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Ideal or Totalitarian Society

in Thomas More's *Utopia*

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SUMMARY

Thomas More was one of the most prominent Renaissance humanists, philosophers and politicians. His main occupation was to change and rationalize English society, especially King Henry VIII and English nobility. More's fight against feudal society, King's repression and supremacy of the Anglican Church can best be seen in his *Utopia*. This book contrasts the controversial social life of European states with the perfectly ordered social arrangements of Utopia. Through many unusual obligations and usual customs of people in Utopia, More tried to create a society that would completely oppose English Society in the 16th century. In Utopia, with communal ownership of land, private property does not exist, men and women are educated alike, and there is almost complete religious tolerance. These are only some of the benefits of living in More's country. On the other side, there are also disadvantages of Utopians' life so some take the novel's principal idea to be the social need for order, discipline, and control rather than liberty and democracy. At the end of the book, More himself admits that his initial idea to compose ideal society failed, but his work was not futile. English society praised him, but the King got him incarcerated and executed. Yet, his *Utopia* has been studied and many politicians and scientists find *Utopia* one of the greatest examples of the opposition to absolute monarchy.

KEY WORDS: Thomas More, freedom, utopia, totalitarianism, control, society

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INTRODUCTION

Thomas More's *Utopia* brings a story of ideal country of idyllic political, economical, social, and ethic living conditions. Although in some aspects of living in Utopia no objections can be found, there are still many elements which classify Utopia and Utopians as totalitarian society. The main idea of this paper is to question whether More sees his *Utopia* as a perfect example of ideal society or whether it represents a society of hidden totalitarian pretensions. For many years politicians and historians have tried to achieve the replica of that kind of governmental constitution, without realizing that it would lead to completely different result. By analyzing elements of totalitarian society such as agriculture, social life, politics, strict marriage commitments and difficult women position, it will be proved that no such thing as utopian or ideal society could ever exist. Despite knowing that ideal society is impossible to create, Thomas More eventually wrote *Utopia*, but as a satire in order to mock English society in the 16th century. Nevertheless, More described other, positive, elements of living on the Island, which he considered to be enough to create an illusion of perfect society. Those elements are common property, religion, no funding, and readiness to help each other, love for learning and no war policy. Although at first sight the Utopians had good intentions to create a perfect society, the absurd conditions of living resulted in a totalitarian society and dual nature of Utopian society.

1. THOMAS MORE

Thomas More was born in Milk Street, London on February 7, 1478, the son of Sir John More, a prominent judge. He was educated at St Anthony's School in London. More went on to study at Oxford. During this time, he wrote comedies and studied Greek and Latin literature. One of his first works was an English translation of a Latin biography of the Italian humanist Pico Della Mirandola.

Around 1494, More returned to London to study law, he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1496, and became a barrister in 1501. He was torn between a monastic calling and a life of civil service. While at Lincoln's Inn, he decided to become a monk, living at a nearby monastery and taking part in the monastic life. The prayer, fasting, and penance habits stayed with him for the rest of his life. More's desire for monasticism was finally overcome by his sense of duty to serve his country in the field of politics. He entered Parliament in 1504, and married for the first time in 1504.

One of More's first acts in Parliament had been to urge a decrease in a proposed appropriation for King Henry VII. In revenge, the King had imprisoned More's father and had not released him until a fine was paid and More himself had withdrawn from public life. After the death of the King in 1509, More became active once more. In 1510, he was appointed one of the two undersheriffs of London. In this capacity, he gained a reputation for being impartial, and a patron to the poor. In 1511, More's first wife died in childbirth. More was soon married again, to Dame Alice Owen.

During the next decade, More attracted the attention of King Henry VIII. More was also instrumental in quelling a 1517 London uprising against foreigners. More accompanied the King and court to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In 1518 he became a member of the Privy Council, and was knighted in 1521.

More helped Henry VIII in writing his "Defense of the Seven Sacraments", a repudiation of Luther, and wrote an answer to Luther's reply under a pseudonym. More had garnered Henry's favor, and was made Speaker of the House of Commons in 1523 and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1525. As a Speaker of House of Commons, More helped to establish the parliamentary privilege of free speech. He refused to endorse King Henry VIII's plan to divorce Katherine of Aragon (1527).

Although his work in the law courts was exemplary, his fall came quickly. He resigned in 1532, citing ill health, but the reason was probably his disapproval of Henry VIII's stance toward the church. He refused to attend the coronation of Anne Boleyn in June 1533, a matter which did not escape the King's notice. In 1534 he was one of the people accused of complicity with Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent who opposed Henry VIII's break with Rome, but was not attainted due to protection from the Lords who refused to pass the bill until More's name was off the list of names. In April, 1534, More refused to swear to the Act of Succession and the Oath of Supremacy, and was committed to the Tower of London on April 17. More was found guilty of treason and was beheaded along with Bishop Fisher on July 6, 1535. More's final words on the scaffold were: "The King's good servant, but God's First." More was beatified in 1886 and canonized by the Catholic Church as a saint by Pope Pius XI in 1935.

He was determinant to protect true social equality and build the peace among people and other nations. In his opinion, politics was meant for serving, not ruling: "As a statesman, he was an opponent of preferences and privileges. He was loyal to his civic duties" (Stepanić 8).

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF *UTOPIA*

More's *Utopia* reflects the spirit of the time which Thomas More had lived in and created his works. It echoes political and social problems and concerns of the Renaissance period of English society under the reign of King Henry VIII: "The *Utopia* thus presents one of the best philosophical defenses of the existing theological/political horizon in our literature" (Engeman 133). Since More lived in feudal society, he was a witness of a distinction between lower and higher social classes: "There is one primary source of social evil, and that is economic. Pride is the main factor responsible for economic injustice and for keeping 16th-century Europe from reforming itself" (Gerard and Sterling 76). He pleaded for revocation of private property and egalitarian society in which all social classes would be equal. These ideas were one of the reasons why he wrote *Utopia*.

The second reason is connected with King Henry VIII. When he ascended the throne, he soon began to waste the wealth of the Kingdom, spending it on wars, gifts to the members of nobility and luxury. Soon the country was full of hungry people and they were forced to steal in order to survive. When caught, theft was punished by capital death. In the meantime, higher social classes enjoyed privileges and luxury. In More's vision of perfect society the question of wealth was not an issue. No such thing like hunger ever occurred because Utopians did not worship gold or money only their manual work, harvest and its fruits: "In More's vision of just society, the wealth of the nation did not trickle down, the way it did in Tudor England, if you can imagine such ruthless system. Rather, it was shared, with the spirit of a family sitting down to table together" (Gerard and Sterling 76). More was a humanist so his main concern was the welfare and dignity of the individual and society in which he lived. As individual, he could not do much about it except creating an ideal society to mock the English society and the King. Accordingly, many people consider *Utopia* as a satire which criticizes contemporary European society.

Thirdly, he opposed the Catholic Church although he was its devoted member. Questions of divorce, euthanasia and both married priests and female priests were some of the practices he stood for. Lastly, the fourth reason for writing *Utopia* was More's concern with the redemption of Man: "The Renaissance utopias seem to have some reservation about the Christian tenet that man is originally sinful and the human misery stems from the evil inherent in him. They see the roots of evil in the social set up, and propose to dig those evil roots to destroy them through re-arranging society on new lines" (Sadeq, Shalabi, and Alkurdi 136). He wanted to arrange Utopian institutions and laws in order to control men's sinfulness:

“More was fully aware that Man’s predicament was defined in party by his own nature, but More argued that most elements of this redemption could ultimately be attributed to the fall” (Kenyon, 353). He was trying to improve human behavior by tightening the sinfulness and limiting men’s free will: “More posited in *Utopia* a set of social institutions designed to reduce temptation, limit the available choices, and channels people’s will in requisite position” (Kenyon 358).

Renaissance Utopias had the same goal – to replace pessimism of the Middle Ages by optimism of the New Age: “These Renaissance utopias emphasize the social aspects of the human dilemma. Nature and man recede in the background, and the assumption that a good organization of human and social affairs would make men happy dominates men's mind” (Sadeq, Shalabi, and Alkurdi 135).

1.2 TOTALITARIANISM

The notion of totalitarianism can be defined as “a system of rule, driven by an ideology, that seeks direction of all aspects of public activity, political, economic and social, and uses to that end, at least to a degree, propaganda and terror” (Pleuger 1). Totalitarianism is marked by six features: “an official ideology to which general adherence was demanded, the ideology intended to achieve a ‘perfect final stage of mankind’, a single mass party, hierarchically organized, closely interwoven with the state bureaucracy and typically led by one man, monopolistic control of the armed forces, a similar monopoly of the means of effective mass communication, a system of terrorist police control, central control and direction of the entire economy” (Pleuger 1). It can also be defined as a political system which regulates every aspect of private and public life by political suppression, control over economy, restriction of speech and free will.

As far as *Utopia* is concerned, many of these elements can be spotted. On the one hand, we have a proclamation of work freedom, and pleasure as main goal of an individual. On the other, More allows the existence of slavery which represents the negation of freedom.

Further examples of restrictive forces can be found in travel prohibition, strict penalties for adultery, prohibition of public speech, existence of labor camps, restriction of choices, strict agriculture laws, strong political surveillance, etc. In addition, More occasionally condones the war and asserts that during the war *Utopia* shows no mercy: “*Utopia* is a country which fights ‘dirty’, using subversive methods against opponents and potential colonies, not respecting any principles of international law and custom” (Stepanić 87). Also, there is no room for development of political institutions and the entire society is static and closed.

Totalitarianism is obsessed with unity because all human misfortunes came as a result of division, separation, and difference. According to this fact, totalitarianism usually stands for this statement: “Social improvement could be achieved only when all members of the society had achieved perfection” (Rouvillois 1). So, although *Utopia* maybe does look like More’s perfect “invention”, it is perfection and strictness what makes *Utopia* totalitarian society.

1.3 UTOPIA

Before describing some main features of *Utopia*, here are some basic facts about its name and meaning. More's contemporaries always wondered if *Utopia* represented serious political work about the best polity or whether it was just a satire, allegory or pure joke. The word "utopia" is a compound noun made of two Greek words *ou* which means "no" and *topos* which means "place" so it actually describes a place that does not exist. Those who know this language better will notice that in Greek alphabet there is another similar prefix called *eu* which means "happy" so *u-topia* could be *eu-topia* which describes a happy place or happy country. According to these facts, in the work *Utopia* there is a mixture of eu-topian elements and elements of nonsense or absurdness.

More's *Utopia* is a strange hybrid of genres: "part fantastic travelogue, part philosophical tract, part satire of contemporary English Society, and part vision of ideal and egalitarian society" (Gerard and Sterling 75). There is a desire for release from the corruptions and constraints of the workaday world as well:

It finds expression, moreover, in many of the same forms: the creation of a mock prince and a mock political and legal system; parodies of legal, political, and geographic language and forms; burlesques of social and political customs; satiric attacks upon social abuses; tantalizing correspondences between the "real" world and the feigned; unusual mixtures of seriousness and play; a delight in fantasy and absurdity; a temporary suspension of place and time; disorienting shifts in moral and social values; and a recognition impermanence of "misrule" in a conclusion that returns participants and spectators to the "real world." (Berry 324)

No matter whether *Utopia* is considered to be a serious political work or satiric mockery of European society or even pure representation of totalitarian society, Thomas More had one idea in mind. His dream was to create moral community, good citizens, and intellectually and morally free persons. Also, his desire was to stop laziness, supply each individual with main necessities without any pressure, eliminate luxury and wastefulness, alleviate poverty and fortune, and gain perfection in freedom and upbringing of human spirit. All these achievements could be realized through political institutions by accomplishing the prosperity of state which can be gained by following the next triad: "to satisfy public and private needs through equal distribution of work duty, to leave each person enough free time

for creativity and relaxation, and to enable everyone to have sufficient time for development of someone's intellectual abilities" (Stepanić 52).

But to create such egalitarian society, social mechanism must be introduced: "The entire Utopian system is built on a foundation of strict social control, at the base of which is law" (Berry 333). Nothing would be possible if Utopia did not have strict control and different kind of political and social supervision over every aspect of Utopians' life. Although it is not always possible to determine whether the numerous rules of behavior are enforced by training, custom, or law, nearly all parts of life are controlled: marriage, public administration, religion, suicide, travel, work, dress, domestic relations, and more. Gorman Beauchamp funnily comments on this asserting: "Utopia certainly stands in need of a police force, which, from all indications, would be kept busy peering into people's bedrooms and minds" (288).

2. MORE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND UTOPIA

At the beginning of the book, More gives the short notice about Utopus, the conqueror of Utopia who separated the island from continent and brought the government and civility to the rude inhabitants. More tried to conjure the island's ideal proportions, size and position in order to show Utopia's perfection in each aspect:

The island of Utopia is 200 miles broad in the middle, and over a great part of it, but grows narrower at either end. The figure of it is not unlike a crescent. Eleven miles breadth of sea washeth its horns and formeth a considerable bay, encompassed by a shore about 500 miles in extent, and well sheltered from storms. (More 55-57)

They have many harbors and bays which protect them from strangers and intruders: "On the other side of the island are likewise many harbors; and the coast is so fortified by nature as well as art, that a small force could hinder the descent of a large army" (More 55-57). There are fifty four cities on the island, all large and well built and Utopians do not desire for expanding their boundaries. Laws, manners, and customs are the same in each city and each one has its own agricultural property which is no less than one hundred and forty four square miles long. Their capital city is called Amarout. Every inhabitant of Utopia considers it to be perfect country to live in: "No one desired to enlarge her boundary, for the people consider themselves in the light of good husbands, rather than owners, of their lands" (More 55-57).

3. ELEMENTS OF TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY

Agriculture, trade, farming, social life, slavery, marriage, and politics represent the elements of totalitarian society in More's *Utopia*. In all of these elements, many restrictions, obligations, and ridiculous rules can be found. Although More tried to achieve the best life conditions for Utopians, his attempt resulted in totalitarian system. The most evident proof of totalitarianism is the existence of slavery. Utopians' slaves are not allowed to participate in social life and have no civil rights.

3.1 Agriculture, Trade and Farming

Whether More's reasons to create ideal society were satiric or strictly political, Utopia, as a country, represents more or less hidden totalitarian society. More offers the citizens of his Utopia good order, but little freedom. Although there is no tyrant to control and abuse people, Utopian government takes care of all public and private aspects of Utopian life.

In Utopia everybody is doing the same job, farming, which makes people have no choice but to accept their lifetime occupation. Besides agriculture, every man has to know at least one more particular trade such as manufacture of wool or flax, smith's or carpenter's work. Every person in the community must work for two years on the farms so there is always an ample food supply for the population. Everything is under strict regulations and they know exactly how much supplies each city requires. They have built farm houses all over the island which are all furnished with necessities. There are regulations how to treat cattle and how to organize their farm-houses: "No family in the country hath fewer than forty men and women in it, beside two slaves" (More 57-59). The appearance of Utopian homes is also determined: "The houses had gardens and the towns are well planned and sanitary" (Reynolds 12). The labor is considered to be the greatest virtue: "This policy characterizes a further micromanaging effort of the Utopian economy as labor is one the most fundamental aspects of any economic system" (Marriot). According to this they have little time to do activities which they prefer, like reading, painting, singing, having feasts, etc.

3.2 Social life

Utopians' social life and everyday activities are regulated by the rules and prohibitions which they are to follow. Although Utopians have to work only six hours a day, their free time is restricted. When they are not working, sleeping or eating, they are given a choice of occupations which must not include idleness. Learning and reading Greek literature,

dedication to classical music or playing educational games are what they mostly do in their free time. They must wear the same clothes, regardless of sex: “Throughout the island they wear one sort of clothes, without any other distinction than what is necessary for different sexes and the married and unmarried. The fashion, never changes, is easy and agreeable, suited to the climate and for summer as well as winter” (More 63-64). There are regulations concerning their drinking habits as well; they usually drink wine or water boiled with honey - of course in moderate quantities. They are not allowed to play foolish and mischievous games such as cards or poker so their minds do not get corrupted: “They have no idea of dice, or of any foolish and mischievous game. They have, however, two games not unlike our chess” (More 65).

Each city has its own limited number of inhabitants which is summed up to six thousand inhabitants. In case this number is overdrawn, some people have to move to another city or county which is not so populated. This drastic measure of controlling the number of inhabitants divides families and separates children from their parents or vice versa.

If Utopians want to travel out of their place of residence, they must get a passport or a letter in which date of departure is registered. In addition, they have to name a good reason for leaving their town or village or they will be accused of being a fugitive and punished by slavery.

In such social organization there are no possibilities for being idle: there are no restaurants, public houses, no secret gatherings because everyone is under supervision and forced to do their job.

3.3 Slavery and Marriage

The integral part of Utopian life is slavery. Slaves are considered to be useful workers who are working the entire day. There are three types of slaves: those who committed a terrible crime, then foreign slaves who were sentenced to death, and at last, poor peons from other countries who willingly decided to serve in Utopia. Only this last group has freedom to leave Utopia and their duties, only they have civil rights. Other slaves work in chains and in order to break free they have to behave properly and earn their freedom. They also punish adulterers with a form of slavery: “The slavery of Utopia is for those who break the law and prisoners taken in war, but it seems rather ironic that in a place without property people are held as such by the state” (Marriot).

Yet another regulated facet of Utopian life is marriage. Women are not allowed to marry before they are eighteen and men cannot get married before they are twenty-two. They punish severely those who consume sex before marriage: “Premarital intercourse, if discovered and proved, brings severe punishment on both man and woman and the guilty parties are forbidden to marry for their whole lives” (More 103-106). More, however, introduces this new premarital rule: “More allows the would-be bride and bridegroom to see each other in the nude before deciding to marry, to make sure that none of them has hidden deformities” (Sadeq, Shalabi, and Alkurdi 139). If a couple wants to divorce, they will be able to do that only in case of an adultery or intolerable repulsion, and if Senate approves it.

3.4 Politics

Although Utopian government has few laws, its task is to keep a collective harmony which can be maintained by control measures, as for overpopulation. If one city has more than six thousand inhabitants they move them to less populated town which can cause separation of the families. They also have no lawyers so their right and possibilities to defend themselves are reduced: “For after the parties have opened the merits of the cause without the artifices of lawyers, the judge examines the matter and supports the simplicity of those well-meaning persons whom otherwise the crafty would run down” (More 108-110). The main activity of the government is to control that everybody does what they are supposed to. It acts as a main part of the “Utopian organism” which supervises other lower parts. Also, the government is very strict about leaving the boundaries of Utopia: “If someone decides to leave without permission and is caught they are treated with contempt, brought back as a runaway, and severely punished” (Marriott). Another government’s undercover rule is free right protection: “It is a capital offense to join in reaching private decisions on public business and this seems quite injurious to anyone unlucky enough to be caught discussing and deciding on any open political affairs” (Marriot). So, no men or women in Utopia have a right to freely express themselves, to share their opinion, to oppose some rule or laws when they feel endangered.

4. ELEMENTS OF IDEAL SOCIETY

Common property, no funding, religion, education, and rare war battles are elements of ideal society. Ideas like tolerating every religious belief, avoiding wars and having good relationships with neighboring countries, stressing the importance of education, believing that money and private property cause nothing but evil and disorder, enabled More to represent his struggle for improvement of moral, ethical and political life of all nations and, on the other hand, his fight against feudal system in England.

4.1 Common property

Canceling private property is the most revolutionary and innovative idea in Utopia resulting in the introduction of completely different social system: “All the property is held in common and the Utopians are indifferent to money, gold, silver, and precious stones” (Hollander and Kermode 36). Utopians think that corruption of politics has its roots in the existence of private property which induces people to only look upon their own interests instead of the common good. Private property causes dissatisfaction and fear among those who are afraid of losing it, so the best solution to stop this is establishment of the common property. Equality is the virtue which Utopians are trying to achieve in each aspect of their lives: “Because everyone in Utopia is granted everything equal, there exists no concept of superiority and those elected officials are there to assure that things remain equal” (Wow Essays). Furthermore, women are given some privileges in labor: “As the weaker sex, women practice the lighter crafts, such as working in wool or linen; the heavier jobs are assigned to the men” (Marriot). On the other hand, the abolishment of private property would eliminate respect towards authorities and cause more conflict and bloodbaths among citizens.

4.2 No funding

Private property and the use of money received great attention in More’s *Utopia*: “They were seen to be two of the primary sources of human inequality and misery. Property and money mean power and authority, and are, therefore, corruptive” (Sadeq, Shalabi, and Alkurdi 138). Material wealth is not seen as important: “In fact items such as gold and silver are used to ornament slaves rather than show privilege” (Wow Essays). Utopians see money as an instrument of all evil and they do not use it: “Everyone knows that frauds, thefts, quarrels, contentions, uprisings, murders, betrayals, and poisonings would wither away if money were eradicated. Fear, anxiety, worry, care, toil and sleepless nights would disappear

at the same time as money. Even poverty would vanish if money were gone” (More 79-83). However, it does not mean that they have prevented thefts and frauds for good: “Money is only a medium of exchange by which people can voluntarily exchange amongst themselves for other goods” (Marriot). They mock those who use gold and silver instead of iron, pearls and diamonds are given to children to play with.

4.3 Religion and Education

In Utopia, there is no religious prejudice; everyone is free to choose whom to worship, but they all agree in believing in one divine essence: “There are no images of God in their temples; therefore every one may represent him to his thoughts in his own way” (More 136-140). Only atheism is not considered moral because if a person does not believe in afterlife he or she will not act in accordance with virtue. However, there are also some restrictions concerning religion which are not repulsive: “All forms of religion were respected, but if anyone caused civil disturbance by the violence of his advocacy, he was banished or made slave” (Reynolds 12). They show great respect to the gods of nature for successful harvest and fertile land. Immortality of the soul and happiness of the life after death are hoped for.

The moral code is something which is closely connected with religion. They prefer modesty and humility over pleasure. Self-sacrifice and unselfishness are one of the greatest values. If one is selfish, lascivious, irresponsible, adulterous, and lazy, he or she does not fit into Utopia’s society and God will not show them mercy. Only with hard work and self discipline you will get God’s sympathy: “God will recompense us for surrendering a brief and transitory pleasure here with immense and never-ending joy in heaven” (Marriot). All these positive aspects are a part of Christian morality and doctrine, even in a non-Christian country like Utopia.

Although learning is what they are supposed to do in their free time, it only improves their skills and knowledge. Utopians think that through good education good citizens are to be made and good rulers are to be created. They love knowledge and wisdom and are familiar with logic, philosophy, geometry, music, arithmetic, and even with astrology: “They have also wittily excogitated and devised instruments of divers fashions: wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the moving and situations of the sun, the moon, and of all the other stars, which appear in their horizon” (More 164-167). Special attention is given to education of the youngsters: “Great care was given to the education of the children and of their parents, no distinction being made between the sexes” (Reynolds 12). A great emphasis

is put on people's intellect which distinguishes true from false life pleasures, whether physical or mental. People should know that enjoying in fancy clothes and material prosperity would not give them happiness and joy if they do not savor in prosperity of their mind and improvement of their intellectual abilities.

4.4 Rare war battles

Utopians find war and other military actions unnecessary and childish. They hate using force and violence because this contradicts their moral philosophy. On the other hand, war is considered as an appropriate action if one of the Utopians is murdered outside Utopia's boundaries as well as if other nations are pursuing injustice over Utopian people. If they cannot avoid the war they try to minimize its harm to the state by shorting it by every means available, including treachery, and hiring mercenaries to fight for them: "They are not afraid to do what is morally reprehensible in order to secure a greater good" (Hollander and Kermode 56). If the war eventually breaks out, Utopians cleverly use propaganda against their enemy: they advertise great awards for killing the hostile leaders on enemy territory in order to end the war as quickly as possible without too much bloodshed. Also, they have great supplies of money and gold to bribe the opponents for stopping the outbreak of war. Utopians hate the war glory and if they gain bloody victory, they feel nothing but shame and regret.

CONCLUSION

The considerations of positive and negatives sides of Utopia's society can prove that Utopian society is not as perfect as it seems, no matter how badly Utopians want to be distant from all corruptions and evil of the modern world. Despite great concern for education, morality, equality, religious tolerance, and desire for peace, Utopians live in a country which is full of restrictions and rules that must be followed. Strict family and marriage relationships, no right to express own opinion, no time for own pleasures and activities, strict boundaries, severe punishments for adultery, slavery, constant and absurd supervision are sufficient reasons to regard Utopia as a totalitarian country. There is no room for freedom because a utopian system of regulation controls every aspect of private and public life. Utopia is nowhere to be found and that is what More tried to prove: "So the liberty of democracy becomes for the tyranny of the many in servile state" (Kenyon 369).

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