review of Pennsylvania

THEY that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN 1861

Inaugural Address

WHY should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

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THOMAS JEFFERSON 1801

Inaugural Address

DURING the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases, to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess the equal rights, which equal law must protect and to violate would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And

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let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.

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BOGARDUS

A DEMOCRACY is a group in which the individual members are ruling in behalf of each other.

☆ ☆ ☆

WOODROW WILSON 1917

BUT the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations . . . and make the world itself at last free.

☆ ☆ ☆

DE TOCQUEVILLE 1838

DEMOCRACY does not confer the most skillful kind of government upon the people, but it produces that which the most skillful governments are frequently unable to awaken, namely, an all-pervading and rest-

less activity, a superabundant force, and an energy which is inseparable from it, and which may, under favorable circumstances, beget the most amazing benefits. These are the true advantages of democracy.

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[A *Cyclopedia of Education*]

DEMOCRACY inevitably carries with it increased respect for the individual as an individual, greater opportunity for freedom, independence and initiative in conduct and thought, and correspondingly increased demand for fraternal regard and for self-imposed and voluntarily borne responsibilities. Insensibly, rather than consciously, the atmosphere characteristic of democracy penetrates school methods and materials and modifies educational ideals.

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WOODROW WILSON 1917

Address to Congress

THE world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely serve. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We

shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

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EDMUND BURKE

LIBERTY such as deserves the name, is an honest, equitable, diffusive, and impartial principle. It is a great and enlarged virtue, and not a sordid, selfish, and illiberal vice. It is the portion of the mass of the citizens, and not the haughty license of some potent individual or some predominant faction.

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HERBERT HOOVER

A NATION is not great through dams in its rivers or its ships on the sea or the deposits in its banks. It is great by the moral fiber and character of its citizens. Nations die when these weaken.

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WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

DEMOCRACY is an experiment, and the right of the majority to rule is no more inherent than the right of the minority to rule; and unless the majority represents sane, righteous, unselfish public sentiment, it has no inherent right.

THOMAS PAINE

THOSE who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.



JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL 1884

*Inaugural Address on Assuming the
Presidency of the Birmingham and Mid-
land Institute, Birmingham, England.*

FEW PEOPLE take the trouble of trying to find out what democracy really is. Yet this would be a great help, for it is our lawless and uncertain thoughts, it is the indefiniteness of our impressions, that fill darkness, whether mental or physical, with spectres and hobgoblins. Democracy is nothing more than an experiment in government, more likely to succeed in a new soil but likely to be tried in all soils, which must stand or fall on its own merits as others have done before it. President Lincoln defined democracy to be "the government of the people, by the people, for the people." This is a sufficiently compact statement of it as a political arrangement. Theodore Parker said that "Democracy meant not 'I'm as good as you are,' but 'You're as good as I am.'" And this is the ethical conception of it, necessary as a complement of the other; a conception which, could it be made actual and practical, would easily solve all the riddles that the old sphinx of political and social economy

who sits by the roadside has been proposing to mankind from the beginning, and which mankind have shown such a singular talent for answering wrongly.

The framers of the American Constitution . . . put as many obstacles as they could contrive, not in the way of the people's will, but of their whim. We learned once for all that compromise makes a good umbrella but a poor roof; that it is a temporary expedient, often wise in party politics, almost sure to be unwise in statesmanship.

Has not the trial of democracy in America proved, on the whole, successful? We have taken from Europe the poorest, the most ignorant, the most turbulent of her people, and have made them over into good citizens, who have added to our wealth, and who are ready to die in defence of a country and of institutions which they know to be worth dying for.

The English race, if they did not invent government by discussion, have at least carried it nearest to perfection in practice.

I take it that the real essence of democracy was fairly defined by the First Napoleon when he said that the French Revolution meant "*la carriere ouverte aux talents*" — a clear pathway for merit of whatever kind. I should be inclined to paraphrase this by calling democracy that form of society, no matter what its political classification, in which every man had a chance and knew that he had it.

Our healing is not in the storm or in the whirlwind,
it is not in monarchies, or aristocracies, or democracies,
but will be revealed by the still small voice that speaks
to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to a
wider and wiser humanity.

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EDMUND BURKE

GOVERNMENT is a contrivance of human wisdom to
provide for human wants. Men have a right that these
wants should be provided for by this wisdom.

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IF ANY ask me what a free government is I answer
that for any practical purpose, it is what the people
think so.

☆ ☆ ☆

CONFUCIUS

GOOD GOVERNMENT obtains when those who are near
are made happy, and those who are far off are at-
tracted.

☆ ☆ ☆

DANIEL WEBSTER

WHATEVER government is not a government of laws
is a despotism, let it be called what it may.

JAMES A. GARFIELD

ALL free governments are managed by the combined wisdom and folly of the people.

☆ ☆ ☆

GOETHE

WHICH is the best government? That which teaches self-government.

☆ ☆ ☆

SPENSER

ILL can he rule the great that cannot reach the small.

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WENDELL PHILLIPS

GOVERNMENTS exist to protect the rights of minorities. The loved and the rich need no protection — they have many friends and few enemies.

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JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

ALL free governments, whatever their name, are in reality governments by public opinion, and it is on the quality of this public opinion that their prosperity depends.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE AGGREGATE happiness of society, which is best promoted by the practice of a virtuous policy is, or ought to be, the end of all government.



DANIEL WEBSTER

NOTHING will ruin the country if the people themselves will undertake its safety; and nothing can save it if they leave that safety in any hands but their own.



HENRY JAMES

EVERY GOVERNMENTAL institution has been a standing testimony to the harmonic destiny of society, a standing proof that the life of man is destined for peace and amity, instead of disorder and contention.



HENRY WARD BEECHER

A REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, in a hundred points is weaker than an autocratic government; but in this one point it is the strongest that ever existed — it has educated a race of men that are men.

A Declaration of the Representatives of the UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for ^{the} 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 & 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 ~~that~~ ^{self-evident} separation.

We hold these truths to be ^{self-evident}, that all men are created equal & independent; that they are ^{endowed by their creator with} certain unalienable rights, that among these are ^{life, liberty & 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, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles & organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & 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 & usurpations [beginning at a distinguished period] pressing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them ^{under absolute Despotism} to absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, & to provide new guards for their future security. such have been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & 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, among which ^{appears one solitary fact} appears one solitary fact, to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, [to wit, that he has] ^{in that he has} in that he has endeavored to establish an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith not usually by falsehood.

A Declaration that launched a new nation
is based on "the consent of the governed"

JOSEPH COOK

A MONARCHY is like a man-of-war — bad shots between wind and water hurt it exceedingly; there is danger of capsizing. But democracy is a raft. You cannot easily overturn it. It is a wet place, but it is a pretty safe one.



THOMAS PAINE

IT HAS BEEN thought a considerable advance toward establishing the principles of freedom to say that government is a compact between those who govern and those who are governed; but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for, as man must have existed before governments existed, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could not have originally existed any governors to form such a compact with. The fact, therefore, must be that the individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other to produce a government; and this is the only mode in which governments have any right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

Preface to Lothair

THE DIVINE RIGHT of kings may have been a plea for feeble tyrants, but the divine right of government is the keystone of human progress, and without it government sinks into police and a nation into a mob.

☆ ☆ ☆

PLAUTUS

Adelphi: 1,65.

IT is a great error, in my opinion, to suppose that government founded on force has more weight or stability than that which is bound together by the tie of good-will.

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JOHN ADAMS

AS THE happiness of the people is the sole end of government, so the consent of the people is the only foundation of it in reason, morality, and the natural fitness of things.

☆ ☆ ☆

JOHN MARSHALL

McCulloch vs. Maryland

THE GOVERNMENT of the Union, then, is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and

substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefit.

☆ ☆ ☆

WILLIAM PENN

THE ESTATE goes before the steward, the foundation before the house, people before their representatives, and the creation before the creator. The steward lives by preserving the estate, the house stands by reason of its foundation, the representative depends upon the people, as the creature subsists by the power of its creator.

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[*Preamble to the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut 1639*]

. . . Well knowing where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth; and do for ourselves and our Successors and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into Combination and Confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

AS SET FORTH IN THE FIRST TEN AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION, PROPOSED TO THE STATES BY CONGRESS ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1789, AND RATIFIED ON DECEMBER 15, 1791.

ARTICLE I
CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW RESPECTING AN ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION, OR PROHIBITING THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF, OR ABRIDGING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OR OF THE PRESS, OR THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE PEACEABLY TO ASSEMBLE, AND TO PETITION THE GOVERNMENT FOR A REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES.

ARTICLE II
A WELL-REGULATED MILITIA BEING NECESSARY TO THE SECURITY OF A FREE STATE, THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS SHALL NOT BE INFRINGED.

ARTICLE III
NO SOLDIER SHALL, IN TIME OF PEACE, BE QUARTERED IN ANY HOUSE WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE OWNER, NOR IN TIME OF WAR BUT IN A MANNER TO BE PRESCRIBED BY LAW.

ARTICLE IV
THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO BE SECURE IN THEIR PERSONS, HOUSES, PAPERS, AND EFFECTS, AGAINST UNREASONABLE SEARCHES AND SEIZURES, SHALL NOT BE VIOLATED, AND NO WARRANT SHALL ISSUE BUT UPON PROBABLE CAUSE, SUPPORTED BY OATH OR AFFIRMATION, AND PARTICULARLY DESCRIBING THE PLACE TO BE SEARCHED, AND THE PERSONS OR THINGS TO BE SEIZED.

ARTICLE V
NO PERSON SHALL BE HELD TO ANSWER FOR A CAPITAL, OR OTHERWISE INFAMOUS CRIME, UNLESS ON A PRESENTMENT OR INDICTMENT OF A GRAND JURY, EXCEPT IN CASES ARISING IN THE LAND OR NAVAL FORCES, OR IN THE MILITIA, WHEN IN ACTUAL SERVICE IN TIME OF WAR OR PUBLIC DANGER; NOR SHALL ANY PERSON BE SUBJECT FOR THE SAME OFFENSE TO BE TWICE PUT IN JEOPARDY OF LIFE OR LIMB; NOR SHALL BE COMPELLED IN ANY CRIMINAL CASE TO BE A WITNESS AGAINST HIMSELF, NOR

BE DEPRIVED OF LIFE, LIBERTY, OR PROPERTY, WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW; NOR SHALL PRIVATE PROPERTY BE TAKEN FOR PUBLIC USE WITHOUT JUST COMPENSATION.

ARTICLE VI
IN ALL CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS, THE ACCUSED SHALL ENJOY THE RIGHT TO A SPEEDY AND PUBLIC TRIAL BY AN IMPARTIAL JURY OF THE STATE AND DISTRICT WHEREIN THE CRIME SHALL HAVE BEEN COMMITTED, WHICH DISTRICT SHALL HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY ASCERTAINED BY LAW, AND TO BE INFORMED OF THE NATURE AND CAUSE OF THE ACCUSATION, TO BE CONFRONTED WITH THE WITNESSES AGAINST HIM, TO HAVE COMPULSORY PROCESS FOR OBTAINING WITNESSES IN HIS FAVOR, AND TO HAVE THE ASSISTANCE OF COUNSEL FOR HIS DEFENSE.

ARTICLE VII
IN SUITS AT COMMON LAW, WHERE THE VALUE IN CONTROVERSY SHALL EXCEED TWENTY DOLLARS, THE RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY SHALL BE PRESERVED, AND NO FACT TRIED BY A JURY SHALL BE OTHERWISE RE-EXAMINED IN ANY COURT OF THE UNITED STATES THAN ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF THE COMMON LAW.

ARTICLE VIII
EXCESSIVE BAIL SHALL NOT BE REQUIRED, NOR EXCESSIVE FINES IMPOSED, NOR CRUEL AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENTS INFLICTED.

ARTICLE IX
THE ENUMERATION IN THE CONSTITUTION OF CERTAIN RIGHTS SHALL NOT BE CONSTRUED TO DENY OR DISPARAGE OTHERS RETAINED BY THE PEOPLE.

ARTICLE X
THE POWERS NOT DELEGATED TO THE UNITED STATES BY THE CONSTITUTION, NOR PROHIBITED BY IT TO THE STATES, ARE RESERVED TO THE STATES RESPECTIVELY, OR TO THE PEOPLE.



"IT IS FOR US, THE LIVING... TO BE DEDICATED TO THE UNFINISHED WORK."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Keystone of American Democracy

now profess, as also the discipline of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said Gospel is now practiced amongst us; as also in our Civil Affairs to be guided and governed according to such Laws, Rules, Orders, and Decrees as shall be made . . .

(The "Fundamental Orders" are the first example in English history, national or colonial, of a form of government adopted by a popular assembly for the common welfare. This was created by the towns, and is the ancestor of our present Federal Government. Hitherto, the towns had been dependent upon the charter granted the colony. An important point is that no reference to the authority, or grace, of the King, is made.)

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HENRY GEORGE 1879

IN OUR TIMES, as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon the clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or Liberty withdraws her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the universal law.

A DEMOCRACY can only obtain truth as the result of experience; and many nations may forfeit their existence, whilst they are awaiting the consequences of their errors.

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LYMAN ABBOTT

HE WHO looks with pride upon this history which his fathers have written by their heroic deeds, who accepts with gratitude the inheritance which they have bequeathed to him, and who highly resolves to preserve this inheritance unimpaired and to pass it on to his descendants enlarged and enriched, is a true American, be his birthplace or his parentage what it may.

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JAMES BRYCE

OUR country is not the only thing to which we owe our allegiance. It is also owed to justice and to humanity. Patriotism consists not in waving the flag, but in striving that our country shall be righteous as well as strong.

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GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

A MAN'S country is not a certain area of land, but it is a principle; and patriotism is loyalty to that principle.

WOODROW WILSON

THE Declaration of Independence . . . was a vital piece of practical business, not a piece of rhetoric.

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MACAULAY

THE END of government is the happiness of the people.

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GLADSTONE

THE proper function of a government is to make it easy for people to do good, and difficult for them to do evil.

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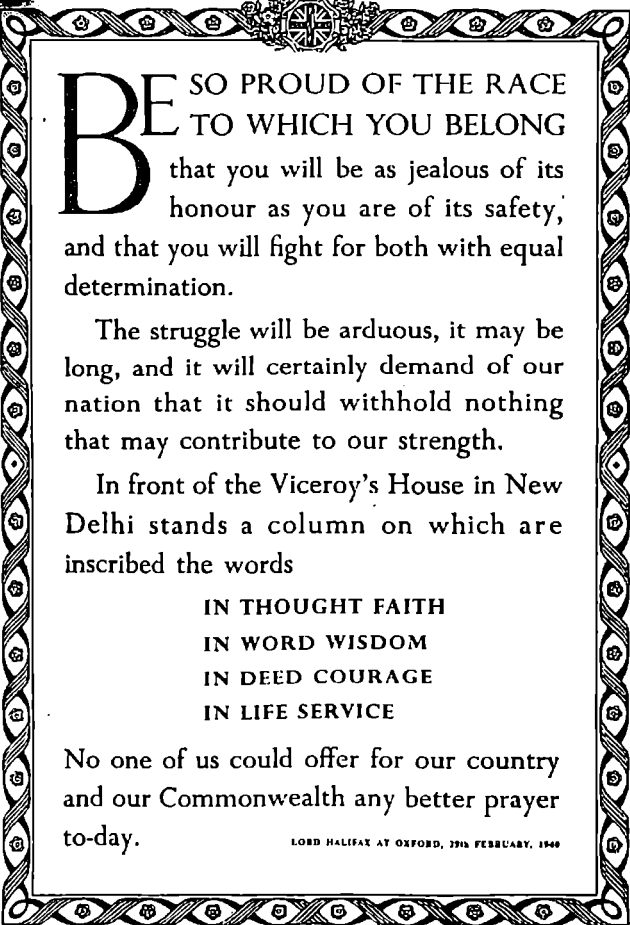
TERENCE

IT is a great error, in my opinion, to believe that a government is more firm or assured when it is supported by force, than when founded on affection.

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HENRY CLAY

GOVERNMENT is a trust, and the officers of a government are trustees; and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people.



BE SO PROUD OF THE RACE
TO WHICH YOU BELONG
that you will be as jealous of its
honour as you are of its safety,
and that you will fight for both with equal
determination.

The struggle will be arduous, it may be
long, and it will certainly demand of our
nation that it should withhold nothing
that may contribute to our strength.

In front of the Viceroy's House in New
Delhi stands a column on which are
inscribed the words

IN THOUGHT FAITH
IN WORD WISDOM
IN DEED COURAGE
IN LIFE SERVICE

No one of us could offer for our country
and our Commonwealth any better prayer
to-day.

LORD HALIFAX AT OXFORD, 29th FEBRUARY, 1940

JOHN LOCKE

FREEDOM of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power vested in it; a liberty to follow my own will in all things, when the rule prescribes not, and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man.



THEODORE PARKER

THERE is what I call the American idea . . . This idea demands, as the approximate organization thereof, a democracy — that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people, of course, a government of the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God; for shortness' sake, I will call it the idea of freedom.



JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD

GOVERNMENT by consent — not even government by a majority, but by unanimous consent — is the ideal of Democracy; and the smaller the unit the more nearly do we approach the consent of all in that unit.

Freedom is the indispensable condition of successful co-operation; without it, co-operation is only a fine name for bondage.

In the long run, that which is unjust can never be expedient.

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[*The Polish Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791*]

. . . Valuing above life and personal happiness the political existence, external independence and internal freedom of the Nation, we have resolved upon the present Constitution . . .

The happiness of the Nation depends upon just laws, the consequences of laws, upon their execution. Having thereby ensured to the free Polish nations the power to make laws for itself and to watch over all those who execute the laws to the King in Council, which Council shall be called the Guard of the Laws.

(This represents an abandonment of feudal privileges by the Polish nobles for the benefit of the oppressed classes of Poland. A contribution to the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.)

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[*The Document of the Union of Lublin 1569*]

WE . . . all the estates and citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania . . . do hereby declare . . . that, having our duty to our country ever before our eyes

. . . we have made such an agreement between ourselves . . .

Firstly, . . . for closer union, common and mutual brotherly love and in eternal defense of both States . . . the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is now a body one and indivisible, and also an indivisible, one and common Republic.

(Having adopted Polish legal and political institutions the Lithuanians and Ruthenians effect a closer union with the Polish Crown.)

