

Chapter 31: GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

THE usual connotation of "government" is political. The word is often used interchangeably with "state." But there is government in a university, in an economic corporation, in the church, in any organization of men associated for a common purpose. The theologian speaks of the divine government of the universe, and the moralist speaks of reason as the ruling power in the soul which governs the appetites or passions.

In all these contexts, the notion of government involves the fundamental relations of ruling and being ruled, of command and obedience. Though the character of these relationships varies somewhat with the terms related, there is enough common meaning throughout to permit a general consideration of the nature of government. But that is not the way in which government is discussed in the great books. For the most part, government is considered in one or another of its special settings—as it functions in the family or the state, in the soul or the universe. The common thread of meaning is noted only indirectly, by the way in which comparisons are made or analogies are drawn between the various modes of government.

In view of this, we have found it convenient to restrict this chapter to government in the political sense, treating domestic and ecclesiastical government under FAMILY and RELIGION, economic government under WEALTH, divine government in the chapters on GOD and WORLD, and government in the soul in the several chapters which consider the relation of reason to the passions, such as DESIRE and EMOTION.

Government and *state* are often used as if they were interchangeable terms. Some writers differentiate their meanings by using "state" to signify the political community itself, and

"government" to refer to the way in which it is politically organized. Yet the two concepts tend to fuse in traditional political theory. The kinds of states, for example, are usually named according to their forms of government. The great books speak of monarchical and republican states, as we today speak of the fascist or the democratic state.

Nevertheless, we recognize the distinction between a state and its government when we observe that the state can maintain its historic identity while it undergoes fundamental changes in its form of government. The state is not dissolved by a revolution which replaces a monarchy by a republic, or conversely. There is a sense in which Rome is the same state under the Tarquins, under the Republic, and under the Caesars. In contrast, some rebellions, such as the War of Secession in American history, threaten to dissolve the state itself.

Despite the fact that government involves a relation between rulers and ruled, the word is often used to designate one term in that relationship, namely, the rulers. When the citizens of a republic speak of "the government," they usually refer to the officialdom—not the body of citizens as a whole, but only those who for a time hold public office. But government cannot consist of governors alone, any more than education can consist of teachers alone. The different forms of government can be distinguished as readily by looking to the condition of the ruled as to the powers of the rulers. Furthermore, the same individuals may both "rule and be ruled by turns," as Aristotle observes of constitutional government.

Though the notion of government includes both rulers and ruled, the word usually appears in political literature with the more restricted meaning. When writers refer to the branches or departments of government, or when they

speak of the sovereignty of a government, they direct attention to the ruling power, and to the division of that power into related parts.

THE GREAT BOOKS OF political theory ask a number of basic questions about government. What is the origin of government, its nature and necessity? What ends does government serve and how do these ends define its scope and limits? What is the distinction between good and bad government, between legitimate and illegitimate, or just and unjust, government? What are the forms of government, of good government, of bad government? What are the various departments or branches of government, and how should they function with respect to one another?

These questions are related. The origin, nature, and necessity of government have a bearing on its ends and limits. These same considerations enter into the discussion of the legitimacy and justice of governments. They also have a bearing on the classification of the forms of government, and on the evaluation of diverse forms. The way in which the several branches of government should be related is affected by the way in which the various forms of government differ.

These questions are not always approached in the same order. Some of the great political theorists—for example, Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau—find their fundamental principles in the consideration of the origin of government. They start with such questions as, What makes it legitimate for one man to govern another? Is the exercise of political power both justified and limited by the end it serves? In answering these questions, they imply or make a distinction between good and bad government and indicate the abuses or corruptions to which government is subject. Though they enumerate the various forms of government in a manner which reflects the traditional classifications, they do not seem to regard that problem as of central importance.

Other eminent political thinkers make the classification and comparison of diverse forms the central problem in the theory of government. Plato and Aristotle, Montesquieu and Mill, are primarily concerned with the criteria by which the justice or goodness of a govern-

ment shall be judged. They compare various forms of government as more or less desirable, nearer to the ideal or nearer to the opposite extreme of corruption. In the course of these considerations they answer questions about the necessity, the legitimacy, and the ends of government in general.

THERE SEEMS TO BE considerable agreement on one point, namely, that government is necessary for the life of the state. It is generally held by the authors of the great books that no community can dispense with government, for without government men cannot live together in peace. None is an anarchist, like Thoreau or Kropotkin, although Kropotkin claims that *War and Peace* and even Mill's *Essay on Liberty* contain "anarchist ideas." Marx and Engels may be the other possible exception to the rule.

If Marx and Engels take the opposite view, they do so simply on the ground that with the advent of a classless society after the communist revolution, the class war will come to an end and there will no longer be any need for government. The state can quietly wither away. But, according to Aquinas, even if society were free from all injustice and iniquity, even if men lived together in a state of innocence and with the moral perfection they would possess if Adam had not sinned, even then government would be necessary. "A social life," he thinks, "cannot exist among a number of people unless government is set up to look after the common good."

The great books do not agree about the naturalness of the state. They do not agree about the way in which government originates historically or about the functions it should and should not perform. They do not all reflect in the same way on the good and evil in government. Nor do they all give the same reasons for the necessity of government. In consequence they set different limits to the scope of government and assign it different functions, which range from the merely negative function of preventing violence to the duty to provide positively for human welfare in a variety of ways.

On all these things they differ, but with the exceptions noted they do concur in thinking that anarchy—the total absence of government—is unsuitable to the nature of man. Man be-

ing what he is, "any form of government," in Darwin's opinion, "is better than none." Some, like Hobbes and Kant, identify anarchy with the state of nature which is for them a state of war. Some, like Locke, think that the state of nature is not a state of war, yet find great advantages to living in civil society precisely because government remedies the inconveniences and ills which anarchy breeds. But though they often write as if men could choose between living in a state of nature or in a civil society, they do not think man has any option with respect to government if he wishes the benefits of the civilized life. They cannot conceive civil society as existing for a moment without government.

THE GENERAL AGREEMENT about the necessity of government tends to include an agreement about the two basic elements of government—authority and power. No government at all is possible, not even the most attenuated, unless men obey its directions or regulations. But one man may obey another either *voluntarily* or *involuntarily*—either because he recognizes the right vested in that other to give him commands or because he fears the consequences which he may suffer if he disobeys.

These two modes of obedience correspond to the authority and power of government. Authority elicits voluntary compliance. Power either actually coerces or, by threatening coercion, compels involuntary obedience. Authority and power are the right and might of government. Either can exist and may operate apart from the other; but, as Rousseau points out, when right is lacking, government is illegitimate; and as Hamilton points out, when might is lacking, it is ineffective.

In a famous passage, the Federalists explain that rule by authority alone might work in a society of angels. But since men are men, not angels, their obedience must be assured by the threat of force. In any society in which some men are good, some bad, and all may be either at one time or another, force is the only expedient to get the unwilling to do what they should do for the common good. Even when the institutions of government have their authority from the consent of the governed, they cannot function effectively without the

use of power or force. For this reason Hamilton dismisses "the idea of governing at all times by the simple force of law" as having "no place but in the reveries of those political doctors whose sagacity disdains the admonitions of experimental instruction."

If authority without force is ineffective for the purposes of government, might without right is tyrannical. "Wherever law ends, tyranny begins," Locke writes, "and whosoever in authority exceeds the power given him by the law, and makes use of the force he has under his command to compass that upon the subject which the law allows not, ceases in that to be a magistrate." The use of unauthorized force may take the form of either usurpation or tyranny. If it is "the exercise of power which another hath a right to," Locke declares it is usurpation; if it is "the exercise of power beyond right, which nobody can have a right to," it is tyranny.

The distinction between legitimate rule and all dominations by force rests not on the use of power, but on whether the power which must be employed is or is not legally authorized.

THE NOTION OF SOVEREIGNTY involves considerations of authority and power. The word itself is mediaeval and feudal in origin. It signifies the supremacy of an overlord who owes allegiance to no one and to whom fealty is due from all who hold fiefdoms under him. Since the supremacy of the sovereign lord is clothed with legal rights, according to the customs of feudal tenure, sovereignty seems to imply the union of power with authority, not the use of naked force.

The political philosophers of antiquity do not use the term *sovereignty*. But their discussion of the distribution of political power is certainly concerned with the possession of authority as well as the control of force. Aristotle's question, for example, about "what is to be the supreme power in the state—the multitude? or the wealthy? or the good? or the one best man?" deals with the same problem which modern writers express by asking where sovereignty resides. As Aristotle sees the conflict between the oligarchical and the democratic constitutions, the issue concerns the legal definition of the ruling class: whether the constitu-

tion puts all the political power in the hands of the rich or in the hands of the freeborn, rich and poor alike. It does not seem to be too violent an interpretation for modern translators to use the word "sovereignty" here, for sovereignty can be said to belong to whatever person or class holds the supreme power by law.

Within this meaning of sovereignty the basic difference between absolute and limited government, or between the despotic and the constitutional regime, leads to a distinction between the sovereign man and the sovereign office.

The ruler who holds sovereignty in his person is an absolute sovereign if his power and authority are in no way limited by positive law. According to some political philosophers, sovereignty must be absolute. In the opinion of Hobbes, for example, the notion of a limited sovereignty seems to be as self-contradictory as that of a supremacy which is not supreme.

After discussing the absolute rights which constitute sovereignty, Hobbes goes on to say that "this great authority being indivisible . . . there is little ground for the opinion of them that say of sovereign kings, though they be *singulis majores*, of greater power than every one of their subjects, yet they be *unwersis minores*, of less power than them all together. For if by *all together* they mean not the collective body as one person, then *all together* and *every one* signify the same, and the speech is absurd. But if by *all together* they understand them as one person (which person the sovereign bears), then the power of all together is the same as the sovereign's power, and so again the speech is absurd."

It makes no difference, Hobbes argues, whether the sovereignty is held by one man or by an assembly. In either case "the sovereign of a commonwealth . . . is not subject to the civil laws. For having the power to make and repeal laws, he may when he pleases, free himself from that subjection by repealing those laws that trouble him." The sovereign therefore has absolute power, which consists in the absolute right or liberty to do as he pleases, for "he that is bound to himself only is not bound" at all.

Aquinas seems to be taking the same view when he admits that "the sovereign is . . .

exempt from the law as to its coercive power, since, properly speaking, no man is coerced by himself, and law has no coercive power save from the authority of the sovereign." But Aquinas differs from Hobbes in thinking that the authority, if not the power, of the prince is limited by the constitutional character of the kingly office. In the mediaeval conception of monarchy, the king is bound not to himself alone, as Hobbes insists, but to his subjects. Their oath of allegiance to him is reciprocated by his coronation oath, in which he assumes the obligation to uphold the customs of the realm.

WHERE AQUINAS CONCEIVES the sovereign prince as one element—the other being established law—in a government which is therefore both absolute and constitutional, Hobbes conceives the sovereign as identical with a government which is wholly absolute. The distinction here implied—between a mixed regime and one that is purely absolute—is more fully discussed in the chapters on CONSTITUTION and MONARCHY. In contrast to both, a republic, or purely constitutional government, substitutes the sovereign office for the sovereign man. It denies the possession of sovereignty to men *except* in their capacity as office-holders.

According to the republican notions of Rousseau, not even government itself has sovereignty except as representing the political community as a whole, which is the sovereign. Sovereignty, he writes, is vested in the government "simply and solely as a commission, an employment in which the rulers, mere officials of the Sovereign, exercise in their own name the power of which it makes them depositaries." Since this power is not theirs except by delegation, it can be limited, modified, or recovered at pleasure, "for the alienation of such a right is incompatible with the nature of the social body, and contrary to the end of association."

The unity of sovereignty is not impaired by the fact that a number of men may share in the exercise of sovereign power, any more than the unity of government is destroyed by its division into separate departments or branches, such as the legislative, executive, and judicial. Since in a republic the government (in all its branches or offices) derives its power and

authority from the constitution (or what Rousseau calls "the fundamental law"), and since it is the people as a whole, not the officials of government, who have the constitutive power, the people are in a sense supreme or sovereign.

Popular sovereignty may mean that the people as a whole govern themselves without the services of magistrates of any sort; but this would be possible only in a very small community. It is questionable whether a people has ever exercised sovereignty in this way in any state of historic importance. Popular sovereignty more usually means what is implied by Aquinas when he conceives the magistrate or ruler as merely the vicegerent of the people. "To order anything to the common good," he writes, "belongs either to the whole people, or to someone who is the vicegerent of the whole people. Hence the making of a law belongs either to the whole people or to a public personage who has the care of the whole people." Similarly, the exercise of coercive force "is vested in the whole people or in some public personage, to whom it belongs to inflict penalties."

The notion of a *public personage*, as Aquinas uses it in these passages, is clearly that of a surrogate for or representative of the whole people. The people as a whole have, in the first instance, the authority and power to perform all the functions of government. Only if for convenience or some other reason they constitute one or more public personages to act in their stead, do individual men exercise sovereignty, and then only as representatives.

Locke's fundamental principle—that "men being . . . by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent"—is another expression of the idea of popular sovereignty. It reappears in the Declaration of Independence in the statement that since governments are instituted by men to secure their fundamental rights, they must derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Hegel objects to the sense "in which men have recently begun to speak of the 'sovereignty of the people'" as "something opposed to the sovereignty existent in the monarch. So op-

posed to the sovereignty of the monarch," he writes, "the sovereignty of the people is one of the confused notions based on the wild idea of the 'people.'" If the sovereignty of the people means nothing more than the sovereignty of the whole state, then, he says, the sovereignty which "is there as the personality of the whole . . . is there, in the real existence adequate to its concept, as the person of the monarch."

But republican writers would reply that the sense in which they speak of the sovereignty of the people cannot be opposed to the sovereignty of government, so long as that government is constitutional, not absolute. When the sovereignty of the people is conceived as the source or basis, not as the actual exercise, of the legitimate powers of government, there is no conflict between these two locations of sovereignty in the state. Yet the supremacy of the government always remains limited by the fact that all its powers are delegated and can be withdrawn or changed at the people's will.

THE QUESTION OF absolute or limited sovereignty and the connected question of unified or divided sovereignty have a different meaning in the case of the relation of governments to one another.

The theory of federal government, discussed in *The Federalist* and in Mill's *Representative Government*, contemplates a division of sovereignty, not as between the people and their government, but as between two distinct governments, to each of which the people grant certain powers. Distinguishing between the government of a national state and the government of a federal union, Madison writes: "Among a people consolidated into one nation . . . supremacy is completely vested in the national legislature. Among communities united for particular purposes, it is vested partly in the general and partly in the municipal legislatures. In the former case, all local authorities are subordinate to the supreme; and may be controlled, directed, or abolished by it at pleasure. In the latter, the local or municipal authorities form distinct and independent portions of the supremacy, no more subject, within their respective spheres, to the general authority than the general authority is subject to them within its own sphere." The federal or general and the

state or local governments draw on the same reservoir of popular sovereignty, but the sovereignty which each derives from that source is limited by the definition of matters reserved to the jurisdiction of the other.

The fundamental difference between the condition of states in a federation and the condition of colonial dependencies or subject peoples is that imperial government, unlike federal government, claims an unlimited sovereignty. The issues of imperialism which arise from the exercise of such power are discussed in the chapters on TYRANNY and SLAVERY.

The one remaining situation is that of independent governments, the governments of separate states associated with one another only by treaties or alliances, or at most in the kind of loose hegemony or league represented by the Greek confederacies or the American *Articles of Confederation*. In this situation, the word "sovereignty" applied to independent governments signifies supremacy, not in the sense of their having the authority and power to command, but in the opposite sense of *not being subject to any political superior*.

This radical difference in meaning is explicitly formulated in Hegel's distinction between internal and external sovereignty.

After stating the conditions of the sovereignty of the state in relation to its own people, Hegel says, "This is the sovereignty of the state at home. Sovereignty has another side, *i.e.*, sovereignty *vis-à-vis* foreign states." The state's individuality resides in its awareness of its own existence "as a unit in sharp distinction from others"; and in this individuality Hegel finds the state's autonomy, which he thinks is "the most fundamental freedom which a people possesses as well as its highest dignity."

But from the fact that "every state is sovereign and autonomous against its neighbors," it also follows, according to Hegel, that such sovereigns "are in a state of nature in relation to each other." It is this state of nature which Hobbes had earlier described as a state of war. Precisely because independent states have absolute sovereignty in relation to one another, "they live in the condition of perpetual war, and upon the confines of battle, with their frontiers armed, and cannons planted against their neighbors round about."

In their relation to one another they are, writes Kant, like "lawless savages." Following Rousseau, he thinks it is fitting that the state "viewed in relation to other peoples" should be called "a power." Unlike sovereign governments which unite authority with power in their domestic jurisdiction, sovereign states in their external relations can exert force alone upon each other. When their interests conflict, each yields only to superior force or to the threat of it. A fuller discussion of these matters will be found in the chapters on LAW, STATE, and WAR AND PEACE.

AS ALREADY INDICATED in several places, the materials covered in this chapter necessarily demand a study of many related chapters dealing with political topics. This is peculiarly true of the problems concerning the forms of government. Separate chapters are devoted to each of the traditionally recognized forms, *viz.*, ARISTOCRACY, DEMOCRACY, MONARCHY, OLIGARCHY, TYRANNY. Each of these chapters defines a particular form, distinguishes it from others, and compares their merits. In addition, the chapter on CONSTITUTION deals with what is perhaps the most fundamental of all distinctions in forms of government, that between a republic and a despotism, or between government by laws and government by men.

Here, then, it is necessary only to treat generally of the issues raised by the classification and comparison of diverse forms of government. They can be summarized in the following questions.

What are the criteria or marks of good government? Is the goodness of government determined by the end it serves, by the way in which it is instituted, by its efficiency in promoting whatever end it serves? Are such criteria of good government as justice, legitimacy, and efficiency, independent or interchangeable?

What is the nature of bad government? Can a distinction be made between the abuses or weakness to which good government is subject in actual operation, and government which is essentially bad because perverse or corrupt in principle as well as practice?

Are there several forms of good government? Of bad government? How are they differentiated from one another? Are all good forms

equally good, all bad forms equally bad? If not, what is the principle in terms of which some order of desirability or undesirability is established? For example, is one good form of government better than another, one bad form worse than another, in terms of degrees of justice and injustice, or in terms of efficiency and inefficiency? To put this question in another way, is one form of good government better than another because it achieves a better result or merely because it achieves the same result more completely?

If there are several distinct forms of good government, are there one or more ways in which these can be combined to effect a composite or mixed form? If a mixed form is comparable with the pure forms it unites, is it superior to all, to some, to none of them? On what grounds? In what circumstances?

While proposing what they consider to be the ideal form of government, some political philosophers admit that the ideal may not be realizable under existing circumstances or with men as they are. Plato, for example, recognizes that the state he outlines in the *Republic* may not be practicable; and in the *Laws* he proposes institutions of government which represent for him something less than the ideal but which may be more achievable. The Athenian Stranger says of the state described in the *Republic* that, "whether it is possible or not, no man, acting upon any other principle, will ever constitute a state which will be truer or better or more exalted in virtue." The state which he is discussing in the *Laws* "takes the second place." He refers to "a third best" which, far from being even the practicable ideal, may be merely the best form of government which now actually exists.

Aristotle also sets down the various ways in which forms of government can be judged and compared. We may consider, he writes, "of what sort a government must be to be most in accordance with our aspirations, if there were no external impediment," but we must also consider "what kind of government is adapted to particular states." In addition, Aristotle thinks it is necessary "to know the form of government which is best suited to states in general" as well as "to say how a state may be constituted under any given conditions."

Most important of all, it is necessary to know "not only what form of government is best, but also what is possible." Though "political writers have excellent ideas," Aristotle thinks they "are often impractical." Since "the best is often unattainable," the true legislator "ought to be acquainted not only with what is best in the abstract, but also with what is best relative to circumstances."

Both Montesquieu and Mill later apply this basic distinction between the best form of government considered absolutely or in the abstract, and the best form relative to particular historic circumstances. Among these are a people's economic condition, level of culture, political experience, geography, climate, and racial characteristics. Montesquieu, for example, thinks that government by law, absolutely considered, is better than despotic government, yet he also holds that despotic government is better for certain peoples. Mill thinks that the institutions of a representative democracy represent the ideal form of government, but he acknowledges that absolute monarchy may be better for a rude or uncivilized people who have not yet advanced far from barbarism.

The great question here is whether the circumstances themselves can be improved so that a people may become fit or ready for a better form of government, and ultimately for the best that is attainable, that is, the form relative to the best possible conditions. Since Montesquieu emphasizes what he considers to be fixed racial characteristics, such as the servility of the Asiatics, whereas Mill stresses conditions which are remediable by education, economic progress, and social reforms, these two writers tend to give opposite answers. The issue is more fully discussed in the chapters on DEMOCRACY, MONARCHY, and PROGRESS.

Still other questions remain and should be mentioned here. Are the ideal state and the ideal form of government inseparable, or can one be conceived apart from the other? How shall the ideal government be conceived—in terms of the best that is practicably attainable, given man as he is or can be; or in terms of a perfection which exceeds human attainment and which men can imitate only remotely or imperfectly, if at all? Does divine government, for example, set a model which human govern-

ment should aim to approximate? Is that human government ideal which is most like the divine; or, on the contrary, is the perfection of human government measured by standards drawn from the nature of man and the difficulties involved in the rule of men over men?

THE TRADITIONAL enumeration of the functions of government is threefold: the legislative, the judicial, and the executive. Locke adds what he calls "the federative power," the power of making treaties or alliances, and in general of conducting foreign affairs. It may be questioned whether this function is strictly coordinate with the other three, since foreign, like domestic, affairs may fall within the province of the executive or the legislature, or both, as in the case of the Constitution of the United States.

In our own day, the multiplication of administrative agencies and the development of planning boards have been thought to add a new dimension to the activities of government, but again it may be questioned whether these are not merely supplemental to the functions of making law, applying law to particular cases, and regulating by administrative decree those matters which fall outside the domain of enforceable law. The executive branch of government seems the most difficult to define, because it involves both law enforcement and the administration of matters not covered by legislative enactment or judicial decision.

If the threefold division of the functions of government is exhaustive, the question remains how these distinct activities shall be related to one another, and by whom they shall be performed. In an absolute monarchy, in

which the king *is* the government, all powers are in the hands of one man. Though he may delegate his powers to others, they act only as his deputies or agents, not as independent officials. This does not obliterate the theoretical distinction between legislation, adjudication, and execution, but in this situation there can be no practical separation of the three powers, certainly no legal system of checks and balances.

It is the separation of powers, according to Montesquieu, that is the basis of political liberty. "Power should be a check to power," he writes. In a system of separated powers, "the legislative body being composed of two parts, they check one another by the mutual privilege of rejecting. They are both restrained by the executive power, as the executive is by the legislative."

Whether or not Montesquieu is right in attributing this aspect of constitutionalism to the limited monarchy of England in his own day, his argument can be examined apart from history, for it raises the general question whether government by law can be preserved from degenerating into despotic government except by the separation of powers.

For the American Federalists, the system of checks and balances, written into the Constitution, so contrives "the interior structure of the government that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of keeping each other in their proper places." This they consider the prime advantage to be gained from Montesquieu's principle of the separation of powers. The principle itself they hold to be "the sacred maxim of free government."

OUTLINE OF TOPICS

	PAGE
1. The general theory of government	646
1a. The origin and necessity of government: the issue concerning anarchy	
1b. Comparison of political or civil government with ecclesiastical government and with paternal or despotic rule	647
1c. The ends and limits of government: the criteria of legitimacy and justice	648
1d. The elements of government: authority and power, or coercive force; the distinction between <i>de jure</i> and <i>de facto</i> government	648
1e. The attributes of good government	649
1f. The abuses and corruptions to which government is subject	650

1g. The sovereignty of government: the unity and disposition of sovereignty	650
(1) The sovereign person: sovereignty vested in the individual ruler	
(2) The sovereign office: the partition of sovereignty among the offices created by a constitution	651
(3) The sovereign people: the community as the source of governmental sovereignty	
1h. Self-government: expressions of the popular will; elections; voting	652
2. The forms of government: their evaluation and order	
2a. The distinction and comparison of good and bad forms of government	
2b. The combination of different forms of government: the mixed constitution, the mixed regime	653
2c. The absolute and relative evaluation of forms of government: by reference to the nature of man or to historic circumstances	
2d. The influence of different forms of government on the formation of human character	654
2e. The ideal form of government: the distinction between practicable and utopian ideals	
3. The powers, branches, or departments of government: enumerations, definitions, and orderings of these several powers	
3a. The separation and coordination of the several powers: usurpations and infringements by one branch of government upon another	655
3b. The relation of the civil to the military power	
3c. The legislative department of government: the making of law	656
(1) The powers and duties of the legislature	
(2) Legislative institutions and procedures	
3d. The judicial department of government: the application of law	657
(1) The powers and duties of the judiciary	
(2) Judicial institutions and procedures	
3e. The executive department of government: the enforcement of law; administrative decrees	658
(1) The powers and duties of the executive	
(2) Administrative institutions and procedures	
4. The support and the expenditures of government: taxation and budget	659
5. The relation of governments to one another: sovereign princes or states as in a condition of anarchy	
5a. Foreign policy: the making of treaties; the conduct of war and peace	660
5b. The government of dependencies: colonial government; the government of conquered peoples	
5c. The relation of local to national government: the centralization and decentralization of governmental functions	661
5d. Confederation and federal union: the division of jurisdiction between state and federal governments	
6. Historical developments in government: revolution and progress	662

REFERENCES

To find the passages cited, use the numbers in heavy type, which are the volume and page numbers of the passages referred to. For example, in 4 HOMER: *Iliad*, BK II [265-283] 12d, the number 4 is the number of the volume in the set; the number 12d indicates that the passage is in section d of page 12.

PAGE SECTIONS: When the text is printed in one column, the letters a and b refer to the upper and lower halves of the page. For example, in 53 JAMES: *Psychology*, 116a-119b, the passage begins in the upper half of page 116 and ends in the lower half of page 119. When the text is printed in two columns, the letters a and b refer to the upper and lower halves of the left-hand side of the page, the letters c and d to the upper and lower halves of the right-hand side of the page. For example, in 7 PLATO: *Symposium*, 163b-164c, the passage begins in the lower half of the left-hand side of page 163 and ends in the upper half of the right-hand side of page 164.

AUTHOR'S DIVISIONS: One or more of the main divisions of a work (such as PART, BK, CH, SECT) are sometimes included in the reference; line numbers, in brackets, are given in certain cases; e.g., *Iliad*, BK II [265-283] 12d.

BIBLE REFERENCES: The references are to book, chapter, and verse. When the King James and Douay versions differ in title of books or in the numbering of chapters or verses, the King James version is cited first and the Douay, indicated by a (D), follows; e.g., OLD TESTAMENT: *Nehemiah*, 7:45-(D) // *Esdras*, 7:46.

SYMBOLS: The abbreviation "esp" calls the reader's attention to one or more especially relevant parts of a whole reference; "passim" signifies that the topic is discussed intermittently rather than continuously in the work or passage cited.

For additional information concerning the style of the references, see the Explanation of Reference Style; for general guidance in the use of *The Great Ideas*, consult the Preface.

1. The general theory of government

- 7 PLATO: *Republic* 295a-441a,c esp BK II-VIII 310c-416a / *Statesman*, 598b-604b / *Laws*, BK III 663d-677a; BK IV, 679a-c
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK VI, CH 8 [1141^b24-1142^a 12] 390d-391a / *Politics* 445a-548a,c esp BK I, CH 5 447d-448c, BK III, CH I 471b,d-472c, CH 6-13 475d-483a, BK IV, CH I4-16 498b-502a,c
- 12 LUCRETIUS: *Nature of Things*, BK V [1136-1160] 76a-b
- 12 AURELIUS: *Meditations*, BK I, SECT I4 254b-c
- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK II, CH 21 161b-162d; BK IV, CH 4 190d; BK XIX, CH 13-17 519a-523a; CH 21 524a-525a; CH 23-24, 528a-c; CH 26 528d-529a
- 19 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I, Q 96, A 4 512d-513c
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I-II, 84c-104d
- 30 BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 94b-95a
- 31 SPINOZA: *Ethics*, PART IV, PROP 37, SCHOL 2 435b-436a
- 33 PASCAL: *Pensées*, 291-338 225a-233a passim
- 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 16a-c / *Civil Government* 25a-81d esp CH VII, SECT 87-89 44a-d, CH VIII-IX 46c-54d, CH XI, SECT 136 56c-d, CH XV, SECT I71 65a-b, CH XIX, SECT 211 73d-74a
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 78a-b; PART III, 112a-115b; PART IV, 157a-158a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK I 1a-3d
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Political Economy* 367a-385a,c / *Social Contract*, BK III, 406b,d-410a; 423a-424d
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 309a-311c
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 435a-437c; 450a-452a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [7-25] 1a-b
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: PREAMBLE 11a,c
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 31, 104b; NUMBER 45, 147d-148a
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 327b,d-341d
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 364d-365a
- 54 FREUD: *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 780b-781a

1a. The origin and necessity of government: the issue concerning anarchy

- NEW TESTAMENT: *Romans*, 13:1-8 / *I Peter*, 2:13-15
- 5 AESCHYLUS: *Eumenides* [681-710] 88b-c
- 5 SOPHOCLES: *Antigone* [332-372] 134a-b
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK I, 23b-d
- 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK III, 436d-438b

- 7 PLATO: *Protagoras*, 44c-d / *Cruo*, 216b-217d / *Gorgias*, 271b-272b / *Republic*, BK II, 316c-319a / *Laws*, BK III, 663d-667b
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *History of Animals*, BK I, CH I [487^b32-488^a15] 8d-9a / *Ethics*, BK VIII, CH 12 [1162^a16-25] 414c; BK IX, CH 9 [1169^b18-22] 423b / *Politics*, BK I, CH 2 445b-446d esp [1253^a29-39] 446d; BK III, CH 6 [1278^b15-29] 475d-476a
- 12 LUCRETIVS: *Nature of Things*, BK V [1011-1027] 74b-c; [1136-1160] 76a-b
- 12 EPICTETUS: *Discourses*, BK I, CH 23 128c-d
- 12 AURELIUS: *Meditations*, BK IV, SECT 4 264a
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Cato the Younger*, 638b-d
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK III, 51b-c / *Histories*, BK I, 211c-212d
- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK IV, CH 4 190d, BK XII, CH 27 359c-360a,c; BK XIX, CH 14-17 520a-523a; CH 21 524a-525a; CH 23-24, 528a-c
- 19 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I, Q 96, A 4 512d-513c
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 95, A 1 226c-227c
- 21 DANTE: *Divine Comedy*, PURGATORY, VI [76-151] 61c-62c; XVI [85-105] 77d; PARADISE, VIII [115-117] 118a
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 58c-d; 77a; 77c; 84c-87b; 91a-b; 96a-b; PART II, 99a-102a; 104b-d, 109b, 112b-d; 113c; 124c-125a; 131a-c; 159d
- 25 MONTAIGNE: *Essays*, 462c-465c
- 26 SHAKESPEARE: *Henry V*, ACT I, SC II [183-220] 535d-536b
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Troilus and Cressida*, ACT I, SC III [78-134] 109a-c
- 28 HARVEY: *On Animal Generation*, 454a
- 30 BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 20c-d
- 31 SPINOZA: *Ethics*, PART IV, PROP 37, SCHOL 2 435b-436a
- 32 MILTON: *Paradise Lost*, BK VI [169-188] 200a
- 33 PASCAL: *Pensées*, 304 227b-228a; 306 228a; 330 231b-232a
- 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 4c-d, 16a-c / *Civil Government*, CH I, SECT I 25a-c; CH II, SECT 13-CH III, SECT 20 28a-29d; CH VI, SECT 57 36d-37b; SECT 74-76 41b-42a; CH VII, SECT 87-CH X, SECT 132 44a-55b; CH XI, SECT 136 56c-d; CH XV, SECT 171 65a-b; CH XVI, SECT 175 65d; CH XIX, SECT 212 74a-b; SECT 219 75b-c
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART IV 135a-184a
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 214b-217b esp 216b; 261b-262a; 410a-411a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spiru of Laws*, BK I 1a-3d; BK VIII, 52a
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 333b-d / *Political Economy*, 370b / *Social Contract*, BK I, 391b-393c; BK III, 406b,d-407a; 419b; 423a-424a
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 309a-311c
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 91b
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 87a-b
- 42 KANT: *Pure Reason*, 222b-c / *Science of Right*, 433c-434d; 435c-436b; 437c-d; 450d-451c
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [7-25] 1a-b
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: PREAMBLE 11a,c
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 2, 31a-b; NUMBER 4, 36a; NUMBER 15, 63a-d; 65b-c; NUMBER 16 66c-68d passim; NUMBER 18-20 71a-78b passim; NUMBER 38, 121b-122a; NUMBER 51, 163b-c; 164c-d; NUMBER 85, 258d-259a,c
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-268a; 269c; 302d-303a / *Utilitarianism*, 472b-c
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 172d-173a
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, ADDITIONS, 47 124a-b / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 173a-175c; PART II, 262a-c; PART IV, 342c-d
- 49 DARWIN: *Descent of Man*, 310a-c; 321b-c
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, EPILOGUE II, 680b-684a
- 54 FREUD: *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 780b-d
- 1b. Comparison of political or civil government with ecclesiastical government and with paternal or despotic rule
- 5 SOPHOCLES: *Antigone* [631-680] 136c-137a
- 5 EURIPIDES: *Andromache* [464-492] 319b-c
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 107c-108d; BK V, 178a-180a
- 7 PLATO: *Crito*, 217a-c / *Statesman*, 581a-c / *Laws*, BK III 663d-677a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK VIII, CH 10 [1160^b 23-1161^a9] 413a-b / *Politics*, BK I, CH 1-2 445a-446d; CH 3 [1253^b15-22] 447a; CH 5 447d-448c; CH 7 [1255^b16-22] 449b-c; CH 12-13 453d-455a,c; BK III, CH 4 [1277^a33-24] 474c-d, CH 6 [1278^b30-1279^a22] 476a-c; BK VII, CH 2 [1324^b23-41] 528d-529a; CH 3 [1325^a18-13] 529b-d; CH 14 537b-538d
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK I, 1a-2a; 3a-b; BK III, 51b-c; 61c-62a
- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK XIX, CH 13-17 519a-523a
- 19 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I, Q 92, A 1, REP 2 488d-489d; Q 96, A 4 512d-513c
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 109c-111b; 121a; 155b; PART III, 198a-199a; PART IV, 249a; 266a-c
- 30 BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 34a; 101a
- 32 MILTON: *New Forcers of Conscience* 68a-b
- 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 3a-5d; 14b-15a / *Civil Government*, CH I, SECT 2 25c; CH II, SECT 13 28a-b; CH IV 29d-30b; CH VI-VII 36a-46c; CH XIV-XVII 62b-73c
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 214b-217b; 410a-411a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spiru of Laws*, BK I, 3b; BK II, 4a; 7c-9a,c; BK III, 12a-13c; BK IV, 15a-c; BK V, 25d-31b; BK VI, 33a-35a; 36a-37a; BK VII, 50d; BK VIII, 54a-b; BK XIX, 137c-d; BK XXIV, 202b-c; BK XXVI, 214b,d-215a; 218a-b; 218d-219a
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 357a-c / *Political Economy*, 367a-368c; 370a-379b / *Social Contract*, BK I, 387d-388a; 391a; BK III, 415d; 418a-419c; BK IV, 436d [fn 1]

(1. The general theory of government. 1b. Comparison of political or civil government with ecclesiastical government and with paternal or despotic rule.)

- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 348a-351a
 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 194a-197a passim; 299b-304d passim; 412c-d
 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: 1a-3b passim
 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-269c; 271c-272a / *Representative Government*, 339a-341a; 341d-355b; 436b-437a
 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 349 111d-112a; par 355 112d-113a; ADDITIONS, III 134d-135a / *Philosophy of History*, PART I, 211b-213a; PART III, 310a-c; PART IV, 330b-331d
 52 DOSTOEVSKY: *Brothers Karamazov*, BK V, 127b-137c passim
- 1c. The ends and limits of government: the criteria of legitimacy and justice**
- APOCRYPHA: *Rest of Esther*, 13:1-2—(D) OT, *Esther*, 13:1-2
 NEW TESTAMENT: *Matthew*, 22:15-22
 5 SOPHOCLES: *Antigone* 131a-142d
 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 107c-108d
 7 PLATO: *Protagoras*, 44c-d / *Republic*, BK I, 300b-310c; BK VIII 401d-416a / *Statesman*, 598b-604b / *Laws*, BK III, 670c-672c; 673d-674c; BK IV, 681d-682c; BK VI, 707d-708a; 710d-711a
 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK I, CH 2 [1253^a29-39] 446d; BK III, CH 3 [1276^a7-16] 473a; CH 6-7 475d-477a; CH 9-10 477c-479a; BK IV, CH 4 [1292^a30-34] 491d; BK VII, CH 3 [1325^a18-13] 529b-d; CH 14 [1332^b17-41] 537b-d / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 8 [1366^a3-16] 608b-c
 12 AURELIUS: *Meditations*, BK I, SECT 14 254b-c; BK VI, SECT 30 276d-277a
 13 VIRGIL: *Aeneid*, BK VI [851-853] 234a
 14 PLUTARCH: *Tiberius Gracchus*, 678b-d
 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK II, CH 21 161b-162d; BK XIX, CH 13-17 519a-523a; CH 21 524a-525a; CH 23-24, 528a-c; CH 26 528d-529a
 19 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I, Q 92, A 1, REP 2 488d-489d; Q 96, A 4 512d-513c
 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 90, A 1, REP 3 205b-206b; Q 105, A 1 307d-309d; PART II-II, Q 10, A 10 434c-435c; Q 12, A 2 443b-444b
 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 86c-87d; 90a-b; 91a-96b; PART II, 99a; 100c-104d; 111b-117b; 125b-c; 131a-c; 137c-138b; 140a; 142b-c; [149d-150b; 153a-159c; 163b-d; PART III, 167b-c; 171a-172a; 177c-180a; 187b-188a; 191b; 198a-246a, c esp 198a-199a; PART IV, 248a-249b; 273c-d, 274c-d
 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Troilus and Cressida*, ACT I, SC III [78-134] 109a-c
- 29 CERVANTES: *Don Quixote*, PART I, 193a-b; PART II, 352d-353a
 32 MILTON: *Paradise Lost*, BK V [769-799] 192a-b
 33 PASCAL: *Provincial Letters*, 109a / *Pensées*, 332 232a-b
 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 3a-4b; 8c-10d; 11a-21c passim / *Civil Government*, CH I, SECT 3 25d; CH VI, SECT 57 36d-37b; CH VII, SECT 87-94 44a-46c, CH VIII, SECT 99 47c; SECT 107-112 49b-51b; CH IX 53c-54d; CH XI, SECT 136-139 56c-58a; CH XIII, SECT 149 59b-d; SECT 158 61d-62b, CH XIV, SECT 163 63a-b; CH XV, SECT 171 65a-b; CH XVII-XVIII 70c-73c; CH XIX, SECT 221-222 75d-76c; SECT 229 78a
 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 72b-80b; PART IV, 149b-159b
 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 268c-269b
 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK IV, 16a-17a; BK XI, 69c-d; BK XIX, 138c; BK XXIII, 199b-d; BK XXVI, 214b,d-215a; 218a-b; 218d-219a; 221c-222a, 223c
 38 ROUSSEAU: *Political Economy*, 368d-370b; 374a-375b / *Social Contract*, BK I, 388d-389a; 391b-393c; BK II, 396d-398b; 400a; 405a-c; BK III, 406b,d-409a; 419b-c, 423c-424a; 424d
 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK II, 149d-150a; BK V, 348c-d
 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 435a-439a; 445a-c; 450d-452a
 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: 1a-3b
 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: II-III 5a-b
 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S. PREFAMBLE 11a,c; ARTICLE I, SECT 8 [192]-SECT 10 [303] 13a-14a; ARTICLE III, SECT 3 [507-511] 16a; ARTICLE IV, SECT 4 16b-c; AMENDMENTS, I-X 17a-18a; XIII, SECT 1 18c; XIV, SECT 1 18d
 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 1, 30a-b; NUMBER 3, 33b-c; NUMBER 6, 40a-b; NUMBER 8, 45a-b; NUMBER 23, 85a-c; NUMBER 25, 91b-d; NUMBER 30, 102c-d; NUMBER 31, 104b-105c; NUMBER 33, 107b-109a; NUMBER 34, 110a-b, NUMBER 41, 132b-c; 133a; NUMBER 43, 143b-c; NUMBER 44, 144a-145c; NUMBER 45, 147d-148a; NUMBER 51, 164a-165a passim; NUMBER 53, 167d-168b; NUMBER 54, 171b-c; NUMBER 57, 176d-177a
 43 MILL: *Liberty* 267a-323a,c passim, esp 271c-273d / *Representative Government*, 332d-350a; 362c-363a; 380c-382c; 422b
 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 220b; 221d-224a
 54 FREUD: *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 780c-d
- 1d. The elements of government: authority and power, or coercive force; the distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* government**
- 5 AESCHYLUS: *Eumenides* [681-710] 88b-c
 5 SOPHOCLES: *Antigone* [631-680] 136c-137a / *Ajax* [666-676] 148d; [1052-1090] 152a-b
 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK III, 432b-c
 7 PLATO: *Gorgias*, 285a-287b / *Laws*, BK III, 670c-671c; BK IV, 679c-681a

- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK I, CH 2 [1253^a29-39] 446d; CH 6 [1255^a7-25] 448c-d; BK III, CH 3 [1276^a7-16] 473a; CH 15 [[1286^b28-40] 485b; BK V, CH II [1314^a35-1315^b11] 517a-518c; BK VI, CH 8 [1321^b40-1322^a28] 525d-526a; BK VII, CH 2 [1324^b24-39] 528d
- 13 VIRGIL: *Aeneid*, BK VI [851-853] 234a
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Cleomenes*, 659d-660a
- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK II, CH 21 161b-162d; BK IV, CH 4 190d; BK XIX, CH 21 524a-525a; CH 23-24, 528a-c
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 90, A 1, REP 3 205b-206b; A 3 207a-c; Q 95, A 5 233d-234d
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 71d-73a; 89b; 91a-b; PART I-II, 96c-105c esp PART II, 99a-b; 109b-c; 112b-d; 117d; 122b-124b; 131d-132a; 145a-b; 148d-149b; 159d; PART III, 191b; 225c-d; PART IV, 273a-c
- 26 SHAKESPEARE: *Henry V*, ACT I, SC II [183-220] 535d-536b
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Troilus and Cressida*, ACT I, SC III [78-134] 109a-c / *Measure for Measure*, ACT I, SC II [120-127] 176b-c
- 31 SPINOZA: *Ethics*, PART IV, PROP 37, SCHOL 2 435b-436a; PROP 51, SCHOL 439d
- 33 PASCAL: *Pensées*, 294-308 225b-228b; 311 228b; 878 345a-b
- 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 3a-4a; 16a-c / *Civil Government*, CH I, SECT 2-3 25c-d; CH II 25d-28c passim; CH IV, SECT 21 29d; CH VI, SECT 69-71 40a-c; CH VII, SECT 87-89 44a-d; CH VIII, SECT 95-99 46c-47c; CH IX 53c-54d; CH XII, SECT 143-CH XIII, SECT 149 58c-59d; CH XIV 62b-64c passim; CH XV, SECT 171 65a-b; CH XVI-XIX 65d-81d passim, esp CH XIX, SECT 219 75b-c / *Human Understanding*, BK II, CH XXVII, SECT 4-17 229b-232d passim, esp SECT 6 229d, SECT 9 230b
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 261b-262a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK XII, 84b
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Political Economy*, 367b; 370b-372b / *Social Contract*, BK I, 389a-393b; BK II, 396d-397a; BK III, 406b,d-409a; 418a-419c; BK IV, 433a-434b
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 309c-311c; 349a-c
- 42 KANT: *Intro. Metaphysic of Morals*, 389a-b; 392b; 393c
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 2, 31a-b; NUMBER 15, 64b-65d; NUMBER 16 66c-68d passim, esp 67d-68c; NUMBER 20-21, 78a-d; NUMBER 23, 85d-87a passim; NUMBER 27-28, 94d-96c; NUMBER 29, 98c-99b; NUMBER 31, 104b; NUMBER 33, 108d-109a; NUMBER 37, 118d-119a; NUMBER 39, 127a-d; NUMBER 41, 132b-c; NUMBER 43, 141a-142d; NUMBER 44, 145c-147a; NUMBER 59, 182a-b
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-269c / *Representative Government*, 327b,d-332d; 333c-334a; 350b-355b; 362c-363a; 429a-c / *Utilitarianism*, 472b-c
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 209-213 69d-71a; par 230-237 75c-76c; par 278 92c-93a
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, EPILOGUE II, 680b-688a
- 52 DOSTOEVSKY: *Brothers Karamazov*, BK V, 127b-137c passim

1e. The attributes of good government

- 5 EURIPIDES: *Suppliants* [399-456] 261d-262b
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 107c-108d
- 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK IV, 342a-350a / *Statesman*, 598b-604b / *Laws*, BK IV, 681b-682c; BK VIII, 733b-734a esp 733d-734a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK II, CH I [1103^b2-6] 349a; BK VIII, CH IO-II 412c-413d / *Politics*, BK II, CH 2 [1261^a23-36] 456a-b; CH 9 [1269^a29-33] 465b-c; BK III, CH 6 [1279^a17]-CH 7 [1279^b10] 476c-477a; BK VI, CH 4 [1318^b21-1319^a3] 522b-c; BK VII, CH 2 [1324^a24-25] 528b; CH 14 [1332^b12-41] 537b-d
- 12 AURELIUS: *Meditations*, BK I, SECT 14 254b-c
- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK II, CH 21 161b-162d; BK IV, CH 3-4 190a-d; BK XIX, CH 24 528b-c
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 95, A 4, ANS 229b-230c; Q 105, A 1, ANS 307d-309d
- 23 MACHIAVELLI: *Prince*, CH XII, 18a
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 101a-104d; 112b-d; 153a-159c
- 29 CERVANTES: *Don Quixote*, PART I, 193a; PART II, 331a-336a; 352d-353a
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH IX, SECT 131 54d; CH XI, SECT 134-CH XII, SECT 143 55b-58d; CH XIII, SECT 158-CH XIV, SECT 168 61d-64c; CH XVII, SECT 205 72a-c
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 74a-76b; 78a-b
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 216b
- 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 268c-269b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK I, 3b-d; BK VI, 39b; BK XI, 69a-75a; BK XII, 84b,d-85c; BK XIII, 96a-b; BK XIX, 135d-136a; 138a-c; BK XXIII, 199b-c; BK XXVI, 214b,d; BK XXIX, 262a
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 323a-328a,c; 360b-c / *Political Economy*, 368c-372b; 375b-c / *Social Contract*, BK III, 411c-412c; 417c-418a; 424a-d
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 50a-b
- 42 KANT: *Pure Reason*, 114b-d / *Science of Right*, 408c-409c; 438d-439a; 450b-452a / *Judgment*, 586a-587a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [7-23] 1a-b
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 1, 30a-b; NUMBER 22, 84c-d; NUMBER 23 85a-87a; NUMBER 30, 101b-c; NUMBER 31, 104b; NUMBER 37, 118d-119b; NUMBER 39, 125a-126b; NUMBER 41, 132b-c; NUMBER 45, 147d-148a; NUMBER 47 153c-156d; NUMBER 57, 176d-177a; 177d-178a; NUMBER 62, 190c; NUMBER 68, 206b-c; NUMBER 70, 210c-d; NUMBER 71, 215b; NUMBER 78, 232d-233c; NUMBER 83, 250d-251a

(1. *The general theory of government. 1e. The attributes of good government.*)

- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 272d-273d; 322a-323a,c / *Representative Government*, 332d-350a; 356d-357a; 362c-370a; 380c-382c; 387c-d; 436b-437a; 439b-c
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 182c-d; 204b-c
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, ADDITIONS, 165 145a-b / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 174a-175c; PART I, 208b-c; PART II, 275a-b; 276a; PART IV, 342a-343a
- 47 GOETHE: *Faust*, PART II [10,252-259] 249b-250a
- 1f. *The abuses and corruptions to which government is subject*
- OLD TESTAMENT: *I Samuel*, 8:3-20—(D) *I Kings*, 8:3-20
- 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK III, 436d-437d
- 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK VIII-IX 401d-427b / *Laws*, BK IV, 681d-682c
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK II, CH 7 [1266^b36-1267^b10] 462c-463b, BK III, CH 15 [1286^a31-^b8] 484c-d, CH 16 [1287^a1-^b8] 485b-486a; BK V, CH 2-3 503b-505b; CH 8 [1308^b31-1309^a32] 511a-c passim; CH 12 [1316^a1-^b27] 518d-519d / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 4 [1360^a17-29] 600c
- 15 TACITUS: *Histories*, BK II, 224d-225a
- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK XIX, CH 6 514b-515a
- 21 DANTE: *Divine Comedy*, HELL, VI [58-75] 9a; XXVII [19-54] 39d-40a, PURGATORY, VI [76-151] 61c-62c; XVI [58-126] 77c-78a; PARADISE, XVI 130a-132a
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 78b-d, PART II, 100a-c; 104b-d; 116c-d; 148c-153a; 164a,c; PART IV, 273a-b; CONCLUSION, 279a-c
- 25 MONTAIGNE: *Essays*, 381b-d; 384b-c
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Measure for Measure* 174a-204d
- 32 MILTON: *Lord Gen. Fairfax* 68b-69a / *Samson Agonistes* [237-276] 344b-345b / *Areopagitica*, 412b
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH XI, SECT 138 57b-c; CH XIII, SECT 149 59b-d; CH XVIII, SECT 199-201 71a-c
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART I, 11b; 15b-16b; 28b-29a; PART II, 74a-76b; PART III, 120a; PART IV, 152b-154a; 157a-158a
- 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 100d-101a; 268c-269b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK VI, 39c; BK VIII, 51a-55c; BK XI, 69a-c; BK XXVIII, 259b
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 360b-361c / *Political Economy*, 372b-373a / *Social Contract*, BK III, 433a-434b
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK II, 148b-c; 149d-150a
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 35a; 521d; 622d-623a
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 307a-c; 586c-587b
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 435a-441d esp 435c 436b, 437c-d, 438d-441d; 450a-c
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER IO 49c-53a passim. NUMBER 15, 65c-66a; NUMBER 16, 68c-d; NUMBER 22, 82c-83d; NUMBER 28 96c-98b passim; NUMBER 37, 120d-121a; NUMBER 41, 132b-c; NUMBER 51 162d-165a passim; NUMBER 62, 190a-b; NUMBER 66, 201d-202a
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-269c / *Representative Government*, 328d-330c; 350d-351a; 362c-370a; 376a-c; 387c-d
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 120a-c; 178b-c; 195c-d; 261c-d; 374b-c
- 47 GOETHE *Faust*, PART II [4772-4811] 118b-119b; [10,242-284] 249b-250b
- 52 DOSTOEVSKY: *Brothers Karamazov*, BK V, 127b-137c passim
- 1g. *The sovereignty of government: the unity and disposition of sovereignty*
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK III, CH 6 [1278^b9-14] 475d; CH 7 476c-477a; CH IO 478d-479a / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 8 [1365^b27-1366^a2] 608a-b
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 90, A 3 207a-c
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 97c-98a,c; PART II, 100c-105c, 112b-c; 114b-c; 116c-d; 117b-d; 122b-124b; 130d; 131d-132a; 148b; 150b; 151a-152a; 153b; 159c; PART III, 228b
- 32 MILTON: *Paradise Lost*, BK V [769-799] 192a-b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK IX, 58b,d-60a
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 323d / *Political Economy*, 368c-369a / *Social Contract*, BK I, 392a-393b; BK II, 395a-398b; BK III, 406b,d-409a; 420d; BK IV, 423a-424b
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 24b,d-28b passim, esp 28a-b; 521b
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 435a-b; 437c-d; 438b-c; 439a-441d; 450d-451b; 452a-d
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: II 5a-b
- 43 FEDERALIST. NUMBER 9, 48b-49c esp 49b; NUMBER 15, 63d-66b; NUMBER 16-20 66c-78b esp NUMBER 20, 78a-b; NUMBER 32 105c-107b passim, esp 105d; NUMBER 33, 108d-109a; NUMBER 39, 126b-128b; NUMBER 42, 138c; NUMBER 44, 146d-147a; NUMBER 62, 189c-d; NUMBER 81, 240d-241a; NUMBER 82, 242b-c
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 331c-332d; 355b-356b
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 276 92b; par 279 93a-94d; par 285 96b; par 321-322 106c-107a; ADDITIONS, 168 145c-d; 178 147d-148a; 187 149b / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 355c-d; 365a
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, EPILOGUE II, 680b-684a
- 1g(1) *The sovereign person: sovereignty vested in the individual ruler*
- OLD TESTAMENT: *I Samuel*, 8:4-20—(D) *I Kings*, 8:4-20

- 4 HOMER: *Iliad*, BK II [188-206] 12a
- 5 SOPHOCLES: *Antigone* [631-765] 136c-137d
- 5 EURIPIDES: *Suppliants* [429-456] 262a-b / *Andromache* [464-492] 319b-c
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK I, 23b-24b; BK III, 107c-108c
- 7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK IV, 679c-681a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK III, CH IO [1281^a29-38] 479a; CH I4 [1285^b29]-CH I7 [1288^a34] 484a-487a, BK IV, CH IO 495a-b
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK I, 1a-2a; 3a-b
- 19 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I, Q 96, A 4 512d-513c; Q IO3, A 3 530a-c
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 90, A I, REP 3 205b-206b; A 3 207a-c; Q 96, A 5, ANS and REP 3 233d-234d; Q IO5, A I 307d-309d
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 71d-73a; 74b-c; 97c-d; PART II, 100c-106d; 113d-114b; 130b-d; 131d-132a; 149d-150a; 153a-158a
- 30 BACON: *New Atlantis*, 208a-c
- 32 MILTON: *Paradise Lost*, BK I [587-612] 106a-b; BK II [1-42] 111a-112a; BK VI [169-188] 200a
- 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 14b-d / *Civil Government*, CH I, SECT I 25a-c; CH II 25d-28c; CH VI, SECT 53 36b-c, CH VII, SECT 90-94 44d-46c; CH XIX, SECT 232-239 78c-81b
- 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 268c-269b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK I, 3b; BK II, 4a; 7c-d; 8d-9a,c; BK III, 12b-13c; BK V, 26d-27b; 30a-c; BK VI, 36a-b; BK XII, 94c
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 323d / *Social Contract*, BK III, 406b,d-407a
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 24b,d-28b passim, esp 26b-27d; 51a-d
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 74c-d, 320d-321a
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 437c-d; 439a-441d; 445a-c; 450a-b; 450d-452a
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-268a / *Representative Government*, 341d-344a
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 120a-c
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 275 92a-b; par 279 93a-94d; par 320 106c; ADDITIONS, 167 145c / *Philosophy of History*, PART III, 300a-301c; PART IV, 325a-b; 342a-343a; 355c-d; 365c-366b
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK I, EPIDIOQUE II, 680b-684a
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH IX, SECT 127-131 54a-d; CH XI, SECT 134 55b-d; CH XIII 59b-62b passim; CH XIV, SECT 163-166 63a-64a
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 71a-76b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK XI, 69d-75a
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Social Contract*, BK II, 395a-d; BK III, 419b
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 1a-b; 25a-28a passim, esp 28a
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 564a-b
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 436b-c; 444c-445a
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I-III 11a-16a
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 22, 84c-d; NUMBER 39, 125c-d; NUMBER 47-51 153c-165a; NUMBER 53, 167d-168b; NUMBER 64, 197a-b
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 355b-356b; 362c-363a; 401d-402b
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 269 84d; par 271 89c; ADDITIONS, 161 143a-b / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 342b-d; 368c-d
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK VI, 238c-243d
- 1g(3) The sovereign people: the community as the source of governmental sovereignty
- OLD TESTAMENT: *Judges*, 8:22-23 / *I Samuel*, 8-(D) *I Kings*, 8 / *II Samuel*, 2:4-(D) *II Kings*, 2:4 / *I Kings*, 12:1-20-(D) *III Kings*, 12 1-20
- APOCRYPHA: *I Maccabees*, 14:25-47-(D) OT, *I Machabees*, 14:25-47
- 5 EURIPIDES: *Suppliants* [429-456] 262a-b
- 5 ARISTOPHANES: *Knights* 470a-487a, cesp [1316-1408] 486a-487a,c
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 107c-108c
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK II, CH 9 [1270^b20-22] 466d; BK III, CH I [1275^a22-21] 472a-c; CH 3 [1276^a40-31] 473b; CH 7 476c-477a; CH II 479b-480c; CH 17 486c-487a; BK IV, CH 4 [1291^b30-1292^a37] 491a-d; CH 9 [1294^b34-39] 494d; CH 12 496d-497b; CH 14 498b-499c
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Tiberius Gracchus*, 678b-d
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 90, A 3 207a-c
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 100c-102c; PART III, 200a-b
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH IV, SECT 21 29d; CH VII, SECT 87-94 44a-46c; CH VIII 46c-53c passim; CH IX, SECT 127-CH X, SECT 132 54a-55b; CH XI, SECT 141 58a-b; CH XIII, SECT 149 59b-d; CH XIV, SECT 163-168 63a-64c; CH XV, SECT 171 65a-b; CH XVI, SECT 179-184 66d-68d; SECT 190-192 69b-d; CH XVII, SECT 198 70d-71a; CH XIX 73d-81d passim, esp SECT 240-243 81b-d
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 4a-6b; BK XV, 109c
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 323d / *Social Contract*, BK I, 391b-393b; BK II, 395b-c; 396d-398a; 400a; 401a-c; BK III, 406b,d-410a; 420a-421c; 423a-424b
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 100d; 241b
- 7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK VI, 697a-705c
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK II, CH 2 [1261^a23-26] 456a-b; BK III, CH I [1275^a22-21] 472a-c; CH II [1282^a25-21] 480a-c; CH 16 [1287^a11-7] 485c-486a; BK IV, CH 3 [1290^a3-13] 489a; CH 4 [1292^a30-37] 491d; CH 15 499c-501c; BK VI, CH 8 525b-526d
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Lycurgus*, 34d-35d / *Tiberius Gracchus*, 678b-d
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 153a-159c

(1g. *The sovereignty of government: the unity and disposition of sovereignty.* 1g(3) *The sovereign people: the community as the source of governmental sovereignty.*)

- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 436c; 437c-d; 439a-441d; 450a-b; 450d-452a esp 451c-452a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [1-25]1a-b; [43-47] 2a
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: PREAMBLE 11a,c; AMENDMENTS, IX-X 17d-18a
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 22, 84d-85a; NUMBER 33, 108b-c; NUMBER 39 125a-128b; NUMBER 46, 150b-c; NUMBER 49, 159c; NUMBER 53, 167d-168b; NUMBER 84, 252b-c
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-269c / *Representative Government*, 341d-350a passim, esp 344d; 355b-356b; 380c-382c; 386d-393a esp 387c-d
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 279 93a-94d; par 308 102c-103a / *Philosophy of History*, PART II, 272b-273a; PART III, 300a-301c; PART IV, 365c-366b
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, EPILOGUE II, 680b-684a
- 1b. Self-government: expressions of the popular will; elections; voting**
- OLD TESTAMENT: *Judges*, 21:24
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK II, CH 6 [1266^a5-30] 461c-d; CH 9 [1270^b7-34] 466d-467a; [1271^a9-17] 467b; CH 12 [1273^b36-1274^a22] 470c-d; BK III, CH II 479b-480c; BK IV, CH 14 498b-499c; BK VI, CH 2-3 520d-522a / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 8 [1365^b32-33] 608a
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Lycurgus*, 34d-35c / *Coriolanus*, 180b-d / *Tiberius Gracchus*, 676b-681a,c
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 90, A 3, ANS 207a-c
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Coriolanus* 351a-392a,c esp ACT II, SC II-III 364a-369a
- 32 MILTON: *Sonnets*, XII 65a-b
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH VIII, SECT 95-99 46c-47c, CH XIII, SECT 154 60c-d; CH XIX, SECT 216 74d; SECT 222 75d-76c
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 73b-74b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 4a-6b; BK XI, 71a-c, BK XIX, 142a-d
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 324c-325b / *Social Contract*, BK I, 393a-b; BK II, 396b-d; BK IV, 425a-432b
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 241b-c; 521a-523a,c passim
- 41 GIBBON *Decline and Fall*, 73b, 562c-564b; 587a
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 436d-437c; 451c-452a
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: PREAMBLE 11a,c; ARTICLE I, SECT 2 [5-10] 11b; SECT 2 [17]-SECT 3 [66] 11b-12a; SECT 4 [96-102], SECT 5 [107-109] 12b; ARTICLE II, SECT I [321-374] 14b-d; AMENDMENTS, XII 18a-c; XVII 19b-c
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 39, 125a-b; NUMBER 49-50 159b-162c; NUMBER 51, 164d-165a; NUMBER 52-61 165a-188d passim; NUMBER 68 205b-207a; NUMBER 84, 252b-c
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 268d-269a / *Representative Government*, 370a-406a
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 308-311 102c-104a / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 172d-173a
- 2. The forms of government: their evaluation and order**
- 2a. The distinction and comparison of good and bad forms of government**
- 5 EURIPIDES: *Suppliants* [399-456] 261d-262b
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 107c-108c
- 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK II, 396c-d; BK III, 432b-c; BK VI, 520b-c; BK VIII, 587a-b
- 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK I, 301c-d; BK VIII-IX, 401d-421a / *Statesman*, 598b-604b / *Laws*, BK III 663d-677a esp 669d-672a, 672c; BK IV, 679c-682c; BK V, 692c-693a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK VIII, CH 10-II 412c-413d / *Politics*, BK III, CH I [1275^a35-^b2] 472b, CH 6-7 475d-477a; CH II [1282^b8-14] 480c; CH 15 [1286^b5-7] 484d; BK IV, CH I-10 487a-495b / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 8 608a-c
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Lycurgus-Numa* 61b,d-64a,c / *Dion*, 800c
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK III, 51b; BK IV, 72a-b
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 95, A 4, ANS 229b-230c; Q 105, A 1, ANS 307d-309d
- 23 MACHIAVELLI *Prince*, CH I 3a-b
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 104b-109a esp 104d-105a; 114b-115a; 129b-130a; 150c-151a; 154b-c, 158b-c; PART III, 228b, PART IV, 273a-b
- 35 LOCKE *Civil Government*, CH VII, SECT 90-91 44d-45c; CH X, SECT 132 55a-b
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 78a-b
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 216b
- 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 268c-269b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU. *Spirit of Laws*, BK II-III 4a-13d; BK IV, 15a-c; BK V, 25d-31b; BK VI, 33a-35a; 37d-38b; BK VIII, 54a-b; BK XI, 69a-c; BK XV, 109a-b; BK XIX, 145d
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 359a-b / *Social Contract*, BK III, 410b-415b
- 42 KANT: *Pure Reason*, 113b-115a / *Science of Right*, 439c-440a; 441b-c; 450a-452a / *Judgment*, 586a-587a
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 10, 51c-52d; NUMBER 14, 60b-61a; NUMBER 22, 83b-d; NUMBER 39, 125a-126b; NUMBER 48, 157c
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 332d-355b
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 195c-d; 260b; 390a-b
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 273 90c-92a / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 203b-206a,c

2b. The combination of different forms of government: the mixed constitution, the mixed regime

- 5 AESCHYLUS: *Suppliant Maidens* [359-422] 5b-6b; [600-624] 8d-9a
 5 EURIPIDES: *Suppliants* [339-358] 261b-c
 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK IV, 152d-153b
 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK VIII, 590a-b
 7 PLATO: *Statesman*, 598b-604b / *Laws*, BK III, 667a-676b; BK IV, 680d-681a; BK VI, 699d-700b
 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK II, CH 6 [1265^b26-1266^a4] 461b-c; CH II [1272^b23]-CH 12 [1274^a13] 469b-470d; BK III, CH 15-16 484b-486c esp CH 15 [1286^b31]-CH 16 [1287^a8] 485b-c; BK IV, CH 8-9 493c-494d, CH II-12 495b-497b; BK V, CH 7 [1307^a5-28] 509a-b; CH 8 [1308^b10-1309^a32] 510d-511c; CH II [1313^a18-33] 515d-516a / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 8 [1365^b39-1366^a2] 608b
 14 PLUTARCH: *Lycurgus*, 34b-35d / *Dion*, 800c-d
 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK III, 59d; BK IV, 72a; BK VI, 97b
 20 AQUINAS *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 95, A 4, ANS 229b-230c; Q 105, A 1, ANS 307d-309d
 23 MACHIAVELLI: *Prince*, CH IV 7a-8a; CH XIX, 27a-b; 29c-d
 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 103d-104b; 106d-107c, 151c-152a; PART III, 228a-b
 35 LOCKE *Civil Government*, CH VII, SECT 94 46a-c, CH X, SECT 132 55a-b; CH XI 55b-58b; CH XIII-XIV 59b-64c passim; CH XVIII, SECT 199-206 71a-72c; CH XIX 73d-81d passim, esp SECT 213 74b-c
 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 216b
 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 266d
 38 MONTESQUIEU. *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 7c-8c; BK III, 11c-12b; 13c; BK VI, 36a-b; BK IX, 58b,d-60a; BK XI 68b,d-84d; BK XIX, 142a-146a,c
 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 357b-c / *Social Contract*, BK III, 410c; 414d-415b; BK IV, 427a-428a
 40 GIBBON. *Decline and Fall*, 24b; 26d-28b; 622d-623a; 630b,d-631a
 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 71d; 81c-d; 218c-219a; 403b-d esp 403c, 404c-d, 428a
 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 439c-440a; 441b-c; 450a-452a
 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 39, 125c; NUMBER 43, 141a-d; NUMBER 47, 154a-c; NUMBER 69 207a-210c passim; NUMBER 70, 213b-c; NUMBER 71, 216a-b; NUMBER 84, 252b-c
 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-268c / *Representative Government*, 343c-344a; 351a-c; 353d-354b, 355b-356b; 401d-402b
 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 178a-b; 255a-d; 390a-b
 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, PAR 273 90c-92a; PAR 275-286 92a-97a; ADDITIONS, 170-172 145d-146d / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 368c-d
 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK VI, 238c-243d

2c. The absolute and relative evaluation of forms of government: by reference to the nature of man or to historic circumstances

- OLD TESTAMENT: *I Samuel*, 8—(D) *I Kings*, 8
 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 107c-108d; 120b-c; BK V, 178a-180a; BK VII, 233a-c
 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK VIII, 587a-b; 590a-b
 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK III-IV, 339b-356a; BK VIII-IX 401d-427b / *Laws*, BK III 663d-677a; BK IX, 754a-b
 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK I, CH 12 453d-454a; BK III, CH 15 [1286^b8-22] 484d-485a; CH 17 486c-487a; BK IV, CH I 487a-488b; CH 2 [1289^b13-20] 488c-d; CH 12 496d-497b
 14 PLUTARCH: *Phocion*, 605a-d
 15 TACITUS: *Historiae*, BK I, 193c
 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 104b-d; 105c-106b; 129b-130a
 25 MONTAIGNE: *Essays*, 46d
 26 SHAKESPEARE. *Julius Caesar*, ACT I, SC I-II 568b,d-572c
 27 SHAKESPEARE. *Coriolanus*, ACT III, SC I [131-161] 370d-371a
 32 MILTON: *Samson Agonistes* [241-276] 344b-345b
 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH II, SECT 13 28a-b; CH VII, SECT 90-94 44d-46c; CH VIII, SECT 105-112 48c-51b
 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART III, 112a-113a; 118a-121b
 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK I, 3b-c; BK IV, 15c; BK V, 29a-b; BK XIV, 107a-d; BK XVI, 118b-c; BK XVII, 122a-124d; BK XVIII, 125a-c; 126b-c; BK XIX, 135a-b; 135d; 140d-141a
 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 359a-b / *Political Economy*, 371c / *Social Contract*, BK II, 405c-d; BK III, 407c, 409a; 410c; 415b-417c
 40 GIBBON *Decline and Fall*, 32b-34a,c esp 33c; 68b,d-69a; 90d-91d; 513b-c
 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 222d-224a; 320d-321b
 42 KANT: *Pure Reason*, 114b-d / *Science of Right*, 438d-439a; 450b-d
 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. [7-23] 1a-b
 43 FEDERALIST NUMBER 6, 40a-41a, NUMBER 10, 51c-52d; NUMBER 15, 65b-66b; NUMBER 55, 174c-d; NUMBER 85, 257a-c
 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 272a / *Representative Government*, 327b,d-355b passim; 366a-369b; 436b-437a
 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 195c-d
 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, PAR 273-274 90c-92a; ADDITIONS, 165-166 145a-c / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 173c-175c; 203b-206a,c; PART I, 207d-209a; 243b-c; PART II, 271c-d; 273d-274a; PART III, 285b-d; 300a-301c; PART IV, 344a-c
 48 MELVILLE: *Moby Dick*, 107a-b
 52 DOSTOEVSKY: *Brothers Karamazov*, BK V, 127b-137c passim
 54 FREUD: *New Introductory Lectures*, 883d-884c

(2. *The forms of government: their evaluation and order.*)

2d. *The influence of different forms of government on the formation of human character*

- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK V, 175b; BK VII, 232d-233d
- 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK II, 396c-d; BK VIII, 564a-c
- 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK VIII 401d-416a / *Laws*, BK VIII, 733b-734a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK VIII, CH 10-II 412c-413d; BK X, CH 9 434a-436a,c / *Politics*, BK III, CH 4-5 473c-475d; BK IV, CH 7 [1293^b5-6] 493a-b; BK V, CH 9 [1310^a12-35] 512b-c; BK VII, CH 2 [1324^a5-b23] 528a-d; CH 14 [1333^a11-15] 537d-538a
- 10 HIPPOCRATES. *Airs, Waters, Places*, par 16 15d-16a; par 23 18a-c
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Lycurgus* 32a-48d esp 34b-37c / *Numa Pompilius*, 59c-60b / *Lycurgus-Numa* 61b,d-64a,c / *Cleomenes*, 659d-660a
- 25 MONTAIGNE *Essays*, 60c-61d
- 32 MILTON: *Paradise Lost*, BK II [246-257] 116b / *Samson Agonistes* [241-276] 344b-345b / *Areopagitica*, 384b-385b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II-V, 8d-19d; BK V, 26c-27a; BK XIX, 138c-140d, 142a-146a,c
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Political Economy*, 372a-b / *Social Contract*, BK II, 400d-401a
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 23c-24a,c; 79c-d, 91c-92b; 523d-524a
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 161c-162b; 202b-c
- 42 KANT: *Judgement*, 586b-c
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 298d / *Representative Government*, 341d-350a passim
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 273 90c-92a / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 174a-175c; PART III, 285b-d
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, EPILOGUE I, 668a-669d
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Lycurgus* 32a-48d
- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK XIX, CH 21 524a-525a; CH 23-24, 528a-c
- 23 MACHIAVELLI: *Prince*, CH XV, 22b
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 112b-d; 164a,c
- 25 MONTAIGNE. *Essays*, 318c-319b; 462c-465c
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Tempest*, ACT II, SC I [143-168] 532d-533a
- 30 BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 94d-95a / *New Atlantis* 199a-214d
- 32 MILTON: *Areopagitica*, 393a-b
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART I, 28a-31a; PART II, 76b-80b; PART III, 112a-115b; PART IV 135a-184a
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 216b
- 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 268c-269b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK XI, 68b,d-75a
- 38 ROUSSEAU. *Inequality*, 323a-328a,c / *Social Contract*, BK II, 400c-403a; 405a-c; BK III, 410d-411c; 417c-418a; BK IV, 427d
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 68b,d-69a
- 42 KANT: *Pure Reason*, 114b-d / *Science of Right*, 438d-439a; 450b-452a / *Judgement*, 586a-587a
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 6, 40a-41a; NUMBER 16, 68d, NUMBER 38, 122b-124a; NUMBER 41, 132b-c; NUMBER 43, 141d-142d, NUMBER 49, 159d-160a; NUMBER 65, 200b-c; NUMBER 68, 206b-c, NUMBER 85, 257a-c; 258d-259a
- 43 MILL. *Representative Government*, 327b,d-355b esp 341c-d; 368c-370a; 380c-381a; 387c-d
- 46 HEGEL. *Philosophy of Right*, PREF, 6c-d; PART III, par 185 64b-d; par 273 90c-92a / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 173c-175c, PART I, 243b-c; 251b; PART II, 279c-d; PART III, 300c-d; PART IV, 365c-d
- 50 MARK-ENGELS. *Communist Manifesto*, 428d-429c; 432d-433c
- 51 TOLSTOY. *War and Peace*, BK VI, 245a-c
- 52 DOSIOLVSKY: *Brothers Karamazov*, BK V, 131c-d
- 54 FREUD: *New Introductory Lectures*, 883d-884c
3. *The powers, branches, or departments of government: enumerations, definitions, and orderings of these several powers*
- 7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK III, 665d-666c
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK IV, CH 14-16 498b-502a,c / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH I [1354^a13-1355^a3] 593b-594a
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 122b-124b
- 35 LOCKE. *Civil Government*, CH VII, SECT 88-89 44c-d; CH IX 53c-54d; CH XI-XIV 55b-64c
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK XI, 69d-75a
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 301a-357c passim
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 436b-439a
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S. ARTICLE I-III 11a-16a passim
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 37, 119b-d; NUMBER 47-82 153c-244a esp NUMBER 48, 157c-d, NUMBER 64, 197a-b; NUMBER 78, 230b-d
- 5 ARISTOPHANES: *Birds* 542a-563d / *Ecclesiazusae* 615a-628d esp [553-729] 621b-623c
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 107c-108c
- 7 PLATO: *Republic* 295a-441a,c esp BK II-VII 310c-401d / *Timaeus*, 442b-443b / *Statesman*, 598b-604b / *Laws*, BK IV, 681b-d; BK V, 692c-693a; 696a-b; BK VII, 722d-723c; BK IX, 754a-b / *Seventh Letter*, 806b-807b
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK V, CH 7 [1135^a2-4] 382d / *Politics*, BK II, CH I [1260^b28]-CH 9 [1269^a37] 455b,d-465c; BK IV, CH I 487a-488b; CH 2 [1289^a30-35] 488b; CH 7 [1293^b1-21] 493a-b; CH II 495b-496d; BK V, CH 12 [1316^b11-20] 518d-519a; BK VII, CH 4-15 530a-539d
- 12 AURELIUS: *Meditations*, BK IX, SECT 29 294a-b

- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 355b-424c passim
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 272-273 89d-92a; ADDITIONS, 164 144c-145a / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 364d-365a; 365c-d
- 3a. The separation and coordination of the several powers: usurpations and infringements by one branch of government upon another
- 7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK III, 671a-672a; BK IX, 754c-d
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK IV, CH 14-16 498b-502a,c / *Athenian Constitution*, CH 45, par 1 573d
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Solon*, 70d-71c / *Poplicola-Solon*, 86d-87a / *Agesilaus*, 482a-c / *Agis*, 650b-656d / *Cleomenes*, 660b-661a
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK I, 1a-2a, 3a-b; BK IV, 65a-c; BK XI, 101c; BK XIII, 126c-d
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 95, A 1, REP 2-3 226c-227c
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 103d-104a; 150b; 151c-152a
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH II-III 25d-29d passim; CH VII, SECT 90-94 44d-46c; CH VIII, SECT 107 49b-d; CH XII-XIV 58c-64c; CH XVII-XVIII 70c-73c; CH XIX, SECT 212-219 74a-75c
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 6b-8c, BK V, 29a; BK VI, 36a-37b; BK XI 68b,d-84d esp 69d-75a; BK XIX, 142b-143a; BK XXVIII, 259b
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Social Contract*, BK II, 397b-c; BK III, 406d-407a; 410d-411a; 415a-b, 422b-c, 423a; 423d; BK IV, 432b-433a
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 311c-315a,c esp 314d-315a,c
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 24b,d-28b esp 25a-26a, 27a-b; 154a-b; 343c
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 74b-75a; 75d-78b esp 76a; 586c-587a
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 436b; 437d-439a; 440a-441b; 450d-452a esp 451d-452a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [7-79] 1a-2b passim
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: IX [192-197] 7b
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT 2 [45-47] 11d; SECT 3 [81-95] 12a-b; SECT 7 [156-191] 12d-13a; ARTICLE II, SECT 1 [335-374] 14b-d; [383-393] 14d-15a; SECT 2 [421]-SECT 4 [458] 15b-c
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 16, 68b-c; NUMBER 22, 83d-84b; NUMBER 27, 96a-b; NUMBER 47-49 153c-161b; NUMBER 51 162d-165a; NUMBER 52, 165c-167b; NUMBER 62, 189d-191c passim; NUMBER 64-67 195b-205b esp NUMBER 65-66 198a-203a; NUMBER 71, 215a-216b; NUMBER 73 218d-221c; NUMBER 75-77 222d-229d; NUMBER 78, 230a-232a; NUMBER 81, 237d-239c; NUMBER 82, 242d-243a
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 322a-d / *Representative Government*, 350d-351a; 353b-d; 355b-363a; 365b-366a; 401d-402b
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 178b-c; 255d; 411a-b
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 272-273 89d-92a; par 297 99b; par 300 100b; par 302 101a-c; par 312-313 104a-b; ADDITIONS, 163-164 144c-145a; 174 146d-147b; 178-179 147d-148a / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 365c-d
- 3b. The relation of the civil to the military power
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK II, 79a-c
- 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK VII, 551b-d; BK VIII, 582a-583c; 585d-586b; 587a-589a; 590a-c passim
- 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK III-V, 340b-368d
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK III, CH 7 [1279^a37-^b3] 476d; BK IV, CH 13 [1297^b10-28] 497d-498a; BK VI, CH 8 [1322^a29-^b6] 526a-b; BK VII, CH 9 [1329^a2-17] 533b-c
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK I, 6b-15a; BK IV, 64a-b / *Histories*, BK I, 190b-c; 194a-c; 195c-197d esp 197c-d; 210d-212d; BK II, 239c-240a
- 23 MACHIAVELLI: *Prince*, CH XII, 18a; CH XIV 21b-22a
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 103b; 159a-c
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH XII, SECT 145-148 58d-59b; CH XVI 65d-70c
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 80a-b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK V, 30b; 31c-32b; BK XI, 74b-d; BK XIX, 143c
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 361a-b / *Social Contract*, BK III, 424b
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 301a-309a,c esp 307d-308c
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 25d-26d; 30a-b; 42b,d-43b; 50b-51a; 63a-64d; 68c, 76b-77b; 245d-246d esp 246c
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [60-61] 2a; [65-67] 2b; [80-94] 2b-3a
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: VI [107-123] 6b-c; VII 6d; IX [290-298] 8a; [318-365] 8b-d passim
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT 8 [226-242] 13b-c; ARTICLE II, SECT 2 [409-413] 15a; AMENDMENTS, III 17b
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 8, 45b-c; 46a-47a, NUMBER 24-29 87b-101a passim, NUMBER 46, 152b-153a; NUMBER 74, 221c-d
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 409d; 425c-d
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 281d-282a
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 326 107d-108a; par 329 108c; ADDITIONS, 163 144c / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 325a-b
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK III, 138d; 144c; 146d; 153d-155a; BK V, 209a-c; BK IX, 346a-365c passim, esp 353a, 355b, 361b-d; BK X, 404c-405a; BK XII, 533a-537b esp 535d-537b; BK XIII, 565c-566d; BK XIV, 610d-611a; BK XV, 627d-630a

(3. The powers, branches, or departments of government: enumerations, definitions, and orderings of these several powers.)

3c. The legislative department of government: the making of law

- 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK IV, 344a-346a / *Theaetetus*, 531a-b / *Statesman*, 599c-600d / *Laws*, BK III, 666b-c; BK IV, 679c-680d; 684b-686c; BK VI, 705d-706c; BK IX, 745c-746a; 754a-d; BK XI, 782a-b / *Seventh Letter*, 807a-b
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK X, CH 9 434a-436a,c / *Politics*, BK IV, CH 14 498b-499c
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK III, 51b
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 90 205a-208b; Q 91, A 3 209d-210c; Q 92 213c-215a,c; QQ 95-97 226b-239b
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 103a; 130d-131a; 131d-132a; 133d-134a; 151c-152a; PART IV, 273d
- 29 CERVANTES: *Don Quixote*, PART II, 363d-364a
- 30 BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 94d-95b
- 33 PASCAL: *Pensées*, 294 225b-226b
- 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 11b; 16a-c / *Civil Government*, CH VII, SECT 88-89 44c-d; CH IX, SECT 127-CH X, SECT 132 54a-55b; CH XI, SECT 134-CH XII, SECT 143 55b-58d, CH XIII, SECT 150 59d; CH XIX, SECT 212-217 74a-75a
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 73a-74b; 78b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 6b; BK XI, 69d; 71a-72b passim; BK XXIX 262a-269a,c
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 324c-d / *Political Economy*, 368c-369a; 372a-b / *Social Contract*, BK II, 399b-402a; BK III, 419d-420a
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 151b-156a; 616d-617b; 624b-c
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 79d-80b; 96a-d; 108a-c
- 42 KANT: *Intro. Metaphysic of Morals*, 393c / *Science of Right*, 397a-b; 436b-c; 438b-c; 450d-452a esp 451c-452a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [29-47] 1b-2a; [62-64] [72-79] 2b
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT 1-9 11a-14a
- 43 FEDERALIST NUMBER 10, 50d-51b; NUMBER 15, 64b; NUMBER 33, 107d-109b; NUMBER 44, 145c-146d; NUMBER 51, 163c-d; NUMBER 52-66 165a-203a esp NUMBER 53, 167d-168b, NUMBER 64, 197a-b; NUMBER 70, 212b; NUMBER 75, 223a-c; NUMBER 81, 239a-b
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 355b-409c passim
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 255d
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, PAR 211 70a-c; PAR 298-314 99c-104b / *Philosophy of History*, PART II, 271d-272a; PART IV, 364d-365a; 365c-d

3c(1) The powers and duties of the legislature

- 7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK IV, 344a-346a / *Theaetetus*, 531a-b

- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK IV, CH 14 [1298^a4-^b11] 498b-499a
- 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 16a-c / *Civil Government*, CH IV, SECT 21 29d; CH XI, SECT 134-CH XII, SECT 143 55b-58d; CH XIII SECT 150-153 59d-60c; CH XIX, SECT 212-217 74a-75a; SECT 221-222 75d-76c
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART IV, 167a-b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 6b; BK V, 21d-22c; BK XI, 69d-75a
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 25d; 27d-28a; 130c-131a
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 451c-452a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [29-47] 1b-2a
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: IX 7a-9a passim
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT 1-9 11a-14a; ARTICLE II, SECT 2 [421-435] 15b; ARTICLE III, SECT 3 [507]-ARTICLE IV, SECT I [518] 16a; ARTICLE IV, SECT 3-ARTICLE V 16b-c; ARTICLE VI [591-599] 16d; AMENDMENTS, I 17a; XII-XX 18a-20a,c passim
- 43 FEDERALIST NUMBER 23-36 85a-117d passim; NUMBER 41-46 132a-153b passim; NUMBER 52-66 165a-203a passim, esp NUMBER 53, 167d-168b; NUMBER 75, 223a-224a, NUMBER 77, 227b-229b; NUMBER 78, 230d-231c; NUMBER 81, 237d-240b; NUMBER 82 242b-244a passim; NUMBER 83, 244c-245c
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 355b-363a; 365c-366a; 401a-409c passim; 417c-424c; 431a-c
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 255d; 364c-365a; 370a
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, PAR 298 99c; PAR 309-311 103b-104a

3c(2) Legislative institutions and procedures

- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK IV, CH 14 [1298^b12-1299^a2] 499a-c / *Athenian Constitution*, CH 43-44 572d-573d
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Lycurgus*, 34d-35c; 45c-46a / *Solon*, 71b-c
- 15 TACITUS: *Histories*, BK IV, 267d-268c
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH XI, SECT 138 57b-c; CH XII, SECT 147 59a-b; CH XIII, SECT 153-158 60b-62b, CH XIV, SECT 167-168 64a-c; CH XIX, SECT 215 74d
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 73a-74b; PART IV, 167a-b
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 435b-436a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 4a-6b; BK V, 22a-c; BK XI, 71a-d; 72b-d
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Social Contract*, BK III, 423d
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 27d-28a
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 71d-74b passim, esp 71d-72a, 73a-b; 587a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [29-47] 1b-2a; [62-64] [72-79] 2b
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT 1-9 11a-14a; ARTICLE IV, SECT I 16a; ARTICLE V 16c; ARTICLE VI [591-599] 16d; AMEND-

MENTS, XIV, SECT 2 18d-19a; XVII 19b-c; XX, SECT I-2 19d-20a

- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 15, 66a; NUMBER 22, 82a-83a; 84c-d; NUMBER 37, 120d-121a; NUMBER 51, 163c-d; NUMBER 52-66 165a-203a passim
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 355b-362c; 370a-409c passim; 417c-424c; 431c-d
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 176a-b
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, PAR 312-314 104a-b
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK VI, 238c-243d; 260a-262a

3d. The judicial department of government: the application of law

- 5 ARISTOPHANES: *Wasps* 507a-525d
- 7 PLATO: *Statesman*, 605b-c
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK III, CH 16 485b-486c; BK IV, CH 16 501c-502a,c / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 15 619d-622d
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 105, A 2, REP 7 309d-316a
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 103a-b; 123b-d; 132a-136b; 148a
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Measure for Measure* 174a-204d
- 29 CERVANTES: *Don Quixote*, PART II, 332d-333b; 340d-343a; 353b-356d; 361a-d
- 30 BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 94d-95b
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH II, SECT 13 28a-b; CH III, SECT 19-20 29b-d; CH VII, SECT 87-94 44a-46c; CH IX, SECT 125 54a; CH XI, SECT 136 56c-d
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 73b-75a; PART IV, 152b-154a
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 266a-b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 8b-c; BK VI, 33a-35c; BK XI, 69d-70a; 80c-83c; BK XX, 151d
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 309a-315a,c
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 27d-28a
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 438c-d
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE III 15c-16a
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 17, 69d-70a; NUMBER 22, 83d-84b; NUMBER 78-83 229d-251a esp NUMBER 82, 243b, NUMBER 83, 244c-245d
- 43 MILL: *Utilitarianism*, 474d
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, PAR 209-228 69d-75b; ADDITIONS, 141-142 139c-d / *Philosophy of History*, PART I, 250d-251a

3d(1) The powers and duties of the judiciary

- OLD TESTAMENT: *Exodus*, 18:13-26 / *Deuteronomy*, 1:16-17; 16:18-20 / *Ezra*, 7:25-26—(D) *I Esdras*, 7:25-26
- 7 PLATO: *Apology*, 200a-c; 208c-209b / *Statesman*, 605b-c
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH I [1354^a13-1355^a3] 593b-594a; CH 15 619d-622d
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Solon*, 70d-71b

- 18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK XIX, CH 6 514b-515a
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 105, A 2, REP 7 309d-316a; PART III SUPPL, Q 89, A 2 esp REP 3 1006b-1007c
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH IX, SECT 125 54a; CH XI, SECT 136 56c-d
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART II, 73b-75a; PART IV, 152b-154a
- 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 65c-66a; 135c-d
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK II, 8b-c; BK XI, 73b-d
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 91d; 243b; 343a-c
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 94c-95c; 403c-d
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: IX [192-197] 7b
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE III, SECT 2 15c-d; ARTICLE VI [583-590] 16d; AMENDMENTS, IV-VIII 17b-d; XI 18a
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 17, 69d-70a; NUMBER 22, 83d-84b; NUMBER 51, 162d-163a; NUMBER 65, 199a-d; NUMBER 73, 221b-c; NUMBER 78-83 229d-251a esp NUMBER 78, 231b, NUMBER 83, 245b
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 413d-414d; 421d-422c; 430a-431a / *Utilitarianism*, 466d-467a
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 251d-252b
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, PAR 219 72d-73a; PAR 221 73b; PAR 225-226 73d-74b; ADDITIONS, 139 139b; 141-142 139c-d

3d(2) Judicial institutions and procedures

- OLD TESTAMENT: *Exodus*, 18:13-26; 23:1-3,6-9 / *Numbers*, 35:9-34 / *Deuteronomy*, 1:12-17; 17:2-13; 19; 25:1-3 / *I Samuel*, 8:5-6,19-22; 9:15-17—(D) *I Kings*, 8:5-6,19-22; 9:15-17
- NEW TESTAMENT: *Matthew*, 26:46-27:26 / *Acts*, 5:16-40; 21:26-23:24
- 5 AESCHYLUS: *Eumenides* 81a-91d
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK III, 95d-96b
- 7 PLATO: *Apology*, 209b-210b / *Laws*, BK VI, 704c-705c; BK XII, 786b-788c; 792a-793a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK II, CH 8 [1267^b36-1268^a6] 463d; [1268^b5-23] 464c; CH 12 [1273^b36-1274^a21] 470c-d; BK IV, CH 16 501c-502a,c / *Athenian Constitution*, CH 45 573d-574a; CH 48 574d-575b; CH 52-53 576b-577b; CH 57-59 579b-580c; CH 63-69 581d-584a,c / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 15 619d-622d
- 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK II, 30b-c; BK XII, 123b-c; BK XIII, 132c-d
- 20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 105, A 2, REP 7 309d-316a
- 22 CHAUCER: *Physician's Tale* [12,055-146] 368a-369b
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 123b-d
- 24 RABELAIS: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, BK III, 204c-215c
- 26 SHAKESPEARE: *Merchant of Venice*, ACT IV, SC I 425c-430b
- 30 BACON: *Advancement of Learning*, 94d-95b

(3d. The judicial department of government: the application of law. 3d(2) Judicial institutions and procedures.)

- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART I, 37a-b; PART II, 73b-75a; PART IV, 152b-154a
 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 266a-b
 37 FIELDING: *Tom Jones*, 8c-10c; 65c-66a; 135c-d; 176d-177d; 217a-c; 267d-268b
 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spiru of Laws*, BK II, 8b-c; BK VI, 33a-37d; BK XI, 70c-71a; 73b-d
 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 311c-315a,c
 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 243a-245d passim, esp 244d-245b; 251b-d; 617a-618d
 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 73d-74b; 94c-95c; 403c-404d; 458c-d; 586c-d
 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [52-55] 2a; [70-71] 2b
 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: IX [198-274] 7b-8a
 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE III, SECT I 15c; SECT 2 [485-499] 15d; ARTICLE III, SECT 3 [507]-ARTICLE IV, SECT I [518] 16a; ARTICLE IV, SECT 2 [522-528] 16a-b; AMENDMENTS, IV-VIII 17b-d
 43 FEDERALIST. NUMBER 22, 83d-84b; NUMBER 51, 162d-163a; NUMBER 65, 199a-c; NUMBER 78-83 229d-251a passim
 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 336c-d; 337b-c; 413d-414d; 421d-422c
 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 255a-b
 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 223 73c-d / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 326b-c
 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK XII, 547b-d
 52 DOSTOEVSKY: *Brothers Karamazov*, BK IX 235b,d-271d passim; BK XII 348b,d-401d

3e. The executive department of government: the enforcement of law; administrative decrees

- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK IV, CH 15 499c-501c
 35 LOCKE: *Toleration*, 3a / *Civil Government*, CH II, SECT 7-13 26c-28b; CH VII, SECT 88-89 44c-d; CH IX, SECT 126-131 54a-d; CH XII, SECT 144-CH XIV, SECT 168 58d-64c; CH XVII, SECT 203-210 72a-73c; CH XIX, SECT 218-219 75a-c
 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART IV, 157b-158a
 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spiru of Laws*, BK XI, 69d-70a, 72b; 80a-c
 38 ROUSSEAU: *Social Contract*, BK III, 414d-415a; 423a; 424a-b
 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 438a-b
 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE II 14b-15c
 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 15, 64b-66b; NUMBER 16 66c-68d passim; NUMBER 21, 78b-d; NUMBER 27-29, 94d-99b; NUMBER 48, 157c; NUMBER 67-77 203b-229d passim
 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 350d-351a; 356b-359a; 409d-417c
 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 178b-c
 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 287-

297 97a-99b; ADDITIONS, 174 146d-147b / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 325c-d; 364d-365a

3e(1) The powers and duties of the executive

- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 101a-104d; 122b-124b; 130d; 153a-159c
 29 CERVANTES: *Don Quixote*, PART I, 193a; PART II, 331a-336a
 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH II, SECT 10-II 27b-d; CH XII, SECT 144-148 58d-59b, CH XIII, SECT 154-CH XIV, SECT 168 60c-64c; CH XIX, SECT 218-219 75a-c; SFCT 221-222 75d-76c
 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART IV, 157b-158a
 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spiru of Laws*, BK VI, 36a-37a; 43c-d; BK XI, 72b-73b; 73d-74c
 38 ROUSSEAU: *Social Contract*, BK IV, 433a-434b
 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 319b-320a
 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 25d-26a; 26d-27c; 243b
 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 586d
 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 448a-b
 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [28-61] 1b-2a
 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: IX [299-310] 8b; x 9a
 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT 7 [156-191] 12d-13a; ARTICLE II 14b-15c
 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 8, 45b-c; NUMBER 48, 157c; NUMBER 51, 163d; NUMBER 66, 201a-203a, NUMBER 67-77 203b-229d passim
 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 319d-323a,c / *Representative Government*, 356b-359a; 409d-417c; 421c-422c
 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 290-296 97d-99b / *Philosophy of History*, PART IV, 365c-d

3e(2) Administrative institutions and procedures

- OLD TESTAMENT *Daniel*, 6.1-2
 7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK VI, 700d-704c
 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK IV, CH 15 [1299^a31-1300^b4] 500a-501b; BK VI, CH 8 525b-526d / *Athenian Constitution*, CH 43-52 572d-576d; CH 54-61 577c-581b
 15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK I, 22b; BK VI, 88d-89a
 23 MACHIAVELLI: *Prince*, CH XXII-XXIII 33a-34b
 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 122b-123a; 123d
 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spiru of Laws*, BK V, 31b-33a,c; BK XXVI, 224d-225a
 38 ROUSSEAU: *Social Contract*, BK II, 403a-404a
 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 25d-27c passim; 240b-246d; 248d-251a
 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 317d-318b; 563d-564b, 586c-587a
 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: IV [37-44] 5d; IX [299-310] 8b; IX [368]-x [395] 8d-9a
 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE II 14b-15c; AMENDMENTS, XII 18a-c; XX 19d-20a,c
 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 13, 59b-c; NUMBER 66, 201a-203a; NUMBER 67-77 203b-229d passim; NUMBER 84, 255a-b

- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 319d-323a,c / *Representative Government*, 337d-338a; 356b-359a; 364b-366a; 409d-424c passim; 439b-442d
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 290 97d; ADDITIONS, 174 146d-147b / *Philosophy of History*, PART I, 213b-214d

4. The support and the expenditures of government: taxation and budget

- OLD TESTAMENT: *Genesis*, 41:33-36
- APOCRYPHA: I *Maccabees*, 10:25-31—(D) OT, I *Machabees*, 10:25-31
- 5 ARISTOPHANES: *Knights* [790-835] 479c-480b / *Wasps* [655-724] 515c-516d / *Birds* [27-48] 542c-d
- 6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK I, 43c; BK III, 109d-111b
- 6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK I, 373b-c; BK III, 420d-421b
- 7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK XII, 791d
- 9 ARISTOTLE *Politics*, BK I, CH II [1259^a32-36] 453d; BK II, CH 9 [1271^b10-17] 467d; BK VI, CH 5 [1320^a17-^b16] 523d-524b; BK VII, CH 8 [1328^b11-12] 532d / *Athenian Constitution*, CH 47-48 574b-575b / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 4 [1359^b23-33] 600a
- 14 PLUTARCH: *Aristides*, 274c-d / *Marcus Cato*, 285c-d / *Lucullus*, 409b-d / *Cato the Younger*, 625b-626d
- 15 TACITUS *Annals*, BK IV, 82d-83a; BK XIII, 139a-c / *Histories*, BK I, 194d-195a; BK II, 236d-237a; BK IV, 268c-d
- 23 MACHIAVELLI *Prince*, CH XVI, 22d-23b
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 78c-d; PART II, 152a-b; 156c-157a
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Cymbeline*, ACT III, SC I 463c-464c / *Henry VIII*, ACT I, SC II [18-101] 552d-553d
- 30 BACON: *Novum Organum*, BK I, APH 129 134d-135d
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH XI, SECT 140 58a
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART I, 11b-12a; PART II, 75a-b; PART III, 113b-114a
- 36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 485a-487a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK V, 23c-24b; BK XIII 96a-102a,c; BK XIX, 143b-c; BK XXII, 183b-184b
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 365c-366a / *Political Economy*, 368d; 377b-385a,c / *Social Contract*, BK II, 403a-b; BK III, 415b-d
- 39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V 301a-421d
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 41b-c; 65a-68a; 86a; 155d-156a; 162b-c; 249d-250c; 251d-255c; 368a-b; 413a; 577d-578c; 658c-660c
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 177a-b; 315b-317a; 417b-c
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 441d-444c; 451d-452a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [62-69] 2b
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: VIII 6d-7a; IX [286-290] 8a; [311-318] 8b; [350-367] 8c-d passim; XII 9b
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT

- 2 [17-29] 11b; SECT 6 [132-135] 12c; [143-148] 12c-d; SECT 7 [152-155] 12d; SECT 8 [192-212] 13a-b; [226-229] 13b-c; SECT 9 [260-266] [273-277] 13d; [283-288] 13d-14a; SECT 10 [304-315] 14a-b; ARTICLE II, SECT I [394-400] 15a; ARTICLE III, SECT I [463-468] 15c; ARTICLE VI [578-582] 16d; AMENDMENTS, XIV, SECT 4 19a; XVI 19b

- 43 FEDERALIST. NUMBER 7, 43c-44a; NUMBER 12-13, 56d-60a; NUMBER 21, 79b-80c; NUMBER 30-36 101a-117d; NUMBER 41, 135b-c; NUMBER 43, 142d-143a; NUMBER 44, 145b-c; NUMBER 45, 149b-150b; NUMBER 73, 218d-219b; NUMBER 79, 233c-234a; NUMBER 83, 246b-c; NUMBER 84, 253b [fn 1]; 254c-256a
- 43 MILL: *Liberty*, 315c-d / *Representative Government*, 335a-b; 356c-d; 366d-367a; 383b-d / *Utilitarianism*, 473a-c
- 44 BOSWELL: *Johnson*, 281d-282a
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 299 99c-100b; ADDITIONS, 177 147d / *Philosophy of History*, PART I, 226d-227b; 243b; PART III, 299a-c; 310c; PART IV, 324b; 325b-c; 335a-336c; 364d; 365c-d
- 50 MARK: *Capital*, 65c-66a; 375a-b
- 50 MARK-ENGELS: *Communist Manifesto*, 429a
- 51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK IX, 384c-388a,c

5. The relation of governments to one another: sovereign princes or states as in a condition of anarchy

- 7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK XII, 788d-790d
- 9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK III, CH 9 [1280^a35-^b12] 478a-b
- 23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART I, 86a; PART II, 114b-c; 159c
- 27 SHAKESPEARE: *Cymbeline*, ACT III, SC V [1-27] 468d-469b
- 35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH II, SECT 14 28b-c; CH XII, SECT 145 58d-59a / *Human Understanding*, BK I, CH II, SECT 10 106d
- 36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART I, 23a-25b; PART IV, 149b-150b
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK X, 61b,d-62b; BK XXVI, 223c-d
- 38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 355b-c / *Political Economy*, 369a-b
- 40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 433d-435a,c; 520c-521c
- 41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 427b-c
- 42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 435a-b, 449c-458a,c esp 452a-455a, 455c-456a, 457a-458a,c
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [1-6] 1a; [109-119] 3a-b
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: 5a-9d passim
- 43 FEDERALIST: 29a-259a,c
- 43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 417c-442d
- 46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 279, 93d; par 321-360 106c-114a,c; ADDITIONS, 191 150b-c; 194 150c-d / *Philosophy of History*, PART II, 282d-283b; PART IV, 357a-358b

(5. *The relation of governments to one another: sovereign princes or states as in a condition of anarchy.*)

5a. Foreign policy: the making of treaties; the conduct of war and peace

OLD TESTAMENT: *Numbers*, 31 / *Deuteronomy*, 2:26-37; 9:1-4; 20 / *Joshua*, 9—(D) *Josue*, 9 / *II Samuel*, 3:12-21—(D) *II Kings*, 3:12-21 / *I Kings*, 5:1-12—(D) *III Kings*, 5:1-12

APOCRYPHA: *I Maccabees*, 8; 10; 12:1-23; 13:34-41; 14:16-24; 15:1-9, 15-27—(D) OT, *I Machabees*, 8; 10; 12:1-23; 13:34-41; 14:16-24; 15:1-9, 15-27 / *II Maccabees*, 11:16-38—(D) OT, *II Machabees*, 11:16-38

5 EURIPIDES: *Suppliants* 258a-269a,c esp [399-598] 261d-263c

5 ARISTOPHANES: *Acharnians* [61-173] 455d-457b; [497-556] 460d-461c / *Peace* [601-692] 532d-534a / *Lysistrata* 583a-599a,c esp [486-613] 589a-591a, [1072-1321] 596d-599a,c / *Ecclesiazusae* [193-203] 617b

6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK I, 6a-b; 15d-16a; BK IV, 144b-d; BK V, 175b-c, BK VI, 193b; 206b-d, BK VII, 239a-247c passim; BK VIII, 286b-287d; BK IX, 289a-290b, 310d-311a

6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK I, 353d; 360c-d; 368c-d; 371b-372d; 378a-380d; BK III, 418d-420c; 425a-428d; 430c; 432b-c; BK IV, 450d-452d; 457c-d; 461b-463a; 468a-469b; 476a-477a; BK V, 486c-500c; 502d-508a,c esp 504c-508a,c; BK VI, 529b-533a; BK VIII, 568a-c; 572c-573a; 578b-579a

7 PLATO: *Republic*, BK II, 318c-319a / *Critias*, 485a-b / *Laws*, BK III, 667c-668d

9 ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, BK II, CH 6 [1265^a18-27] 460c; CH 7 [1267^a18-21] 462d-463a; BK III, CH 9 [1280^a35-^b12] 478a-b; CH 13 [1284^a38-^b3] 482c; BK VII, CH 2 [1324^a35-1325^a15] 528b-529a; CH 6 531b-d; CH 14 [1333^b10-1334^a10] 538c-d / *Rhetoric*, BK I, CH 4 [1359^b33-1360^a18] 600a-c

13 VIRGIL *Aeneid*, BK XII [172-211] 358b-359b

14 PLUTARCH: *Romulus*, 21a-27c / *Numa Pompilius*, 55c-56a / *Pericles* 121a-141a,c / *Nicias*, 427a-428c / *Aratus*, 834d

15 TACITUS: *Annals*, BK II, 34d-35c / *Histories*, BK IV, 286c-287c

18 AUGUSTINE: *City of God*, BK XIX, CH 7 515a-c

20 AQUINAS: *Summa Theologica*, PART I-II, Q 105, A 3 316a-318b

23 MACHIAVELLI: *Prince*, CH XXI, 32a-d

23 HOBBS: *Leviathan*, PART II, 121b-c; 159c

24 RABELAIS: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, BK I, 36d-38a; BK IV, 276a-d

26 SHAKESPEARE: *Ist Henry VI*, ACT V, SC IV [94-175] 30c-31b / *2nd Henry VI*, ACT I, SC I [1-74] 33b,d-34c / *King John*, ACT II, SC I [416-560] 384a-385c / *2nd Henry IV*, ACT IV, SC II 489d-491b / *Henry V*, ACT V, SC II 563b-567a,c

30 BACON: *New Atlantis*, 204d-205a

35 LOCKE: *Civil Government*, CH V, SECT 45 34d-

35a; CH XII, SECT 145-148 58d-59b; CH XVI 65d-70c passim; CH XIX, SECT 211 73d-74a

36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART I, 21b-25b; PART II, 75a-b; 77b-78b

36 STERNE: *Tristram Shandy*, 354a-355a; 449b-453a

38 MONTESQUIEU: *Spirit of Laws*, BK I, 2d-3b, BK IX-X, 58b,d-62b; BK X, 63d-64a; BK XXVI, 223c-224a

38 ROUSSEAU: *Inequality*, 325c-d; 355c / *Political Economy*, 380a-b / *Social Contract*, BK I, 390a-c; BK II, 403c-404a

39 SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, BK V, 319b-c

40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 4a-b; 83b-85a esp 84d-85a; 95b-96a; 103c-d; 119a-c; 150d-152c; 174d-175b; 378b-d; 402b-404b; 431d-432d; 433d-435a,c; 491d-492b; 495d-496b; 503d-507c esp 504d-506a; 535d-537a,c; 543a-c

41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 48d-49c; 283d-284a; 428a-d; 503a-c

42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 452c-d; 454a-455b

43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. 5a-9d

43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT 8 [201-203] [223-225] 13b, SECT 10 [296-298] 14a; [314-320] 14b; ARTICLE II, SECT 2 [421-435] 15b

43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 4-8 35a-47a; NUMBER 9, 47c-49c; NUMBER 11 53b-56b; NUMBER 15, 64c-65a; NUMBER 16, 66c-68a; NUMBER 22, 80d-81c; 83b-d; NUMBER 24, 88d-89b, NUMBER 25, 89c-91b; NUMBER 34, 110a-111b; NUMBER 41, 132d-133b; NUMBER 42, 136b-138c; NUMBER 43, 142d; 143b-d; NUMBER 44, 144a-145c; NUMBER 62, 190d-191a; NUMBER 63, 191d-192a, NUMBER 64 195b-198a; NUMBER 75 222d-225a passim; NUMBER 80, 235b-236c; NUMBER 81, 240b-c; NUMBER 83, 248b-c; NUMBER 84, 254b-c

43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 428b-433b passim; 434a-436b

46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, PART III, par 321-329 106c-108c; par 332-337 109a-110a; ADDITIONS, 153 141d; 188 149b-c / *Philosophy of History*, PART II, 278c-279b; PART III, 297a-d; 299a-c; PART IV, 343b-c; 357c-358b; 359c-360a

48 MELVILLE: *Moby Dick*, 292a-295a

51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK II, 83d-86a; BK V, 204a-206c; 208d-209a; 232a-234a,c; BK VIII, 307d-309c; BK IX, 344b-355c; BK XIII, 565a-b; 572b; 573d-574a; 582a; BK XV, 629b-630a; EPILOGUE I, 645a-646c; 649c-650b

5b. The government of dependencies: colonial government; the government of conquered peoples

OLD TESTAMENT: *Joshua*, 9 esp 9:18-27—(D) *Josue*, 9 esp 9:18-27 / *I Kings*, 9:20-23—(D) *III Kings*, 9:20-23 / *II Kings*, 23:30-35; 24:12-16; 25:5-30—(D) *IV Kings*, 23:30-35; 24:12-16; 25:5-30 / *II Chronicles*, 8:7-8—(D) *II Paralipomenon*, 8:7-8

- APOCRYPHA: I Maccabees**, 8:1-13—(D) OT,
I Maccabees, 8:1-13 / **II Maccabees**, 5:11-7:42
 —(D) OT, **II Maccabees**, 5:11-7:42
- NEW TESTAMENT Acts**, 16:19-40; 21-28 passim
- 5 AESCHYLUS: Persians** [852-908] 24b-d
- 6 ARISTOPHANES: Lysistrata** [565-586] 590b-d
- 6 HERODOTUS: History**, BK I, 31d-32a; 35c-36a;
 BK III, 109d-111b
- 6 THUCYDIDES: Peloponnesian War**, BK I, 353d;
 368b-369a; BK II, 403c-404a; BK III, 425a-
 428d; BK V, 504c-507c; BK VIII, 579d-580b
- 7 PLATO: Laws**, BK VI, 698c-d
- 9 ARISTOTLE: Politics**, BK III, CH 13 [1284^a36-^b3]
 482c; BK V, CH 7 [1307^b19-24] 509d, BK VII,
 CH 2 [1324^a35-1325^a15] 528b-529a; CH 14
 [1333^b10-1334^a10] 538c-d
- 13 VIRGIL: Aeneid**, BK I [254-296] 110a-111a; BK
 IV [845-853] 233b-234a; BK VIII [714-731]
 278a-b
- 14 PLUTARCH: Lycurgus**, 47d-48c / **Lucullus**,
 409b-410d
- 15 TACITUS: Annals**, BK II, 39d-40c; BK XI,
 104a-c; 106a-d; BK XII, 122a-c; BK XIII,
 139c-140d, BK XV, 162c-163a / **Histories**, BK I,
 191d-192a; BK IV, 290a-d
- 18 AUGUSTINE City of God**, BK I, PREF 129a-d;
 BK IV, CH 14-15 196b-197a; BK V, CH 12 216d-
 219b; CH 17 221b-222a; BK XIX, CH 21, 524c-d
- 23 MACHIAVELLI: Prince**, CH III-VIII 3c-14c; CH
 XX 30a-31c
- 23 HOBBS: Leviathan**, PART II, 106d-107c, 108d-
 109c; 110b-111a; 119a-c; 126d-127a; 131c;
 CONCLUSION, 280b-281a
- 24 RABELAIS: Gargantua and Pantagruel**, BK III,
 131b,d-133b
- 29 CERVANTES: Don Quixote**, PART I, 40d
- 32 MILTON: Samson Agonistes** [241-276] 344b-
 345b
- 35 LOCKE: Toleration**, 13c-d; 14c-15a / **Civil Gov-**
ernment, CH IV, SECT 22-23 30a-b; CH VII,
 SECT 85 43c-d, CH XV, SECT 172 65b-c, CH XVI
 65d-70c passim; CH XIX, SECT 211 73d-74a
- 36 SWIFT: Gulliver**, PART I, 24b-25a; PART IV,
 182b-183a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: Spirit of Laws**, BK X 61b,d-
 68d; BK XI, 83c-84c; BK XV, 109b-c; 110a-d;
 BK XXI, 170c-171d
- 38 ROUSSEAU Political Economy**, 380a-b
- 39 SMITH: Wealth of Nations**, BK IV, 239a-279b
- 40 GIBBON: Decline and Fall**, 14d-15c, 18a;
 26a-c; 134a-b; 245d-246d; 420b-d; 518b-
 519a; 522c-523a,c; 550b-551b; 608b,d;
 624b-c; 632d-633a; 638a-639a
- 41 GIBBON: Decline and Fall**, 65a-c; 216c-d;
 285a-c, 505b-c
- 42 KANT: Science of Right**, 413d; 454a-455a; 456c-
 457a
- 43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: 1a-3b pas-**
sim
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE IV, SECT**
3 [544-550] 16b
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 43, 140d-141a**
- 43 MILL: Liberty**, 272a; 281d-282b [fn 3] / **Rep-**
resentative Government, 339a-341a; 353c; 411b-
 412a; 427a-428a passim; 433b-442d
- 44 BOSWELL: Johnson**, 179c; 364c-365a; 370a;
 511c-d
- 46 HEGEL: Philosophy of History**, PART I, 242d-
 243d; PART III, 299a-c
- 5c. The relation of local to national govern-**
ment: the centralization and decentral-
ization of governmental functions
- 6 THUCYDIDES: Peloponnesian War**, BK II, 391c-
 392a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: Politics**, BK IV, CH 15 [1299^b15-18]
 500b
- 14 PLUTARCH Theseus**, 9a-d
- 23 HOBBS: Leviathan**, PART II, 120d-121a
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: Spirit of Laws**, BK V, 30a-c
- 38 ROUSSEAU: Social Contract**, BK II, 403a-c; BK
 III, 412a-b; 420d-421a
- 39 SMITH: Wealth of Nations**, BK V, 318d-319a;
 420b-d
- 40 GIBBON: Decline and Fall**, 14c; 578b-c
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: ARTICLE I, SECT**
4 12b; ARTICLE IV, SECT 1-2 16a-b
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 1, 30d-31a; NUMBER 3,**
33d-35a; NUMBER 14, 61b-d; NUMBER 17 69a-
70d; NUMBER 28 96c-98b passim; NUMBER 31,
105b-c; NUMBER 32 105c-107b passim; NUM-
BER 34 109b-111d passim; NUMBER 36 114c-
117d passim; NUMBER 39, 126b-128b; NUMBER
43, 141a-d; NUMBER 44, 144a-145c passim;
NUMBER 45, 148b-150b; NUMBER 46 150b-
153b passim; NUMBER 84, 253d-254b
- 43 MILL: Liberty**, 322a-d / **Representative Govern-**
ment, 417c-424c
- 46 HEGEL: Philosophy of Right**, PART III, par 290
 97d; ADDITIONS, 174 146d-147b
- 50 MARX-ENGELS: Communist Manifesto**, 421c-d
- 5d. Confederation and federal union: the di-**
vision of jurisdiction between state and
federal governments
- 6 THUCYDIDES: Peloponnesian War**, BK I, 365a-
 371b
- 7 PLATO: Laws**, BK III, 667c-670a
- 9 ARISTOTLE: Politics**, BK III, CH 9 [1280^a34-^b32]
 478a-c
- 14 PLUTARCH: Philopoemen**, 296a-b / **Aratus**,
 834c-d
- 38 MONTESQUIEU: Spirit of Laws**, BK IX, 58b,d-
 60a
- 39 SMITH: Wealth of Nations**, BK V, 420b-d
- 40 GIBBON: Decline and Fall**, 103c-d
- 41 GIBBON: Decline and Fall**, 218c-219a; 577b-c
- 43 ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION: 5a-9d**
- 43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: 11a-20a,c esp**
ARTICLE VI [583-599] 16d
- 43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 1-30 29a-103c passim,**
esp NUMBER 10, 52b-c, NUMBER 14, 61b-c,
NUMBER 15, 65c-d; NUMBER 31-34, 104c-111d;
NUMBER 36, 115a-117b; NUMBER 37, 119b-

(5. *The relation of governments to one another: sovereign princes or states as in a condition of anarchy. 5d. Confederation and federal union: the division of jurisdiction between state and federal governments.*)

120d; NUMBER 39, 126b-128b; NUMBER 41-46 132a-153b esp NUMBER 46, 150b-c; NUMBER 51, 164a-165a passim; NUMBER 52, 167a-b; NUMBER 59-61 182a-188d passim; NUMBER 62, 189b-d; NUMBER 80, 235a; NUMBER 81, 239c-241a; NUMBER 82 242b-244a; NUMBER 84, 253d-254b; NUMBER 85, 258d-259a,c

43 MILL: *Representative Government*, 427d-433b

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6. *Historical developments in government: revolution and progress*

OLD TESTAMENT: *Exodus*, 18:13-26 / *I Samuel*, 8-(D) / *I Kings*, 8 / *I Kings*, 12:1-25-(D) / *III Kings*, 12:1-25 / *II Chronicles*, 10-(D) / *Paralipomenon*, 10

6 HERODOTUS: *History*, BK I, 12b-14c; 23b-24b; BK III, 107c-108d; BK V, 164d-165a

6 THUCYDIDES: *Peloponnesian War*, BK I, 352c-d; 353c-d; 366d-367a; BK II, 391b-392a; BK III, 434c-438b passim; BK IV, 458d-459c; 463a-465c; BK VI, 523b-525d; BK VIII, 568d-569a; 575c-576c; 577b-d; 579c-583c; 585d-586b; 587a-589a; 590b-c

7 PLATO: *Laws*, BK III 663d-677a

9 ARISTOTLE: *Ethics*, BK X, CH 9 [1181^b12-24] 436c / *Politics*, BK II, CH 8 [1268^b23]-CH 12 [1274^b28] 464d-471d; BK III, CH 14 483a-484a; CH 15 [1286^b8-22] 484d-485a; BK V 502a-519d passim; BK VII, CH 10 [1329^a40-^b36] 533d-534b / *Athenian Constitution*, CH I-41 553a-572a

12 AURELIUS: *Meditations*, BK I, SECT 14 254b-c

13 VIRGIL: *Aeneid*, BK VI [851-853] 234a

14 PLUTARCH: *Theseus*, 9a-10a; 13a-14c / *Lycurgus* 32a-48d / *Lycurgus-Numa*, 63d-64a,c / *Solon* 64b,d-77a,c / *Poplicola*, 80d-82a / *Poplicola-Solon*, 86d-87b / *Agis*, 650b-656d / *Cleomenes*, 659b-660d / *Tiberius Gracchus* 671b,d-681a,c / *Caius Gracchus* 681b,d-689a,c / *Caius and Tiberius Gracchus-Agis and Cleomenes* 689b,d-691a,c / *Dion* 781b,d-802a,c

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162d; BK V, CH 12 216d-219b; CH 21-26 226a-230a,c

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36 SWIFT: *Gulliver*, PART III, 117b-121b

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40 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 24b,d-34a,c esp 24b,d-28b; 50b-51d esp 51c-d; 153c-156a; 240b-255d; 521a-523a,c; 622d-623c

41 GIBBON: *Decline and Fall*, 71d-79d; 199c-202d esp 202a-c; 215c-220a,c esp 217a-b, 218c-219a; 403b-404d; 427b-428a esp 428a; 452d-453a,c; 562b-566c; 574b-582b; 586c-589a

42 KANT: *Science of Right*, 450d-451a; 451d-452a

43 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: 1a-3b

43 CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.: 11a-20a,c

43 FEDERALIST: NUMBER 1, 29a-b; NUMBER 9 47a-49c passim; NUMBER 14, 62a-d; NUMBER 18-20 71a-78b; NUMBER 25, 91b-d; NUMBER 37, 120d-121b; NUMBER 41, 133a-d; NUMBER 52, 165d-167b; NUMBER 70, 211b-d, NUMBER 84, 252b-c

43 MILL: *Liberty*, 267d-272a / *Representative Government*, 367b-c; 434a-436b

46 HEGEL: *Philosophy of Right*, ADDITIONS, 176 147c-d / *Philosophy of History*, INTRO, 174a-175c; 198b-199c; 203b-206a,c; PART I, 207d-208c; PART II, 263a-d; 275b-276a; PART III, 295d-296c; PART IV, 316c-d; 328b-331d; 342a-343a; 355d-357a

50 MARX: *Capital*, 355d-364a esp 356a-357a, 359a-c

50 MARX-ENGELS: *Communist Manifesto*, 420b-d

51 TOLSTOY: *War and Peace*, BK I, 10a-b; BK VI, 238c-243d

CROSS-REFERENCES

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- Other considerations of the issues concerning anarchy, *see* LIBERTY 1b; TYRANNY 3; WAR AND PEACE 1.
- Other discussions of the notion of sovereignty in its various forms or meanings, *see* DEMOCRACY 4b; LAW 6b; LIBERTY 1b, 6c; STATE 2c, 9d; TYRANNY 5c; and for the problems of foreign policy as between sovereign states, *see* JUSTICE 9f; STATE 9e(1)–9e(2); WAR AND PEACE 11c.
- Sovereignty in relation to federal government, and for the idea of world government, *see* STATE 10e–10f; WAR AND PEACE 11d.
- Justice, liberty, and property in relation to government, *see* JUSTICE 1a, 6–6e, 9–9e, 10–10c; LIBERTY 1d, 1f, 1h; WEALTH 7a.
- The relation of the ideal form of government to the ideal state, *see* STATE 2c, 6–6b.
- The abuses or corruption of government, *see* LAW 7d; MONARCHY 4e(3)–4e(4); TYRANNY 1–1c.
- The issues of imperialism in the government of colonies or subject peoples, *see* DEMOCRACY 7b; LIBERTY 6c; MONARCHY 5–5b; REVOLUTION 7; SLAVERY 6d; STATE 10b; TYRANNY 6.
- The analysis of particular forms of government, *see* ARISTOCRACY 1–2c; CONSTITUTION 1–3b, 5–5b; DEMOCRACY 1–4c; MONARCHY 1–1a(2), 4–4e(1), 4e(3)–4e(4); OLIGARCHY 1–2, 4–5; TYRANNY 1–5d; and for the discussion of mixed forms of government, *see* CONSTITUTION 3a–3b; MONARCHY 1b–1b(2).
- The condition of the ruled under diverse forms of government, *see* CITIZEN 2b; LIBERTY 1f; SLAVERY 6a–6b.
- The institutions of self-government, such as representation, elections, voting, *see* ARISTOCRACY 6; CONSTITUTION 9–9b; DEMOCRACY 5a–5b(4).
- The problem of the relativity of the forms of government to the character and circumstances of particular peoples, *see* DEMOCRACY 4d; MONARCHY 4e(2); TYRANNY 4b.
- The general discussion of political revolution and progress, *see* LIBERTY 6b; PROGRESS 4a–4c; REVOLUTION 2a–2c, 3a, 3c–3c(3); and for the consideration of revolution with respect to particular forms of government, *see* ARISTOCRACY 3; CONSTITUTION 8–8b; DEMOCRACY 7a; OLIGARCHY 3–3b; TYRANNY 8.
- Matters relevant to the legislative branch of government, *see* LAW 5d.
- Matters relevant to the judicial branch of government, *see* JUSTICE 10d; LAW 5g; PRUDENCE 6b.
- Matters relevant to the executive branch of government, especially problems of law enforcement and administration, *see* LAW 5a, 6a, 7e; MONARCHY 1b(3).
- Other discussions of the separation of powers and the system of checks and balances, *see* CONSTITUTION 7b; DEMOCRACY 5c; LIBERTY 1g.
- Other discussions of the relation between the civil and military powers, *see* STATE 8d(1), 9c(1); WAR AND PEACE 10–10a.
- The problem of the economic support of government, *see* WEALTH 9e–9e(2).
- The consideration of the art and science of government, *see* EDUCATION 8d; KNOWLEDGE 8c; PRUDENCE 6a; RHETORIC 1c; STATE 8c–8d(3); and for the relation of politics to ethics and economics, *see* PHILOSOPHY 2c; SCIENCE 3a; STATE 8d; WEALTH 9.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

Listed below are works not included in *Great Books of the Western World*, but relevant to the idea and topics with which this chapter deals. These works are divided into two groups:

I. Works by authors represented in this collection.

II. Works by authors not represented in this collection.

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