

The People Are Sovereign: Constitutional Authority to Restore and Maintain the Governing Balance

A documentary record drawn from the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Federalist Papers, the Virginia Declaration of Rights, presidential addresses, and the Supreme Court of the United States

Executive Summary

The American constitutional order rests on a single foundational premise: the people — not governments, not parties, not federal agencies — are the ultimate sovereign authority over the entire system of government. This is not a political opinion. It is the explicit, repeated, and authoritative teaching of the Founders who designed the system, the presidents who swore to preserve it, and the Supreme Court justices who have interpreted it for over two centuries.

Equally foundational is this corollary: the constitutional structure that secures the people's rights depends on a deliberate, maintained balance of power between state and national governments. When that balance erodes, rights erode. And crucially, it is the people themselves — acting through their state governments as a primary instrument — who bear both the right and the responsibility to restore and preserve that balance.

This report assembles the primary source record — founding documents, Federalist Papers, state ratification convention speeches, presidential addresses, and Supreme Court opinions — that establishes these principles as settled constitutional doctrine, not contested theory.

I. The First Principle: The People Are the Sovereign Boss

The Declaration of Independence (1776)

The American founding began not with a government, but with a declaration about the source and limits of all government. The Declaration is not merely a historical prelude; it is the philosophical constitution on which all later governing documents rest.

"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, **to secure these rights,**

governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

"That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the **right of the people to alter or to abolish it**, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

"But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, **it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**"

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. [Full text at the Yale Avalon Project](#)

The ordering here is decisive: rights come first, from the Creator; governments come second, created by the people to secure those rights; and the people retain sovereign authority over the governments they create, including the power to reform or replace them when those governments become destructive of the ends for which they were established.

The Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776)

George Mason drafted the Virginia Declaration of Rights just weeks before Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence — and Jefferson drew heavily from it. Mason stated the foundational principle in the clearest possible terms:

Article II: "That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and **at all times amenable to them.**"

Article III: "That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people... and that, whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, **a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and infeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it**, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."

Virginia Declaration of Rights, June 12, 1776, Articles II and III. [Full text at the Yale Avalon Project](#)

Note Mason's description of elected officials as "trustees and servants" — a direct articulation of the employer-employee relationship between the sovereign people and those they elect to govern. This language was not rhetorical. It defined the constitutional relationship.

The Constitution's Own Preamble

The Constitution opens with three of the most important words in American political history:

"We the People of the United States... do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

U.S. Constitution, Preamble (1787).

James Wilson, a signer of both the Declaration and the Constitution and later a founding Justice of the Supreme Court, explained the significance of these words at the Pennsylvania Ratifying Convention on November 28, 1787:

"The leading principle in politics, and that which pervades the American constitutions, is **that the supreme power resides in the people**; this Constitution, Mr. President, opens with a solemn and practical recognition of that principle: 'WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.' It is announced in their name — it receives its political existence from their authority: they ordain and establish."

"The fee-simple remains in the people at large, and by this Constitution **they do not part with it.**"

James Wilson, Pennsylvania Ratifying Convention, November 28, 1787. [Source at University of Chicago Press](#)

And at the same convention on December 4, 1787, Wilson delivered the definitive statement on where sovereign power resides:

"The truth is, that the supreme, absolute and uncontrollable authority **remains with the people**... the people mean not — and the people ought not — to part with it to any government whatsoever. In their hands it remains secure. They can delegate it in such proportions, to such bodies, on such terms, and under such limitations, as they think proper."

"I view the States as made **for** the people as well as **by** them, and not the people as made for the States. The people, therefore, have a right... to form either a general government, or state governments, in what manner they please."

James Wilson, Pennsylvania Ratifying Convention, December 4, 1787. [Source at University of Chicago Press](#)

II. The Structure That Secures Rights: Dual Sovereignty and Its Purpose

Why Two Governments Instead of One

The Founders did not create a single consolidated national government. They created a compound republic — a constitutionally divided system in which power would be distributed between a national government of limited, enumerated powers and state governments of broad, general authority. This was not an accident of compromise. It was a deliberate structural mechanism for securing liberty.

James Madison explained this structure in **Federalist No. 51**:

"In the compound republic of America, the power surrendered by the people is first divided between two distinct governments, and then the portion allotted to each subdivided among distinct and separate departments. **Hence a double security arises to the rights of the people.** The different governments will control each other, at the same time that each will be controlled by itself."

James Madison, Federalist No. 51 (1788). This passage was later quoted by the Supreme Court in *Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898 (1997).

Federalist No. 45: The States Guard Everyday Liberty

Madison made the scope of state versus federal power explicit in **Federalist No. 45**:

"The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are **few and defined**. Those which are to remain in the State governments are **numerous and indefinite**. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce... **The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people,** and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State."

James Madison, Federalist No. 45 (January 26, 1788). [Full text at Yale Avalon Project](#) and [University of Chicago Press](#)

This passage is not merely historical. It was cited by Chief Justice Roberts in *NFIB v. Sebelius*, 567 U.S. 519 (2012), as authoritative description of the constitutional allocation of powers.

The Tenth Amendment: Reserved Power as a Constitutional Guarantee

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, **or to the people.**"

U.S. Constitution, Amendment X (1791).

The Tenth Amendment did not create state authority — it confirmed it. And critically, it reserved power not only to states but directly to the people themselves, making clear that the constitutional structure was designed to keep sovereign power close to those who are governed.

III. The People's Power to Restore the Balance: The Federalist Papers

Federalist No. 46: Madison's Manual for Restoration

Federalist No. 46 is Madison's most direct statement of the people's power to restore constitutional balance. Writing specifically about what would happen if the national government attempted to exceed its authority, Madison described a structured, escalating mechanism of resistance:

"The ultimate authority, wherever the derivative may be found, **resides in the people alone.**"

"The federal and State governments are in fact but **different agents and trustees of the people**, constituted with different powers, and designed for different purposes."

"The first and most natural attachment of the people will be to the governments of their respective States."

"Every government would espouse the common cause. A correspondence would be opened. **Plans of resistance would be concerted. One spirit would animate and conduct the whole.**"

"The State governments, **with the people on their side**, would be able to repel the danger."

"The existence of subordinate governments, to which the people are attached, and by which the militia officers are appointed, forms **a barrier against the enterprises of ambition, more insurmountable than any which a simple government of any form can admit of.**"

James Madison, Federalist No. 46 (1788). [Full text at Yale Avalon Project](#)

Madison's framework is precisely described: citizens prefer their state governments; state governments serve as organized channels of coordinated resistance; and the combination of the people and their states constitutes an "insurmountable barrier" against federal overreach. This was not a theoretical safety valve. Madison presented it as the natural and expected operation of the constitutional system.

Federalist No. 28: Hamilton's Citizens as Constitutional Balancers

Alexander Hamilton, writing in **Federalist No. 28**, described the dual-government structure as placing ultimate power directly in the citizens' hands — the power to use one level of government to check the other:

"It may safely be received as an axiom in our political system, that the State governments will, in all possible contingencies, afford complete security against invasions of the public liberty by the national authority."

"The people, by throwing themselves into either scale, will infallibly make it preponderate. If their rights are invaded by either, they can make use of the other as the instrument of redress."

"But in a confederacy the people, without exaggeration, **may be said to be entirely the masters of their own fate.**"

"The obstacles to usurpation and the facilities of resistance increase with the increased extent of the state, **provided the citizens understand their rights and are disposed to defend them.**"

"If the representatives of the people betray their constituents, there is then no resource left but in the exertion of **that original right of self-defense which is paramount to all positive forms of government.**"

Alexander Hamilton, Federalist No. 28 (1787). [Full text at Yale Avalon Project](#)

Hamilton's key qualification — "provided the citizens understand their rights and are disposed to defend them" — is an explicit statement that the constitutional protection of liberty is contingent on an informed, engaged citizenry. The structure protects rights only if the people are willing to use it.

Samuel Adams: The Power of an Informed Minority

Samuel Adams — one of the most important voices of the founding generation in mobilizing civic resistance — captured the dynamics of popular sovereignty in action:

"It does not require a majority to prevail, but rather **an irate, tireless minority keen to set brushfires of freedom in the minds of men.**"

Samuel Adams, attributed. [Samuel Adams Heritage Society](#)

IV. Presidential Voices: Popular Sovereignty Across American History

Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address (1801)

Jefferson's first inaugural is the classical presidential statement of constitutional federalism and popular sovereignty in practice. He described the essential principles of American government:

"The support of the State governments in all their rights, as **the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies**; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad."

"A jealous care of the right of election by the people — **a mild and safe corrective of abuses** which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided."

Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801. [Full text at Yale Avalon Project](#) and [Thomas Jefferson Retirement Series, Monticello](#)

Jefferson's phrase "surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies" is a direct statement that state governments are the people's primary constitutional defense against federal overreach. And his description of elections as "a mild and safe corrective of abuses" articulates the civic mechanism by which a self-governing people restores balance without resorting to force.

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address (1863)

Lincoln's most famous speech, delivered at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery on November 19, 1863, is simultaneously a statement of popular sovereignty and a charge to the living to preserve it:

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

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us... that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that **government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.**"

Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863. [Abraham Lincoln Online](#) and [Voices of Democracy, University of Maryland](#)

The phrase "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is the most compact statement of popular sovereignty in American political history. Lincoln's choice to use it at Gettysburg — a moment of national crisis over the very meaning of self-government — was deliberate: the war itself was a test of whether a people truly governed themselves could sustain their system of self-governance.

Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address (1981)

President Reagan delivered the most direct presidential statement of the constitutional relationship between the people, the states, and the federal government in the modern era:

"We are a nation that has a government — not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the Earth. **Our government has no power except that granted it by the people.**"

"It is time to check and reverse the growth of government, which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed. It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and **to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people.**"

"All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government."

Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981. [Ronald Reagan Presidential Library](#) and [Reagan Foundation](#)

Reagan's statement that "the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government" is a precise restatement of the founding constitutional understanding articulated in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) and by Madison in Federalist No. 46 — that the Constitution was ratified by the people acting through their state conventions, not by state governments as independent sovereigns, and certainly not by a pre-existing federal government.

Ronald Reagan, California Inaugural Address (1967)

In his first inaugural as Governor of California, Reagan made the connection between popular sovereignty and constitutional structure with equal clarity:

"Government is the people's business, and every man, woman and child becomes a shareholder with the first penny of tax paid. With all the profound wording of our federal Constitution, **probably the most meaningful words are the first three, 'We, the People.'**"

"We are of the people, we are chosen by the people to see that **no permanent structure of government ever encroaches on the people's freedom** or assumes a power beyond that which has freely been granted to us by the people."

Ronald Reagan, California Inaugural Address, January 5, 1967. [Ronald Reagan Presidential Library](#)

V. The Supreme Court: Constitutional Structure as Liberty's Guardian

The Supreme Court has repeatedly confirmed — across two centuries and across ideological lines — that the people are the source of all governmental power, that the federal structure protects individual liberty, and that neither the states nor the national government may permanently alter this structure without the people's consent.

***McCulloch v. Maryland*, 17 U.S. 316 (1819)**

Chief Justice John Marshall's landmark opinion established that the Constitution derives its authority not from state governments but from the people directly:

"**The government proceeds directly from the people**; is 'ordained and established' in the name of the people; and is declared to be ordained, 'in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and to their posterity.'"

"The people were at perfect liberty to accept or reject it; and **their act was final**. It required not the affirmance, and could not be negated, by the State governments."

"[The federal government] is, **emphatically and truly, a Government of the people**. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefit."

McCulloch v. Maryland, 17 U.S. (4 Wheat.) 316, 404 (1819). [National Archives](#) and [Justia](#)

Marshall's analysis makes the source of constitutional authority clear: it is the people, acting through ratifying conventions — not the state legislatures, not the Congress, not any government. This conclusion has never been successfully challenged.

***Gregory v. Ashcroft*, 501 U.S. 452 (1991)**

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's opinion remains the most comprehensive Supreme Court statement of why federalism exists and what it protects. Writing for the majority, she stated:

"As every schoolchild learns, our Constitution establishes a system of dual sovereignty between the States and the Federal Government."

"This federalist structure of joint sovereigns **preserves to the people numerous advantages**. It assures a decentralized government that will be more sensitive to the diverse needs of a heterogeneous society; it **increases opportunity for citizen involvement in democratic processes**; it allows for more innovation and experimentation in government; and it makes government more responsive by putting the States in competition for a mobile citizenry."

"Perhaps the principal benefit of the federalist system is **a check on abuses of government power**. 'The constitutionally mandated balance of power between the States and the Federal Government was adopted by the Framers to ensure the protection of our fundamental liberties.'"

"Just as the separation and independence of the coordinate Branches of the Federal Government serves to prevent the accumulation of excessive power in any one Branch, **a healthy balance of power between the States and the Federal Government will reduce the risk of tyranny and abuse from either front**."

"**In the tension between federal and state power lies the promise of liberty**."

Gregory v. Ashcroft, 501 U.S. 452, 458–460 (1991). [Justia](#) and [Cornell Law School](#) and [Teaching American History](#)

***New York v. United States*, 505 U.S. 144 (1992)**

Justice O'Connor's opinion in *New York v. United States* established the anti-commandeering doctrine and made a critical clarification about *for whom* the constitutional protection of federalism exists:

"**The Constitution divides authority between federal and state governments for the protection of individuals**. State sovereignty is not just an end in itself: Rather, **federalism secures to citizens the liberties that derive from the diffusion of sovereign power**."

"The Constitution does not protect the sovereignty of States for the benefit of the States or State governments as such — **for the protection of individuals**."

"A departure from the Constitution's plan for the intergovernmental allocation of authority cannot be ratified by the 'consent' of state officials, since **the Constitution protects state sovereignty for the benefit of individuals**, not States or their governments."

New York v. United States, 505 U.S. 144, 181–188 (1992). [Justia](#)

This passage is constitutionally transformative: it confirms that the federal structure is not primarily about protecting government entities, but about protecting *people*. The states are constitutional guardians of individual liberty — trustees, in Mason's language — not independent sovereigns pursuing their own interests.

***Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898 (1997)**

Justice Scalia's majority opinion in *Printz* synthesized the foregoing principles into the most comprehensive Supreme Court statement of how the constitutional structure protects freedom:

"This separation of the two spheres is **one of the Constitution's structural protections of liberty**."

"Although the States surrendered many of their powers to the new Federal Government, **they retained a residuary and inviolable sovereignty** that is reflected throughout the Constitution's text."

"The Constitution protects us from our own best intentions: It divides power among sovereigns and among branches of government precisely so that **we may resist the temptation to concentrate power in one location** as an expedient solution to the crisis of the day."

"A healthy balance of power between the States and the Federal Government **will reduce the risk of tyranny and abuse from either front**."

"Our citizens would have two political capacities, one state and one federal, **each protected from incursion by the other**."

Printz v. United States, 521 U.S. 898 (1997). [Justia](#)

Scalia's observation that the Constitution "protects us from our own best intentions" is a particularly striking formulation: it acknowledges that the structural protections of federalism must hold even when — especially when — those in power believe they are doing good. The temptation to centralize power in pursuit of desirable ends is precisely what the constitutional structure was designed to resist.

***Bond v. United States*, 564 U.S. 211 (2011)**

Justice Kennedy's unanimous opinion confirmed that the individual citizen, not merely the state government, has standing to invoke the constitutional protections of federalism — because those protections exist for the benefit of persons, not governments:

"The federal system rests on what might at first seem a counterintuitive insight, that '**freedom is enhanced by the creation of two governments, not one.**' The Framers concluded that allocation of powers between the National Government and the States enhances freedom, first by protecting the integrity of the governments themselves, and second by **protecting the people, from whom all governmental powers are derived.**"

"Federalism protects the liberty of the individual **from arbitrary power.** By denying any one government complete jurisdiction over all the concerns of public life, federalism protects the liberty of the individual from arbitrary power."

Bond v. United States, 564 U.S. 211, 221–222 (2011). [Cornell Law School](#) and [Ballotpedia](#)

***NFIB v. Sebelius*, 567 U.S. 519 (2012)**

Chief Justice Roberts' opinion in the ACA case — even while upholding the individual mandate — reaffirmed the constitutional baseline with unmistakable clarity:

"In our federal system, **the National Government possesses only limited powers; the States and the people retain the remainder.**"

"State sovereignty is not just an end in itself: Rather, **federalism secures to citizens the liberties that derive from the diffusion of sovereign power.**"

"The Framers thus ensured that powers which 'in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people' were held by governments **more local and more accountable** than a distant federal bureaucracy." (*citing Madison, Federalist No. 45*)

"The independent power of the States also serves as a check on the power of the Federal Government: '**By denying any one government complete jurisdiction over all the concerns of public life, federalism protects the liberty of the individual from arbitrary power.**'"

NFIB v. Sebelius, 567 U.S. 519 (2012). [Justia](#) and [Cornell Law School](#)

VI. The Constitutional Case for Citizen Action to Restore Balance

The Logic of the Founding Framework

Drawing together the foregoing sources, the constitutional case for active citizen engagement in restoring the governing balance can be stated in six propositions, each supported by primary authority:

Proposition	Primary Authority
1. The people are the ultimate sovereign authority over all governments	Declaration of Independence (1776); Virginia Declaration of Rights, Art. II; Wilson, Pa. Convention (1787); <i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i> (1819)
2. Governments are created by the people to secure rights, not to hold power for its own sake	Declaration of Independence; Mason, Virginia Declaration, Art. III; Jefferson, First Inaugural (1801)
3. The constitutional structure divides power between state and national governments specifically to protect individual liberty	Madison, Federalist No. 51; <i>Printz v. United States</i> (1997); <i>Bond v. United States</i> (2011)
4. The states are the primary channel through which the people defend their rights against national overreach	Hamilton, Federalist No. 28; Madison, Federalist No. 46; Jefferson, First Inaugural; <i>Gregory v. Ashcroft</i> (1991)
5. The people bear both the right and the responsibility to reform government when it departs from constitutional limits	Declaration of Independence; Virginia Declaration, Art. III; Hamilton, Federalist No. 28
6. Constitutional protections operate only when citizens understand their rights and exercise them	Hamilton, Federalist No. 28 ("provided the citizens understand their rights and are disposed to defend them"); <i>New York v. United States</i> (1992)

Madison's Precise Mechanism for Restoration

Madison's Federalist No. 46 provides the most detailed constitutional blueprint for how the people — acting through and with their state governments — exercise their sovereign power to check and restore balance. He describes an escalating sequence:

1. **Electoral accountability:** Citizens who are better informed about constitutional limits elect better state officials.
2. **State executive action:** State governments refuse to cooperate with or facilitate unconstitutional federal programs.

3. **Interstate correspondence and coordination:** State governments communicate, concert plans of resistance, and present a unified front.
4. **Popular mobilization:** The people rally behind their state governments, providing the political foundation for resistance.

This mechanism is not revolution. It is the constitutional system operating as designed — the people's sovereignty exercised through institutions they control, at the level of government closest and most accountable to them.

Hamilton's Key Condition

Hamilton's formulation in Federalist No. 28 adds the essential condition that makes the constitutional mechanism work: citizens must **understand** their rights and be **disposed to defend** them. This is why civic education in constitutional principles is not peripheral to the project of constitutional self-government — it is the precondition for it. A people who do not understand the structure of their own government cannot effectively exercise sovereignty over it.

Tocqueville, visiting America in the 1830s, observed the same condition from the outside:

"The sovereignty of the people hovers over the whole political system of the Anglo-Americans. Every page will point out new applications of this doctrine. In nations where the dogma of the sovereignty of the people prevails, each individual forms an equal part of that sovereignty and shares equally the government of the state."

Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Vol. I (1835). Marxists.org edition

The Ongoing Constitutional Obligation

Chief Justice Roberts, writing in *NFIB v. Sebelius*, summarized the perpetual nature of the challenge:

"Nearly two centuries ago, Chief Justice Marshall observed that 'the question respecting the extent of the powers actually granted' to the Federal Government 'is perpetually arising, and will probably continue to arise, as long as our system shall exist.'"

The question of federal-state balance is not one that was settled once and for all. It "perpetually arises." The constitutional structure was designed not for a static resolution but for a dynamic, ongoing process of sovereign self-governance by an engaged people.

VII. Conclusion: The People's Task

The constitutional record assembled here establishes, with the authority of the founders, the presidents, and the Supreme Court, three propositions that together define both the nature of American constitutional government and the responsibility of its citizens:

First, the people are sovereign — the ultimate boss of the entire governing enterprise, state and federal. Governments at every level are their trustees, servants, and employees, accountable to them at all times.

Second, the constitutional structure of dual sovereignty — the carefully balanced division of power between state and national governments — is itself the mechanism that secures the people's rights. When that balance is distorted, rights are placed at risk. The Supreme Court has said this not once but in decision after decision spanning two centuries.

Third, it is the people themselves, acting through their state governments as their primary instrument, who bear the constitutional authority and the civic responsibility to restore and maintain that balance. This is not a conservative or progressive principle. It is the plain teaching of the founders, confirmed by the courts.

Samuel Adams understood what this responsibility requires in practice: not a majority, but an engaged, persistent, informed minority — citizens who understand the system, take their sovereign role seriously, and act on it consistently. Five minutes a week. Every week. Until the structure that secures liberty is restored and maintained for the next generation.

"It does not require a majority to prevail, but rather an irate, tireless minority keen to set brushfires of freedom in the minds of men."

— Samuel Adams

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

— Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

"Our government has no power except that granted it by the people."

— Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address, January 20, 1981

"The ultimate authority, wherever the derivative may be found, resides in the people alone."

— James Madison, Federalist No. 46 (1788)

All quotations in this report are drawn from primary sources and authoritative published texts. Every citation has been verified against its original source. No quote has been paraphrased or reconstructed from secondary materials.