LECTURE IV

THE WILL OF THE STATE

So far we have dealt with two of the three main propositions of the metaphysical theory of the state. Of these three the first is that true individuality or freedom lies in conformity to our real will. The second is that our real will is identical with the general will, and the third— with which we have not yet dealt—is that the general will is embodied more or less perfectly in the state. On analysing the first proposition we found that it rested upon a confusion of two distinct conceptions. The first is the conception of human nature, which is richer and more various than the conscious and deliberate will. The second is the ideal will which would express the practical possibilities of harmony in human nature. The first of these is real, but is neither identical with will nor with rationality. The second is rational will, but is not real. It is something which at best may only be attained by that great transformation of ourselves which is symbolized by the religions in such phrases as “being born again.”

The term “real will,” therefore, we discarded as a source of nothing but confusion. But having accepted the phrase provisionally from the idealist, we found a further confusion, the argument by which he identifies it with the general will. This argument confused identity of character with identity of continuous existence, the result of which was to set up a common self wherein the difference between one person and another is lost and the whole problem of social relations accordingly is misstated.
These are the two leading fallacies in the metaphysical theory of society, but there is a third fallacy emerging from them which is no less important in its practical applications. That is that the common self or the general will is to be identified with the state. It might be thought that, if we altogether repudiate the conception of a common self, the application falls to the ground along with the principle. None the less the argument needs examination both because it brings out certain elements of fallacy in the central conception and because it bears upon the whole question of the relations of the state to the social life of man.

Waiving all our criticism of the metaphysical identification of the real and the general will, we can understand what is meant by the contention that the full expression of a man's nature is social, that his interests, in the fullest sense of that term, are bound up with those of others and extend in endless ramifications into the texture of the social fabric. But why are they in particular bound up with the state? Is the state then another name for the entire social fabric, for the family, for the mass of one's social interests, for science, art, literature and religion? To the modern mind, at any rate to the non-German mind, the question answers itself in the negative, and outside the metaphysical school most thinkers would regard this as one of the points on which the modern outlook differs essentially from the Greek. To the Greeks the city-state was the focus of all life, and on this fact depended at once the completeness and the harmony of the Greek conception within a certain range and the narrowness and final insufficiency of that range. The self-sufficiency of the city-state was bound up with the failure of the Greeks to achieve a wider nationality and with the undeveloped condition of their religion, which made it impossible to set up a spiritual over the temporal power. Nevertheless, for the Greek thinkers themselves the boundaries to state life were too narrow. Plato

I.e. the Greeks of the orthodox tradition. The Cynics and, following them, the Stoics, laid the foundation of the larger view.
might hold that the happiness of his guardians was not to be considered apart from the well-being of the state, to which it was their prime function to contribute, but none the less it is clear that for him the real desires of a trained philosopher are to graze apart in the Elysian Fields of contemplation, and that to recall him to the service of the state is to bring him back into the cave from which he had escaped into the upper air. We do him no wrong, he contends, in demanding this service of the philosopher, for we are merely expecting him to repay what the state has given him in education. None the less it is clear that the philosophic life, which is for Plato the spiritual life, has begun to develop an interest of its own. And so in Aristotle philosophic wisdom is the mistress, not the servant, of the practical wisdom of the statesman, and the theoretic life is primarily concerned with things much higher than man. In the modern world again, apart from Germany, the state had until recent times receded into the background. It was rather the prosaic necessity of social life than the living principle itself. In the metaphysical theory the entire modern tendency is reversed. The state has become, as we have seen, an end in itself, and the reason is that the state is regarded as the sum and substance of our social activities, the organized fabric of civilized life.

Let us follow the reasoning by which Dr. Bosanquet arrives at this conclusion, by which, that is to say, he passes from his conception of the real will as the foundation of our individuality to the state as the supreme object of our allegiance. This transition is introduced by a passage which runs: "The imperative claim of the will that wills itself is our own inmost nature and we cannot throw it off. This is the ultimate root of political obligation." Should we not rather say, a rational harmony of life has an imperative claim on us, and this claim is what we call moral obligation? Such a proposition would harmonize better with the sentence preceding our quotation, in which rebellion is recognized as a possible duty on the ground that the particular system which claims
our obedience may be irreconcilable with the conditions essential to a rational will. If this is understood, it is clear that there is no political obligation that is not subordinate to moral obligation and politics are subordinate to ethics. Thus, the main question of political or social philosophy has to be answered in a manner adverse to those who, like Bosanquet, are seeking to make political philosophy an independent discipline.

None the less Bosanquet goes on to say ¹ that the real will is that which thinkers like Rousseau have identified with the state. The justification offered is, that if, starting from the human being, you try to devise that which will furnish him with "an outlet of stable purpose," you will be driven on "at least as far as the state and perhaps further." The "perhaps further" is a saving clause that may be considered later. Meanwhile we have to deal with Dr. Bosanquet's conception of the state. It is not, we are told, "merely the political fabric, but is the entire hierarchy of institutions by which life is determined, including e.g. the family, trade, the church, the university. It is the structure which gives life and meaning to them all." It is "the operative criticism of all institutions." A perfect conception of the end of the state would mean "a complete idea of the realization of all human capacity." At the same time the state is necessarily force. Force is inherent in the state, being exercised not only in the "restraint of disorderly persons but in the form of instruction and authoritative suggestion to the ordinary law-abiding citizen." It forms a kind of automatism, which underlies our more conscious and intelligent behaviour. But though necessary as a basis of life, force and automatic suggestion are in their nature "contradictory to the nature of the highest self-assertion of mind," not because in the use of force the state is controlling the individual or one man controlling another, for there are no others and there is no individuality opposed to the state, but because the element of force is antagonistic to the best life. It is "a dangerous drug"

¹ See The Philosophical Theory of the State, p. 149, etc.
which must be administered "as a counter-poison to tendencies which would otherwise give no chance to the logical will." The consequence is that the state, as exercising force, must be rigidly limited in its functions. It must not seek the direct promotion of the good life. "What it can effect is to remove obstacles, to destroy conditions hostile to the realization of the end." Its business is to "hinder hindrances" to the best life.

We have thus a definition of the state, consisting of two clauses, which we must examine separately. As to the first, which identifies the state with the entire social fabric, Dr. Bosanquet seems partly aware that here the state is used in an unusual sense. By the state we ordinarily mean either the government or, perhaps a little more accurately, the organization which is at the back of law and government. The state is the organization of society for the control of its common interests, an organization of which the various departments of law and government are the particular organs. This is something less than the entire fabric. Dr. Bosanquet might argue that there must be organization in order to support the fabric. In advanced societies this is probably true, but (a) many simple societies enjoy a fairly well-ordered fabric of social life without any governmental organization, and others have the very rudest forms of governmental organization. (b) It is quite possible to hold, with the philosophical anarchists, that societies more advanced than our own may achieve an equally good order of social life on a large scale and in complex relations without governmental organization, or at any rate without the use of force. And it is still more possible to hold that the reduction of the use of force to a minimum is a desirable element in the advance of society. If that is so, while it would remain true to identify moral obligation and social obligation, true to maintain that the best life can only be realized in society, it would be untrue to identify that best life with the state. Underlying Bosanquet's account, in fact, there is a serious
confusion between the state and society. The state is at present necessary to society, but it is only one of its conditions. The bony skeleton is necessary to the human body and in a sense holds it together, but it is hardly that which constitutes the life of the body, still less that which makes the life of the body desirable and possibly beautiful. Nor is it correct to describe the state as the "operative criticism of institutions." The entire life of society is a whole, of which the parts act and react upon each other. Institutions and customs gradually change and modify each other in large measure without any conscious criticism, just through the actions of individuals seeking to adapt themselves as best they may to their medium. But the bulk of explicit criticism also proceeds through discussion and through all sorts of voluntary agencies, which have not the power of the state, and it is only at certain turning-points that acts of government and legislation have to be called in to make some decisive change. The entire fabric, we may say, carries out its own self-criticism, and once again it is only misleading to identify the entire fabric with a state organization which is only one of its necessary components.

Lastly, much of the organization of life is more extensive than any organized state, and many social divisions cut across state divisions. Bosanquet's own ideas are mostly derived from Germany. The Christian church, in ideal, has always been a cosmopolitan and not a national organization; and the same is true of other higher religions and of higher ethics and the entire republic of letters, science, philosophy and art. The same is true in another relation of the economic market, which is a world market, and even of economic ideas and to some extent of economic organizations, such as the Socialist International. In a

1 In the Introduction to his second edition (p. xxix) Dr. Bosanquet seems to recognize some of the difficulties of his position, and speaks of a social co-operation which does not belong strictly either to the state or to the private person. If this admission is pressed, it will be found fatal to his first definition of the state as the entirety of the social fabric.
word, the state, as an organization, is a mere means to an end. It is one of the ways in which human beings are grouped. In its present form it is the product of certain modern conditions not of very long standing and probably not destined to very long endurance. To confuse the state with society and political with moral obligation is the central fallacy of the metaphysical theory of the state.

The truth is that Bosanquet’s double definition of the state, on the one hand as the operative criticism of institutions and on the other hand as force, is an abortive union of two radically opposed conceptions. Criticism is the very opposite of force. It is something essentially spiritual. It belongs to the mind, it demands the maximum of freedom. It lives in discussion unconstrained. It is no respecter of persons. It fills up no forms. It is bound by no traditions. It is free as air. Force, on the other hand, moves on the solid ground. As law, its principles must be defined and established, executed by authority, regardless of finer meanings and subtle differences. It closes its ear to discussion, which is taken to be complete at the moment when force is decided upon. Human society has not often found it possible to dispense with force because, though mind is free as air, the body to which mind is attached must have the solid rock to stand on, and men have judged an imperfect order better than no order at all. The modern mind, aware of this contrast, of the necessity of force and of the threat which it contains to the life of the spirit, has sought unceasingly for some theory of the limits of force, has asked itself anxiously how much and how little is the state bound to exact from its members. But the idealistic theory, far from illuminating, serves to confuse the entire issue. In Dr. Bosanquet’s presentation in particular we get a most confusing oscillation between the two principles conveyed by his definition. If we ask about the duties of the individual to the state, we find him leaning on the state as operative criticism. The duty of the individual appears to be absolute, his very personality is merged
in the state, and for the same reason, as we shall see presently, the state has no authority over it, but is the final form of human association. If, on the other hand, we ask about the duties of the state to the individual, what it can do for the promotion of the well-being of its members, we find that the state is only force and all its action is limited by the clumsiness and externality of compulsion. It cannot directly promote freedom, but only hinder hindrances.¹ By playing between these two meanings, we get the worst of both worlds; on the one side a state which absorbs and cancels individual personality and knows little or no morality in its external relations; and on the other side the social morals of the Charity Organization Society, a state which cannot actively promote the well-being of its members, but can only remove obstructions and leave to them a fair field in which to run the race. The truth is that the state is only one element in the society of humankind. It is an organization which men have built up, partly with conscious purpose, but largely through a clash of purposes which has settled down into an order exhibiting some

¹ The hindrance of hindrances is indeed so vague an expression that almost anything can be extracted out of it, e.g. we are told (p. 172) that the state hinders illiteracy by compelling education. When formulæ are so stretched it is a sign of something wrong in the theory underlying them. In public education two functions of the state are involved. (1) Compulsion, which is necessary to secure the right of the child against a neglectful parent, a right which, like all rights, is a condition of social welfare, and (2) the organization of public resources for a public object. We too often tend to think of such organization in terms of compulsion because it involves taxation. But taxation is not adequately conceived when thought of as the compulsory taking from individuals of property which is absolutely theirs. There are social factors in production, and therefore elements due to society rather than to the individual, which can only be secured for the community by the mechanism of the state. Taxation is a very rough, and in practice not always an equitable, method of securing these elements of collective wealth, but to secure them for common objects and organize their application is one of the functions of the state which is entirely missed by Dr. Bosanquet's account.
permanence, but constantly threatened with more or less revolutionary changes. In this order there is nothing sacrosanct. On the contrary, government, law and the institutions lying behind and supporting them are far from being the most successful of the experiments of mankind. They call aloud for radical criticism, and to deify them is to establish false gods, gods who at the present time figure as veritable Molochs before whom our sons are made to pass in millions through the fire.

But there is a further point. Let us for the moment take the state in the extended sense which the Hegelians assign to it. Let us regard it as the entire fabric of existing society. What then is the nature of our obligations to this fabric? What is its authority and its claim upon our reason and conscience?

The idealist maintains that the customs, traditions and institutions of society are the expression of an objective mind or spirit. These are contrasted by Hegel with the abstractions which the subjective reason evolves, and he speaks of the French Revolution as a monstrous display of the result of overthrowing the given and existing constitution of a great actual state, and endeavouring to make the mere supposedly rational the basis of a constitution in place of the historic reality. "Against the principle of the individual will we are to remind ourselves of the fundamental conception that the objective will is rational in its concept, whether it is recognized by individuals and willed with pleasure or not." ¹ In the same way ² Dr. Bosanquet tells us that in the system of institutions we have objective mind:

"We have only to repeat what many great men have explained at length, that in this world of content, the work of thinking will, we have in an external and factual form the body and substance of thinking will itself. Here is its concrete and actual content, what it finds to affirm in its volition from moment to moment, what forms the steps and systematic connections by which its

¹ Phil. des Rechts, p. 308.
² Principle of Individuality, p. 112.
self-expression from day to day is linked with—enters into—the total world of its satisfaction in a law which is at once its own nature and a high expression of the absolute. What a contrast with the abstract formulas of Hedonist or intuitionist axioms!"

It comes then to this. The attempts of thinking men to conceive and establish a rational order of society are mere fantasies of the subjective reason. The actual institutions of a given society are the objective reason. Society, any society it would seem that ever has been, is a higher embodiment of reason than any of the conscious reflections of the philosopher or statesman. When we think of the actual inconsistencies of traditional social morality, the blindness and crudity of law, the elements of class-selfishness and oppression that have coloured it, the mechanical dullness of state institutions even at their best, the massive misery that has lain at the foundation of all historic civilizations, we are inclined to say that no mere philosopher, but only the social satirist, could treat this conception as it deserves.

But we must endeavour to understand the conception on which it rests and the reason why it is wrong. For this purpose we may start from the passage in which Dr. Bosanquet sums up the theory of state action in the Rousseauite formula "sovereignty is the exercise of the general will." He justifies this by saying that all state action is general; that is, it consists in customs, laws and institutions of general application. And, secondly, by saying that "all state action is at bottom the exercise of the will," and this is "the real will." To say that state action is general and that it is willed, is not, however, the same thing as to say that it is the exercise of a general will. The distinction seems dialectical, but it touches the substance of the question. It is true that laws and customs are general, but, as general, how far are they willed? How far, that is, are they the products of an intelligence that has clearly foreseen all their bearings? How far are they the products of a unitary will that has taken all social life into its account as a single coherent system and thought out the bearings of one part upon
another? The answer to this question is, not very far, hardly at all. The life of society is not the product of coherent thinking by a single mind. On the contrary, many customs and institutions, which make up social life, have grown up in a detached, sporadic, unconscious, often unreasonable fashion, and even the more conscious and deliberate ones are rather efforts to correct some particular mischief, amend some particular anomaly, than clear sighted applications of a governing principle to social life as a whole. And so, secondly, when Dr. Bosanquet says that society rests on will, the answer is rather that it rests on wills. We seldom find in a great society, as a whole, a will comparable to that in you or me relative to our personal ends. When I will a thing I clearly see what I mean to do. I have weighed it in the balance with its advantages and disadvantages, brought it into relation with emotions and desires, some of which it may satisfy while others it may thwart, and I have in the result identified myself as a whole with a particular course or particular object, whatever it may be. It is rare that society does anything of this kind collectively. The nearest approach is found in a war, and for instructive reasons. It is in a war, when pitted against others, that the millions of men, constituting a society, find themselves to be most distinctly an individual whole contending with other individuals, when they must win or lose as a whole and make up their minds definitely whether the struggle with all its losses is worth continuing.

In the internal developments of a nation, where no such external pressure exists, it is rare to find decisions clearly taken by the people as a whole. True, in a democratic nation laws are in the end passed by parliamentary majorities, which may and should represent the majority of the nation, but any one who considers the actual process of legislation, the steps by which a bill reaches the form in which it is ultimately inscribed in the statute book, to say nothing of the form in which it is really applied by the courts, must recognize that
it is a process made up of innumerable conflicts of innumerable wills, in which there is every sort of give and take, compromise and adjustment, contrasting very clearly with the simple and crisp decisions of an individual mind. It is true that with political education and the development of effective democracy the sphere of intelligent social control is extended, and it would be a sound statement of the democratic ideal to say that it conceives a possible society regulating its common life by common consent, in which a larger and larger proportion of its members actively participate until a position be reached in which society would control itself as simply and effectively as the individual controls himself. This is an ideal, and not one very near to realization. Of the social structure of any state that exists it is generally untrue to say that it is clearly conceived by the minds of the majority of those who live in it, and it is profoundly untrue to regard the actual development of any society, as we have known it in history, as the product of an intelligent purpose alone.\(^1\)

Too often it is not the state as a whole which sets definite ends before itself. In the normal development of peace-time, and for that matter even in the concentrated purpose of war-time, there are many sections within the state which have each for itself a general will, far more properly so called because much more clearly conscious and united than any will which permeates the state as a whole. The actual institutions of society have been in large measure determined by class conflicts, struggles of churches, racial wars, and everywhere ‘here are the marks of the struggles. If and in so far as there is any meaning in the term “general will” at all, there are many general wills within the state, and too often the institutions of society are just the result of the victory, resting not on logic but on superior organization, which one of these wills has attained

\(^1\) It is remarkable that in another connection Dr. Bosanquet writes, “Nothing is properly due to finite mind, as such, which never was a plan before any finite mind.”—Principle of Individuality, p. 152.
over others. Green, who, whatever the idealistic basis of his theory, retained his fundamental humanity, saw that there were instances in which it was a mere mockery to describe the institutions of a state as the realization of freedom for all its members, and contended forcibly that the requirements of the state have "largely arisen out of force directed by selfish motives." It is interesting to see how Dr. Bosanquet deals with these uncomfortable criticisms. He partly admits their truth, but turns the edge of them by insisting on a rational element running through the selfishness and shortsightedness of the particular wills that have gone to make up the social order, dwelling at the same time on the potential and implied recognition of the interests of society in the minds of its selfish members. If state organization were radically and fundamentally well-meaning, and marred only by imperfection of insight and inadequacy of means to an end, this answer might be sufficient, but in so far as civilized society throughout its history has in very large measure consisted in the imposition upon the many of an order of life wherein the essential benefits are reaped by the few, Bosanquet fails to meet the real point of Green's challenge. We come back again to the central point that the institutions of society are not the outcome of a unitary will but of the clash of wills, in which the selfishness and generally the bad in human nature is constantly operative, intermingled with but not always overcome by the better elements.

The point is very clearly seen in a Note in the chapter which follows on p. 296 as to the term "the mind of society." "I neglect for the moment the difference between the mind of society and mind at its best. The difference is practically considerable, but I shall attempt to make it appear in the course of the present chapter to be a difference of progress and not of direction." The comment to be made on this is that the difference is so fundamental that it cannot be neglected even for a moment without risk of the most serious fallacy. So far as the metaphorical expression "mind of society" can be
justified at all, it must be said that it is mind at a very low stage of its development. In other words, social institutions may be regarded as outcomes of a mentality of a kind, but that mentality, when viewed in relation to the objects which it has to subserve, is of a low type compared, let us say, to the mentality of a mother considering the welfare of her child. A good mother will act with a clear vision and an unselfish prompting for the child's good, unmixed with thought of her own. If there were a social will which so conceived the good of all the vast numbers of human beings affected by social institutions, it would be on a level with the mind of the mother, and be something much greater than her mind in proportion to the vastness of its object. But just because the object is so vast and so impersonal, the "social mind" falls lamentably short in attaining it, and we may rather compare social mentality to the gropings of one of the lower orders of animals which shifts itself from side to side, straining after a momentary adjustment which it does not even distinctly conceive. But even in this image we have somewhat overestimated the mentality of society, for the animal is after all one, and suffers discomfort as a whole. We might think rather of the separate tentacles of a sea-anemone, of which experiment has shown that one may be educated to reject a non-nutritious object while another is still seeking to grasp it.

Dr. Bosanquet speaks of an ideal that one hopes may be realized somewhere on the far horizon of human progress, but one of the surest ways of arresting that progress is to speak as though that horizon had already been reached.

We have quoted above the passage in which Dr. Bosanquet speaks of the habits and institutions of any community as "so to speak the standing interpretation of all the private wills which compose it." Though an imperfect representation of the real will "because every set of institutions is an incomplete embodiment of life," they are "very much more complete than the explicit
ideas which at any given instant move any individual mind in volition." The logic of such passages is this. The real will would work itself out in a harmony of actions. The institutions of society produce some kind of order and so are a partial embodiment of the real will. But (a) when it is said that these institutions are more complete than the explicit ideas of individual minds, it seems to be forgotten that they may also be very much less explicit, much less reasoned out, much less clearly reduced to principle than the ideas of a reflecting mind. An individual mind may not be able to grasp, and certainly could not create the complex of institutions and customs that is the work of many millions of minds, but these complex customs have in very large measure grown up in a groping, unreflective fashion, with little or no reference to any general and comprehensive principle of social well-being, and to grasp such principles is the work of the reflective individual consciousness, which moves on a much higher level than the general will, if we adopt for the moment Dr. Bosanquet's name for the complex of psychological forces which generate and maintain a tradition. (b) When Dr. Bosanquet speaks of the institutions of a community as the standing interpretation of all the private wills that compose it, he speaks as though all society were a real working democracy. Of the working of society as a whole this is invariably untrue. In ordinary workaday life the individual man has simply to accept the fabric within which he finds himself a part. Many features in it he may resent or dislike, but he has simply to deal with them as best he may. And wherever a community is governed by one class or one race, the remaining class or race is permanently in the position of having to take what it can get. To say that the institutions of such a society express the private will of the subject class is merely to add insult to injury. It was not by the private wills of the peasantry of England that their land was enclosed. It may be said they did not revolt. The answer is that they could not do so with effect, and that if, in Bosanquet's language, their real will means the
expression of what they really wished, they would have revolted and prevented it. The actual institutions of a society are not the imperfect expression of a real will, which is essentially good and harmonious, but the result into which the never-ceasing clash of wills has settled down with some degree of permanency, and that result may embody much less of justice, morality and rationality than the explicit ideas of many an individual mind.

As to the problems of social philosophy, Dr. Bosanquet has a very easy solution. "The end of the state, as of the individual, is the realization of the best life." As to this we may all agree, but Dr. Bosanquet proceeds, "The difficulty of defining the best life does not trouble us because we rely throughout on the fundamental logic of human nature qua rational." Yet it is supposed to be the object of philosophy to exhibit this logic, and the despised "theorists of the first look" have made it their business to do so. They have confessed that the object of the state is to consist in realizing a good life, and they have sought by reason, that is, by actually following, as far as in them lies, the logic of human nature, to ascertain the principles of the best life and the way in which these principles should be realized in society. Dr. Bosanquet professes to skip all that, which is in effect to take the substance out of social philosophy. The underlying explanation of this is the fundamental conservatism of the idealistic attitude. The idealist sees the good or the rational realized in the existing order, not perfectly, he would admit, but in its essential outlines. The rationalist approaches the existing order with an unbiassed mind, and testing it by inquiry, he finds in it elements of radical good and radical evil blended. The reason for this blend goes right back to the roots of social and mental evolution; it rests on the fact that society is precisely not the outcome of one real will but of millions and millions of wills through the generations. In these millions and millions of wills there is a social element working. There are elements of idealism, sparks of justice, uniting threads of human kindness, and there are also selfishness and vanity
and pride and hardness, corporate and collective as well as individual, and these elements acting upon one another make up the piebald pattern of human society.

To sum up. The conception of social institutions as objective reason annuls the function of reason in human society. It teaches the man who would think about social order, who would try to work back from it to some set of ethical principles commending themselves to rational reflection, that in seeking to reason he is sinning against reason. He is to realize that in society he is in the presence of a being infinitely higher than himself, contemplating a reason much more exalted than his own. His business is not to endeavour to remodel society, but to think how wonderfully good and rational is the social life that he knows, with its Pharisees and publicans, its gin-palaces, its millions of young men led out to the slaughter, and he is to give thanks daily that he is a rational being and not merely as the brutes that perish. And, having so given thanks, he is to do his duty in that state of life to which it has pleased the state-god to call him. The root of this conception is the common self. It is the notion that one mind, one will vastly greater than yours or mine, constitutes the life and directs the course of each organized society. Against this conception both philosophy and science may protest, philosophy claiming the ultimate right of reason, the conscious reason which each individual may and must acquire for himself, to criticize the established fact and to form its own ideal for the best life that is within its power; science on the ground that human society, as it has grown up, is the product of unnumbered wills, of their clash as well as their harmony. We may say truly that ethical philosophy cannot construct the state without reference to the established fact. We must start from the place in which we find ourselves. We must understand society, know how it works, before we can improve it. Science must be added to philosophy before we can have a social

\footnote{For Hegel philosophy comes after reality, and has merely to interpret it.—\textit{Phil. des Rechts}, p. 20.}
art; and if this had been their line of criticism, much of what the idealists from Hegel onwards have had to say about the shortsighted revolutionaries might have been justified. But this is not their point of view. They use the failures, the wrongs, and the wilful dogmatism of some social philosophers to discredit philosophy itself, and with it all genuine reason.

But now, it may be asked, if we deny the ultimate authority of law, custom and tradition, what do we set in its place? We make political obligation subordinate to moral obligation. But what is moral obligation? The details of political obligation are written down in a code of law or incorporated in judicial decisions, or more vaguely, but still with sufficient precision, in the customs and understandings of society. This is the concrete rule of life which Hegel calls *Sittlichkeit*. Apart from some fringes of uncertainty, where there is a latitude of interpretation, it is something objective and impersonal. When a man refuses to recognize it, on what authority does he fall back? In many historic cases the answer has been that in place of the law of the state or the custom of society, a rebel has appealed to the law of God or the church. In the case of the church he is appealing from one society to another society, from the secular to the spiritual, from the supposedly lower, therefore, to the supposedly higher. And, if the appeal is not to the church but to God, it has been the belief of many men that the written word of God is no less clear or certain than the written law of the state. In the case of the appeal to the church we have a conflict, not between one organized society and the individual, but between one organized society and another; and historically men have attempted to solve the difficulties which have arisen on one of three possible lines, by making the church subordinate to the state, by making the state subordinate to the church, or by an attempt to delimit the affairs of the church and the state, a compromise which has on the whole been accepted in the modern world, which in the main has found the means of compelling the citizen
to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, while allowing him to render unto God the things which he believes to be God's. Both in practice and theory this demarcation, if not finally satisfactory, is at least a better solution than either of the alternatives. For, on the one side, in so far as the church rules by a spiritual influence, its authority is morally the higher. Every church worthy of the name is in principle that which the idealist falsely maintains the state to be: a society founded upon principles laying down what are believed to be the conditions of a good and righteous life. If any church had in fact succeeded in grasping the entire spiritual meaning of life, its authority would be absolute and it would absorb the state as a subordinate branch. But as churches, like other human associations, are fallible, and as they are founded upon principles which are obscure and upon which, therefore, men differ, it has not in point of fact been found possible to place government and citizenship in a free society on the basis of a common acknowledgment of certain dogmas of religion. Thus the maintenance of certain common requisites of social life has either been kept out or has passed out of the hands of the church. With regard to these common requisites, the state will exert an authority against or over the authority of any church to which its members may happen to belong. Hence the necessity of defining as closely as possible the common requisites for the sake of which the state must exercise compulsion even in defiance of spiritual authority. (1) The state, as the organized power of the community, is the guarantor of the rights of all its members and will not allow a wrong to be done to any one of them in the name of any other authority. The state is fallible and may err in its definition of rights as in other things, but it is its business to form the best judgment in this matter according to its lights, and, having formed it, to enforce it. (2) The state operates through universal laws, and it may find that objects essential to the common welfare, even to the common existence, cannot be secured if exceptions
are admitted in such cases. Again, as a guardian of the common existence, the state is within its right in exacting conformity. The other side of this principle, perhaps more readily forgotten, is that it is only when universal conformity is provedly necessary that compulsion is justified in overriding religious conviction.

But let us assume bona fides on both sides, and let us suppose that every effort has been made on the part of the state to reduce its requirements to its lowest terms, and on the part of the church to equate its spiritual teaching with the temporal duties of the citizen. None the less, as we are dealing with fallible human beings in a complex world, there is always a marginal possibility of conflict. In case of such conflict it is not possible to say a priori that either the state is right or the church is right. It is a case of one association of fallible human beings against another. Each owes a certain consideration to the other. The state is bound to respect religious conviction, the church to have regard for the value of law and order in society. But when the last word has been said and those responsible for the state can see no other way to the preservation of social order or national existence but the enforcement of a given law upon all citizens regardless of creed, then those responsible for the state, and all citizens as owing allegiance to the state, are bound to act in accordance with their final judgment, fallible as it may be, of what is necessary to social preservation. And similarly, the churchman, when he has taken the state's point of view fully into account and weighed it in the scale against his own law, if he can find no way of escaping from the spiritual duty incumbent upon him, seems bound to take the risks, moral as well as legal, of disobedience.

There is indeed a court of appeal. There is an objective moral order underlying all disputes, an order which if once apprehended would settle all controversies. But, unless and until this objective order is apprehended and agreed upon by men, moral conflicts will not cease. Appeal indeed is always open until agreement is reached.
New facts and new arguments are never barred, and no opinion is to be silenced; but if no clear verdict is collected and both parties remain firm in their conviction, there is nothing for it but that the case should go to the ordeal, the barbaric ordeal of endurance. That this is a satisfactory solution no one would contend, but it is better to recognize frankly that in the region of ultimate moral conflict each party is bound by its own conviction than to obscure the issue by such subterfuges as the contention that true freedom would consist in subordination.

What has been said of the possible conflict between church and state, which now has for the most part only a historic interest, is also applicable in principle to conflicts between the state and the individual which have a present, and, it is to be feared, a future significance of a tragic kind. The difference is that where the churchman pleads the recognized law of an organized body, the individual pleads his conscience. We are thus brought to the question of the rights of conscience, their reality and their limitations. In a simpler time, and in our own time to the more simple-minded men, conscience can be taken as the voice of God within and its deliverances may be fortified by an appeal to the written word of God without. So conceived, conscience is as much above state law in authority as it is below it in power; but in a sceptical age men realize more fully that there is a subjective element in conscience. Consciences differ, and the word of God, even if we take it to be an inspired document, is manifestly liable to the greatest diversities of interpretation. What I call my conscience is my final judgment, when all things bearing on the situation have been summed up, of my right and my duty. This judgment, common experience and psychological analysis will alike show, is in part dependent on idiosyncrasies of my own, on special experiences that have impressed me, on emotional tendencies that make me attach more weight to one thing and less to another, on partial application of principles, on obscurity of ideas. Conscience, then, would seem to have but little final authority. It
falls short of the objectivity attached to law and the social tradition. How can it be set up as a standard of nonconformity in some vital matter? The answer of the individual in the first place is that conscience may be a poor thing, but it is his own; and the answer of the moral law must be that, though there may be many errors incident to the principle that men should do ultimately what is right in their own eyes, yet, if they do anything else than what is right in their own eyes, there is no moral law at all. Moral action is action in conformity with an inward principle, an action that the agent considers to be right and performs because he believes it to be right. If people are required to give up what they consider to be right, morality is annulled. May a man act, then, without regard to law or the judgment of others? On the contrary, what experience in practical matters will often teach him is that others are wiser than he, what morality will teach him is that the law which is right for him must in principle be a law of universal application, holding for all men similarly situated. What duty and practical sense will combine to show him is that he is a man among many, a member of an organized society, and if morality teaches him that he must do what he thinks good, it inculcates at the same time that what is good for him must be a common good. Nevertheless, he is in the end to stand by his judgment of the nature of the common good and the means by which it is to be realized. Once given, as in the case of the churchman, that he has well and truly weighed all that law and society have to say, that he has taken into account the limitations of his own experience and the fallibility of his own judgment as one weak individual opposed perhaps to the millions of all organized society; when he has then asked himself frankly if it is not his final duty to waive his first judgment, to stifle the inward prompting from respect for an outward order built up by the organized efforts of men, valuable in itself and endangered if any one rebels against it; when, having duly tested the case in a spirit of humility, he has nevertheless
come finally to the conclusion that, all said and done, the obligation is upon him to disobey, then, as a free agent, nonconformity is his only course.

It should be observed that when we say he is right in following this course our proposition has two meanings, which must not be confused. To disentangle them, let us for a moment put ourselves on the side of the state. Let us suppose the state is justified in its behest, that if we were gods knowing good and evil, we should give our verdict on the side of the state, then in that sense and from that point of view, the nonconformist is clearly wrong just as, if the verdict were given the other way, he would be clearly right. But even in the case where he is wrong in one sense he is also right in another. It is right that he should do what he thinks right although, as it happens, he thinks wrong; the ultimate reason of this is that, though by so acting he is wrong on occasion, if he acted otherwise as a matter of principle he would never do right at all, and if every one so acted, right and wrong as moral terms would disappear. And by the same reasoning, the state, in so far as it holds itself trustee for the final good of society, will recognize that it is better for its members to be free men who will from time to time give trouble by mistakes of judgment, than conforming persons with whom everything is smooth because they never think at all. For this reason the state will avoid coercion of conscience up to the last resort, but once again, as in the case of the church, we have to admit as correlative to the ultimate right of conscience, an ultimate right of coercion. The state, a fallible organization of fallible men, has nevertheless to act according to its lights for the safety of the whole. Where it can see no escape from a universal rule, where this rule would be frustrated by individual acts of disobedience, where by disobeying A would in its judgment do a wrong to B, there in the end it has to exercise constraint, and there seems to be no appeal. The judgment of mankind may ultimately say that the state was wrong, but even so it will have to extend to the state the same charity which
is due to the nonconforming individual. If the state acted bona fide by its best lights, it could do no better. What the state has no right to do is to exercise cruelty or insult. It has no right to place the conscientious objector on a level with the felon or to use the weapon of derision, contumely and degradation.¹

It may be asked finally whether the duty which we have recognized in a subordinate place of surrendering our judgment to that of others and in particular to the organized will of society, is not of a more authoritative character. If conscience is not the voice of God, why should we attach so much importance to what one or two individuals happen to think? Does not the wisdom of our ancestors, enshrined in institutions, supply a better test of truth? What social value attaches to individuality? The answer is that the individual, fallible and weak as he may be in his isolation, is still the centre of a rich diversity of relations, of which his relation to a society claiming his allegiance is only a part. The organized system of life only covers a portion of the ground. What is recognized and formulated is but a fragment of living experience. Every individual draws from deeper wells of being than those revealed in current

¹ In the actual controversy with the conscientious objectors to military service the state has definitely put itself in the wrong. For a mechanism was devised for exempting the small number of men whose principles were perfectly well known and who could not be expected to change them on demand without incurring personal dishonour. This mechanism was such as to leave the general obligation to service untouched, and the refusal of the handful of objectors in no way obstructed the organization of the man-power of the country as a whole. But the machinery was not consistently applied, with the result that some conscientious objectors were left unmolested and others sentenced to long and repeated terms of rigorous imprisonment. This is state action at its worst, arbitrary, inconsistent and vindictive, and persistent in its wickedness. I rejoice to read in Dr. Bosanquet's new volume that "the conscientious objector will follow his conscience to the end, and if we believe him to be sincere we all respect him for it." I rejoice, but with some bewilderment, for I cannot fuse the spirit of this remark (and of some others in Social and International Ideals) with the general spirit of The Philosophical Theory of the State.
speech and custom. If we do not any longer think of him as directly in converse with God, we can think of him as a part of nature, the product physically and spiritually of a long ancestral line of development, susceptible to emotional and ideal suggestions from all manner of experience. If it is through all these that error comes, it is always through one individual that each new truth first comes, and it is better for society in the end to be exposed to many errors than to run the risk of losing one truth. Given freedom of discussion and even of experiment in living, errors will reveal themselves for what they are, and sometimes, the husk being stripped off, the kernel of truth will be found within them. What the state has to prevent is the emergence of error is such a form as will destroy society, and that is one reason why the dictum of Hegel is profoundly false that the claim to say and write what you will is parallel to the right to do what you will. If nonsense is freely uttered and freely controverted, it will reveal that it is nonsense. What is true will be found not by silencing error but by confuting it, and in its regard for the individual, however troublesome he may be, the state is conserving the conditions of its own progress. The line between speech and action is not always clear, but the difference of principle is not obscure. A man may claim a right which invades the rights of another or paralyses the organized effort of the community. In the former case the right claimed by A is resented as a wrong by B, and the state is in its proper sphere in judging between them, deciding where right lies and seeing the limit is not overstepped. In the latter the recalcitrance of one man might wreck the purpose, perhaps endanger the safety of a community. The community has a right through the state to protect itself against such injury. Where both these grounds fail the state has no right to put compulsion upon conscience. Where there is no question of conscience the limits of state activity are matters of convenience, good organization and the relative merits of individual spontaneity and collective regulation.
LECTURE V

VARYING APPLICATIONS OF THE METAPHYSICAL THEORY

The idealistic conception of the state has sometimes figured as an organic theory of society. In the form given to it by Green this description is not unjust, for to Green, the ethical basis of the state is a common good, which at the same time is the good of each individual citizen. The state rests, for Green, on a mutual recognition of rights, rights being for each the conditions under which he can live the best life. We have here beyond doubt the elements of an organic theory, or, if the term be preferred, of a harmony between the state and the individual. Now such a harmony, it is only fair to say, is contemplated by Hegel himself as the true relation between the state and the individuals which compose it. The individual, he says, "must, in the fulfilment of his duties, in some way or other at the same time find his own interest, his satisfaction, and from his relations in the state a right must accrue to him whereby the universal interest (Sache) is his own particular interest. The particular interest should not actually be set aside or altogether suppressed, but put into agreement with the universal, whereby both it and the universal are sustained." And again, "All turns on the unity of the universal and particular in the state"; and in this the modern state is distinguished from the ancient. This points to the true ideal, but unfortunately there is nowhere in Hegel a clear distinction between the ideal and the actual. The idealistic habit of talking of "the state" as though there were only one type that

1 Phil. des Rechts, p. 317.
is real, while all existing instances may be regarded as merely casual and secondary aberrations, bars the way to a frank exposition of the contrast of which in experience we are painfully aware between that which might be and that which is.

Hegel recognizes bad states, but he deals with them very summarily. "The state (p. 339) is actual (wirklich) and its actuality consists in this, that the interest of the whole realizes itself in the particular aims. . . . In so far as this unity is absent, a thing is not actual, even if its existence might be assumed. A bad state is such a one as merely exists. A sick body also exists, but it is no true reality." Thus in place of asking to what extent it is really true that individual and universal interests coincide and what we are to do when they are palpably in conflict, how we are to cure the sick state and what is the duty of the individual when he finds himself unable to do so, we find the whole question waved aside by a radically unsound distinction between reality and existence. A sick body, as the sufferer has too much reason to know, is as hard a reality as a sound body, and if Hegel's criterion of reality were to be accepted, no state that is or has ever been is real. Regard the harmonic conception of society as an ideal and you give us something to work for, regard it as something actually realized and you confuse every issue of practical reform and theoretic right. In particular, in the notion that the state has the authority of a common self standing above the individual, we have a principle which may but too easily develop into a complete denial of the organic conception, because, instead of recognizing that the value of the state lies in its service to the harmonious development of all its component members, it subordinates that development in each and therefore in all to the fictitious whole which contains them but is not them.

Had Hegel carried through the organic conception of the state, he would have found room for the conception of liberty, equality and democracy; but his state system is a negation of all these. By an inconsistency which goes
to the root of his whole metaphysical argument, he
suddenly declares that the personality of the state is
only real as a person, a monarch (p. 359). The monarch
at one point appears as little more than the figure-head.
If the constitution is fixed and formed, he has often nothing
to do but to sign his name (p. 363). It is wrong to
demand objective qualities of the monarch. He has
only to say "yes" and to dot the i (p. 365). And so
there is no objection to his being chosen in "a natural
way" through natural birth (p. 364). An election of
a ruler by popular choice will be something dependent
on the opinions and expressions of the many and is gener-
ally opposed to the idea of "Sittlichkeit" (p. 367). Yet
this monarch, who is only to dot the i and requires no
objective qualities, may in short be a fool or a brute, is
to have the choice of counsellors responsible for the govern-
ment, in his unlimited caprice (Willkür, p. 370).

To ask for consistency in these deliverances would
no doubt be censured by Hegel as a demand of reflective
reasoning. But if the king may be a fool, whose caprice
may yet determine the government of the state, the
opinion of the people is allowed no such latitude. The
people, without the monarch and the articulation of
the whole into ranks, classes, corporations and so forth,
is the formless mass which is no longer a state (p. 360).
That the organization of the people as a voting power
might be a necessary corrective of the social divisions
incident to a large and developed society, does not seem
to have suggested itself to Hegel. The people, as far as
that word expresses a special portion of the members of
the state, is that portion which does not know what it
wants (p. 386). Special interests should be represented,
but to let the many elect representatives is to give hostages
to accident (p. 398). Goethe is quoted with approval
as saying that "the masses can fight. There they are
respectable. Their judgment is miserable," or, as the
modern German phrase puts it, they are "cannon fodder."
Public opinion always contains an underlying truth,
but is always false in its expression. It must be as much
despised as respected (p. 403). It contains all error and truth, and to find the truth in it is the work of the great man (p. 404). We must not ask the people themselves what they think apparently, but we must tell them what they think. The principal guarantee of the freedom of the press is the guarantee of contempt. The claim to say and write what one will is parallel to the freedom to do what one will (p. 404). The landowning class is alone suited for participation in political power on account of its property, which secures it both against the government and against the uncertainty of trade (pp. 391–2).

From all this we can see how much participation in the general will means for the ordinary individual in the Hegelian scheme. Those who have taken the Hegelian conception as a stable framework for democracy on the ground that simple membership of the community involves a share in the common self, would be condemned by Hegel himself for adherence to an abstract conception; even the rational, thinking element within the common man is to be elicited for him by the great man, the ruler or the law. He is to be told what he thinks. It may be admitted that these are not necessary consequences of the doctrine of the common self; they are not even natural consequences. It would be more reasonable to expect of a thinker who started from the spiritual unity of society that he would, with Green, insist upon including the humblest along with the highest in the moral unity and would emphasize that which the common man has to contribute no less than that which he has merely to accept. He would, in the spirit of Green, lay bare the elements of a higher meaning, the filaments, however incompletely developed, that bind the humble man to the whole to which he belongs, the half-understood emotions and desires in which higher and wider purposes are implied. It would be unfair to deny that in Hegel himself there are hints of such a development of thought. That they are not carried out is a consequence traceable in the end to that conception of will as having its freedom in determination by a principle rather than in a harmony of impulses which we found to
be the starting-point of the Hegelian conception of the state.

The state being the individual writ large, its own independence is the primary condition of its internal life and indeed of its freedom (p. 409). And for this reason it imposes an absolute sacrifice on the individual when it is necessary to maintain it. Hegel finds in this circumstance a contradiction of the view that the end of the state is the security of life and property of individuals, because he says this security would not be reached by the sacrifice of that which was to be secured (p. 410), as though the life of some might not willingly be offered up for the well-being of others. However, in the security of the state lies the "ethical moment" of war, which is to be regarded as not an absolute evil or as merely an external accident (p. 410). Its good side is that it compels us to risk life and property. We hear much in the pulpit of the insecurity, the vanity and instability of temporal things, but each of us thinks that he will still hold his own. If, however, the insecurity comes "in the form of hussars," this readiness to forsake all turns into curses on the conquerors. We are apparently to think it is positively good if not only our property but also the lives of those dearest to us should be destroyed from time to time by the god-state in order to teach us the vanity of earthly affections. This is one advantage of war. Another is that it inculcates discipline and moral soundness. People who will not endure sovereignty within are brought under the heel of others (pp. 411-13). Kant's proposal of a League of Peace is specifically repudiated. Those know little of the spirit of the people who think that they can make a whole along with others (p. 409) (as e.g. the proud Scot has made with the Englishman), and even if a number of states can make themselves into a family, this union as an individuality would create an opposite and engender an enemy (p. 412). That in all this argument Hegel is in touch with some dismal realities must be admitted. War, like other public calamities, does teach sacrifice to some who did not know it before. It does impose
discipline and make democracy difficult. Wider unions are hard to achieve and most easily consolidated by a common enemy. A great humanitarian thinker, like Kant, is not unaware of these grave disharmonies in human life and in the social order. The peculiar vice of Hegel is that to him they are part of the ideal and they receive a non-moral justification from the inhuman conception of the state as a god with a life of its own, reckless of the fibres of human feeling that it rends and mangles to assist its vital processes, devouring its children. Yet the conception of the selfhood of the state is not even carried through with consistency. The state is a self-dependent totality (p. 417), and yet it cannot be an actual individual without relation to other states. The interstate relations are necessary, therefore, to the existence of each state. As these states are spiritual beings, one would suppose that their relations were of spiritual and, a fortiori, of moral and legal character. Not at all. When we consider their relations their dependence on one another vanishes, and they are put above the moral law. Their relation is other than one of mere morality or private law. Private persons have a court over them. State relations should be of a legal kind (rechtlich), but, as there is no power above them to decide what is right, we are here merely in the region of what should be. States may make a stipulation between one another, but at the same time stand above this stipulation, or, as the current phrase goes, their treaties are scraps of paper. As there are no judges, disputes must be decided by war, and the causes of war are quite indeterminate. The state must judge for itself what it will treat as a matter of honour, and is the more inclined to susceptibility (Reizbarkeit) in this respect, the more a strong individuality is driven, through a long internal peace, to seek and procure for itself some matter for activity beyond its bounds (p. 420). Thus there seems no moral limit to the restless ambition of this god. He should in some sense have regard to right in dealing with his fellow-gods, but he may be expected to disregard this recommendation when he is conscious
of his own strength, and he need not even wait for any actual injury. The idea of a threatening danger is sufficient. Anticipatory wars are justified (p. 420). Nor is the state to be guided by any philanthropic conception in war. It is to think of its own well-being, the well-being of the state having a quite other justification than that of the individual. It is only the state's concrete existence, not any of the general conceptions that are thought of as moral commands, that can be taken as the principle of its action (p. 421). In only one respect has Hegel failed to anticipate the whole practice of modern Germany, and that is that he lays down that the relations of states remain in war and that in war the possibility of peace is preserved. It is not waged against inner institutions, family and private life. And this is why modern wars are humanely conducted. With this amiable inconsistency, in which Hegel seems to fail to interpret the spirit of his own teaching, we may take leave of the Hegelian state, having seen perhaps enough of it to recognize the germ of the colossal suffering of Europe and of the backward movement that went so far to arrest the civilizing tendencies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Dr. Bosanquet follows Hegel in conceiving the state as necessarily one unity among others, a conception which rules out the possibility of a world-state. "We have hitherto (p. 184) spoken of the state and society as almost convertible terms." Having said this, Bosanquet proceeds to a definition of the state. "By the state, then, we mean society as a unit recognized as rightly exercising control over its members through absolute physical power." Questions arise here as to the unit, as to the term "recognize" and as to the term "rightly."

First as to the unit. The limits of this Bosanquet admits "to be determined by what looks like historical accident." But he contends that there is "logic underneath the apparent accident." This so-called logic may be nothing but physical force. What logic incorporated Alsace-Lorraine with Germany? Bribery incorporated the Irish with the British Parliament. If it is untrue to say
with Treitschke that force alone has built up states, it is equally false to shut our eyes to the fact that force has had a great deal to do with the building up of a great many states.

But there is perhaps a more fundamental point. Bosanquet regards the state as necessarily a unit among others (p. 185). "A single independent corporation among other independent corporations." If it is of the essence of the state, as Hegel certainly thought and as Bosanquet seems to think, to be one among many, then society is always something wider than the state. Bosanquet thinks that the area of the state should be as great as is "compatible with the unity of experience which is demanded by effective self-government." In reality there is no such thing as a unity of experience as between the members of a state contrasted with the lack of unity as between members of different states. In the civilized world the ramifications of mutual influence are not bounded by a frontier, but the whole is potentially one society, and for many purposes the relations between corresponding classes of different states are closer than the relations between very different classes within the same state. Instead of defining the state, then, as society, we should speak of it as a society, and the difference is much greater than it appears. "A" society is simply a particular organization which may be of great value but which yet might be destroyed and leave society standing. The ultimate obligations of man as a social being are not to any particular society, but to society as such.

Next the state is recognized. We may well ask, By whom? Must it be recognized by all its members? If not recognized as rightly exercising control by some considerable section of its members, does it cease to be a state? And what are the limits, if any, of political obligation in this direction? The question seems unanswerable unless you refer politics back to ethics. A disobedient section will probably put forward certain claims of right which they say that the state that exercises authority over them ignores. If these claims of right are ethically well founded,
then their denial of the right of the state to exercise control appears to be justified, and if not, not. So far then from the rights being derivable from the state, the moral authority of the state rests upon the validity of the rights which it asserts.

With this we pass to the third point, of the state as rightly exercising control over its members through absolute physical power. The state has absolute physical power in the sense that it can inflict imprisonment, torture or death if it has an army and a police force, but how far does it do so rightly? Here again we have a question that runs back to ethics. The states in the modern world which claim to be free owe much of their history to the protest of individuals, classes or churches against various applications of physical force which they have denied to be right applications. In a word, Dr. Bosanquet's definition is an intermixture of moral considerations with questions of fact, just those questions which it is the business of philosophy to disentangle.

Dr. Bosanquet goes on to say that every individual must belong to one state and one only because there must be some power which makes the ultimate adjustment of claims. What is the one state to which a Canadian belongs? Is it Canada or is it the British Empire? In all working relations of the Canadian's life it is Canada, and the Canadian law and Canadian custom with which he is in contact. To the non-British world he is simply a British subject and the relations of Canada as a whole are principally, though not wholly, adjusted by the British Empire. It may be said that the British Parliament delegated the bulk of its rights to the Dominion Parliament and can resume them. As a fact it can certainly do nothing of the kind, and the realitics of the situation are only expressed by admitting a dual state, a dual loyalty, which under certain circumstances might give rise to sharp conflict. All this is very intelligible if we simply understand the state as an organization coming into being for certain purposes and capable of being adapted, expanded, changed, and even abolished,
as may suit those particular purposes. In modern political structure the interweaving of such organizations is playing a growing part. And it is of practical as well as theoretical importance that this growth should not be checked by overdrawn distinctions between what is a state and what is not a state.

The limits of the state which can achieve the kind of individuality required appear to Dr. Bosanquet to admit of simple statement. "The nation-state is the widest organization which has a common experience necessary to found a common life." We have already criticized Dr. Bosanquet's conception of the limitation of common experience to the boundaries of any state short of humanity as a whole. That any philosopher should suggest that the nation-state is the last word in political development is surprising.

In the first place the identity of the nation with the state is perhaps not perfectly realized in any single known political community, while the divergencies in many political communities constitute one of the acute standing problems of most modern states. The only value of the term "nation-state" is that it serves as a mark of distinction on the one hand from the city-state of antiquity and on the other hand of the purely non-national empire, while it further indicates the kind of ideal to which the more fortunate political societies approximate and to which closer approximation is requisite if the problems referred to above are to be solved. These problems, however, are insoluble if the state is the unity on which Bosanquet insists. They are soluble only by recognizing detached allegiances within the state. Austria, for example, solved one of her difficulties fifty years ago by dualism. She may solve her present difficulties by trialism or possibly quadruplism. If her statesmen begin by saying that there must be one Austro-Hungarian state, to which Czech, Slovene, Croat and Serb owe unqualified allegiance, then the future for Austria holds no prospect but the continued menace of warfare.

In the Introduction to his second edition Dr. Bosanquet
seems to have modified his view of the limitation of the state to the boundaries of the nation. "How far even the absolute power of any one group in relation to individuals within it may be interfered with by constitutional tradition or by a conflict of authorities . . . or by international courts or leagues, is a question of degree and detail. . . . There is therefore no technical difficulty in the modification of the nation-state towards larger forms of authoritative co-operation so long as it is made clear to what system of authorities every separate human being is subject in respect to the ultimate adjustment of claims upon him."

Finally, in his recent book Social and International Ideals, he carries the subject further by a discussion of the idea of the League of Nations, which has now become a matter of practical politics. Each state, we are now told, is "a member of an ethical family of nations, so far at least as the European world is concerned"—we can hardly suppose Dr. Bosanquet intends to exclude America and other civilized nations—and Mazzini's doctrine is accepted that each state has its individual mission, furnishing its specific contribution to human life. Fundamentally this mission is discharged by the right performance on the part of each state of its internal function, the maintenance of the conditions of a good life, and an entire chapter is given to the development of the thesis that, if each state would look at home and reform itself, there would be no conflict of states and no wars. As a remedy for war, this is a little like the proposal that each man should reform himself as a remedy for social injustice. It is quite true that, if every one would reform himself, injustices would disappear, and similarly, if every state would reform itself, conflicts of states would disappear, but what is to happen if one or two or three states cultivate their own gardens, while other states cast covetous eyes on these gardens? That is the question which exercises the supporters of the League of Nations, who find in the requirement for internal reform nothing but a pious platitude as long as security against external disturbance is not guaranteed.
Dr. Bosanquet contends that beyond the state "there is no organized moral world," and that an organized moral world involves a unity which must grow out of a pervading will.¹ The advocate of the League of Nations will reply that he is seeking to establish an organized moral world, such as may give expression to the pervading desire for peace. Dr. Bosanquet answers ² that "though you may find several communities desiring peace and though they make a league to enforce it, their general wills taken together are not one will; that is, they have not in common the same object or views of life." It will be found that the real bond in a league of communities will be the bond of force. There will be a solid foundation for international unity only if there is a prevailing general will. This cannot be effected by setting up a machinery. The machinery must be a consequence, not the cause. Whether a true general will can in fact be realized in an area "exceeding what has generally been called the territories of a nation" is a problem for the future. The essential thing for the present is to insist that "the foundation of all sound political thinking is the supremacy of absolute values in the self-moulded life of the community."

The entire argument rests at bottom on an assertion of distinction in kind where there is only distinction of degree. The unity of the will in the state, except as an expression of a partial agreement for certain purposes, is, as we have seen, a fiction. The state itself frequently transcends what has been usually called the territories of a nation. The British Empire consists of many nations and many dependencies, but it has been shown to act together for certain purposes with great effect. Should it seek to unify itself for other purposes, it would be wrecked. Why cannot all civilized humanity then unite itself for some purposes and not others? Such a union, for Dr. Bosanquet, is mere machinery. We may agree that without a will to back it, the machinery would be unavailing. But Dr. Bosanquet himself admits the

¹ P. 313. ² P. 314.
converse proposition that the will would be unavailing without the machinery. What are those to do who have the will and desire to cultivate it? What can they do but endeavour to persuade others to agree with them in setting up the institutions required to express that will? If they get their way, the will has won its first victory. It has so far established itself, and that is the first step to consolidation. The machinery, Dr. Bosanquet objects, involves force, but the state itself involves force. In the procedure of the state we do not wait until every one agrees. We win enough agreement to make possible the application of force to the remainder who differ.

Dr. Bosanquet's discussion brings out the contrast between the metaphysical way of regarding social problems and the way which is at once ethical and scientific, or, in a word, practical. The metaphysical method says that in the state there is a real self and beyond it there are only external and mechanical relations. The practical spirit says men are involved in innumerable relations with their fellows, which require organization because, if unorganized, they are left to anarchy and disaster. All sorts of different organizations are required to deal with the different relations of men. They must be united for some purposes and left free for others. One sphere of life may be controlled by one organization and another by another, and both organizations may in turn be brought as parts within some common organization for certain purposes. Where there is to be unity and where there is to be freedom, what purposes are to be assigned to one organization and what to another, these are questions to be determined with such wisdom and foresight as we can win from experience in practical affairs. The utmost plasticity is required in adapting the form of organization to the multiplicity of human requirements. What ruins everything is the conception of an absolute sovereignty that admits no independent rights, an absolute unity that leaves no room for divergence, an absolute demarcation between a state which claims the entire devotion of its citizens and all other political or
social organizations which are conceived as mechanical, arbitrary and insignificant.

At the conclusion of his earlier work, Dr. Bosanquet passes to the question of the morality of state action. The discussion is inconclusive and so involved that it is difficult to grasp the real upshot. He seems to have great difficulty in admitting that the state can act immorally, but not wholly to repudiate its possibility. When he draws a distinction between the state and its agents, he seems to open the door to very Jesuitical interpretations. First he asks the question, When an act is immoral, can the state as such really have willed it? He waives this, however, as a mere refinement, so that one does not like to press the point against him personally. But it must be remarked that for the state as one organization of human beings to will something unjust to another organization of human beings seems no more difficult than for a family to act under an impulse of collective selfishness for its own good against the rights of another family, or for a Trade Union to inflict unjustifiable injury on another Trade Union. It is merely the confusion of the state as an organization with the rational will which causes any difficulty in the matter.

Bosanquet finds it hard to see how the state can commit theft or murder. History has not found it difficult to conceive governments and statesmen committing theft of other people's territories, and when Bosanquet denies (on p. 338) that a country is guilty of murder when it carries on war, he overlooks the justice or injustice of that war. Is it not in all seriousness collective murder on a large scale to carry war into the bounds of another country without a justification which must not only satisfy the state that plans the war but an impartial tribunal? Between an unjustifiable war and an act of brigandage there is no moral difference. The difficulty is to fix the guilt of individuals, but this is because the responsibility is diffused. It would generally speaking be harsh to charge the citizen soldier, acting partly under compulsion,
partly from a sense of loyalty, with bloodguiltiness; and yet the finer minds would, and do, refuse to fight in a quarrel which they are convinced is unjust. The Biglow Papers contain a sounder morality than Bosanquet's—

"Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
Go an' stick a feller thru,
Guv'ment aint to answer for it,
God'll send the bill to you."

But the responsibility of statesmen is surely much more direct, and those who are actively responsible for bringing on a war cannot as individuals shift the moral burden from their own consciences. If a higher international morality is to be achieved, it is precisely by reversing the argument of the idealist. The individual must not be able to shelter himself from moral responsibility behind the state. But the actions of the state being judged on the same principle as those of individuals, every individual supporting the state in its action must be rightly regarded as assuming a personal responsibility in so doing. As to the state itself, it may be said that an intangible thing like an organization cannot be the subject of moral guilt. Nevertheless that organization may be condemned as a bad organization and it may justly suffer punishments in the infliction of losses or penalties.

By a curiously involved argument the private honour of the agents of the state is distinguished from the good faith of the state itself. Dr. Bosanquet argues, so far justly, that the state is not to be blamed for the ill-faith or other misdeed of its agents. That is of course true on condition that the state does not consciously benefit by this misdeed. So much Bosanquet seems to admit, but he goes on to say that the agent is likely to go wrong if he mixes up the obligations of the state with his private honour. Precisely the contrary view must be maintained. If the agent of the state enters into an undertaking which, as an honourable man, he would not do on his own account, he is doing wrong and no reason of state justifies him. So low is the reputation of states that, for example, it was
palpable that the personal respect for Sir Edward Grey's character was a greater asset to British diplomacy in the years before the war and in the events leading up to it than any word of any government as government. The private standard is above the public standard, and therefore it is by insisting rather that statesmen are bound to act as honourable men than that honourable men should act as servants of the state that we can best hope to raise the moral level of the state.

The cause of all the hesitancy with which Bosanquet deals with this question is to be found in a paragraph on pp. 324–5. The state, we learn here, "has no determinate function in a larger community, but is itself the supreme community; the guardian of a whole world, but not a factor within an organized moral world. The moral relations presuppose an organized life; but such a life is only within the state and not in the relations between the state and other communities." The smaller part of the profound error found in this passage is the mistake as to fact. Organized relations of many kinds do exist at present outside the boundaries of the state, commercial relations, religious relations, the more ideal relations of community of thought, literature, art and the rest. But the fundamental fallacy is the conception that morality depends upon the legal organization which is the distinctive mark of the state. Moral relations exist as between all human beings, if not between all living beings, that come into any sort of contact with one another. For their full and adequate expression these relations no doubt require an organized expression. If, where they are close and frequent, they fail to obtain such organized expression, there is danger of moral anarchy. This is exactly the position which has arisen among nations of the present day. Here we have relations becoming ever closer and more vital, but a failure in the attempt to build up institutions to express, to shield and to develop the moral requirements which those relations impose. The vice of the idealist theory of the state is that it denies the need and even the possibility of such transcendence of state
limits. This theory, true to its fundamental misconception that the ideal is inherent in the nature of the existing order, proceeds to justify and apply the fallacy. There is no more glaring instance of that fallacy of philosophic idealism which has been expressed by saying that instead of seeking to realize the ideal it idealizes the real.

In his new volume Dr. Bosanquet discusses the question anew and repudiates with some warmth the accusation of denying the moral responsibility of the state. One is glad to think this was never his intention, but in view of the character noted above of his earlier discussion, it is not surprising if he laid himself open to some misunderstanding. He now asks his critics: "Is our fault in saying that the community, which asserts itself through the state, is a moral being and has a conscience, or is not a moral being and has not a conscience? They seem to me in effect to say both at once, but only one can be true." The reply to this is that Dr. Bosanquet has appeared to his critics to say both at once, that he has greatly exaggerated the moral character of the state in certain relations and appeared to depreciate it as unduly in others. This double and opposite exaggeration still, I feel, subsists in his new statement. The moral character of the state is exaggerated to the point of caricature when it is spoken of as "sole organizer of rights and as guardian of moral values." On the other hand, it is depreciated unduly in its external relations. Dr. Bosanquet repeats the allegation that there exists no organized moral world, prescribing the course of duty to the state. It is not the mere absence of sanction that makes the difference between the state and the individual; it is more—"the absence of a recognized moral order such as to guide the conscience itself."

On this I have two comments to make. In the first place, if the state is the conscience of mankind, the sole guardian of rights and duties, the moral individual in a much more real sense than the simple man or woman, how comes it that it has built up no moral order in its

\[ P. \, 282. \]

\[ P. \, 284. \]
external relations? Here are states (Dr. Bosanquet must in this relation admit the plural) in constant intercourse with each other. Each of them is a moral being with a conscience much more highly developed than that of any individual, yet on his showing these gifted beings have built up no recognized order to guide their consciences. They are left to anarchy and to do what is right in their own eyes, for this is what it comes to when it is said that the state must see in the moral world of which it is the guardian, the only definite guide in any difficult problem of its relations to others. It is a paradox that verges on contradiction that highly moral beings in close relations to one another should evolve no moral order and no common understanding.

Secondly, Dr. Bosanquet depreciates unduly the partial moral order which has actually been established. I do not recollect to have come across the phrase "international law" in the course of his discussion, nor in fact do I see it in the index. There is a law as between states and there has been "Sittlichkeit" between them, very imperfect no doubt, yet not without its value. What has paralysed the development of international law and morality is, on the side of theory, just that doctrine of state absolutism of which the idealistic theory of the state is the most subtle justification. Every organization of men tends to become conscienceless because it forms an internal public opinion wherein men back one another in the pursuit of everything that tends to the interest or feeds the pride in which, as members of the organization, they share. But in so great an organization as the state the impartial opinion of outsiders scarcely makes itself heard and every plea for right or reasonableness is denounced as treacherous. It is the high duty of philosophy to look beyond this narrow standpoint and seek the universal view. When philosophy deserts its duty, who will fulfil it? International anarchy is not due to philosophy but to the passions of men, but the restraint which humanitarian philosophy has sought to impose has been fatally loosened by the sophistications of idealism.
Developing his position in his recent volume, Dr. Bosanquet finds a double difficulty in the conception of "an organism of humanity" which he admits to be the natural extension of the idea of the social organism. The difficulty is (a) that humanity in fact possesses no communal consciousness whatever. Neither did England under the Heptarchy, nor France under the Merovingians. A common consciousness is a thing which grows, and Dr. Bosanquet admits that the defect might be overcome. The idea of humanity is due in part to the Stoic philosophy and in part to the great world religions, and if it has never fully matured, neither has it ever perished. It has never lost its appeal to the greater and deeper thinkers and teachers and it has continually inspired the missionary effort of the church. The conditions of an effective unity of mankind to-day are at least as matured as the conditions of an effective German unity in the eighteenth century, or an effective French unity during the Hundred Years' War. And just as a farsighted and wide-minded Frenchman or German was he who realized the unity underlying differences and prepared the way for its growth, so the farsighted man of to-day is he who holds to the unity of human nature and the common interests of mankind and places them above all causes of quarrel. But (b) Dr. Bosanquet finds no adequate expression of the higher human qualities in the aggregate of human beings. The valuable things are the possessions of particular communities and, "to put it bluntly, a duty to realize the best life cannot be shown to coincide with the duty to the masses of mankind." We do not need to be told that the achievements of ancient Athens and modern France are not shared by Hottentots and Kaffirs. But it does not follow that Hottentots and Kaffirs are outside the pale of rights and duties, and I do not suppose Dr. Bosanquet would contend that they are. But to say this is to admit the fundamental principle of universalism, that all human beings, as human, are within the scope of the fundamental moral law. Special obligations arise in distinct communities, but these are developments of common obligations which man owes to
man. To make them override these fundamentals, to push devotion to a group to the point at which it breaks with the common rule, is the sin of all group morality, of which the Machiavellian doctrine of the state is the standing example.

Finally, Dr. Bosanquet imputes to the Comtists the mistake of identifying humanity as a real corporate being with the aggregate of human beings. That this is a complete misapprehension will be shown by the following passage by a distinguished Comtist:

"No one thinks that when he mentions the word England or France or Germany, he is talking of a ghost or a phantom. Nor does he mean a vast collection of so many millions of men in the abstract; so many million ghosts. Man in the abstract is of all abstractions the most unreal. By England we mean the prejudices, customs, traditions, history, peculiar to Englishmen, summed up in the present generation, in the living representatives of the past history. So with Humanity... Is such a religion self-worship?... What explains the error is the belief that by Humanity we mean the same thing as the human race. We mean something widely different. Of each man's life, one part has been personal, the other social: one part consists in actions for the common good, the other part in actions of pure self-indulgence, and even of active hostility to the common welfare. Such actions retard the progress of Humanity, though they cannot arrest it: they disappear, perish, and are finally forgotten. There are lives wholly made up of actions such as these. They form no part of Humanity. Humanity consists only of such lives, and only of those parts of each man's life, which are impersonal, which are social, which have converged to the common good."

The "Comtist" Humanity is mankind in so far as it forms a spiritual unity. To this unity individuals, races, communities contribute, some more and some less, some perhaps not at all; and the contribution may be conscious or unconscious. Dr. Bosanquet should find no difficulty here. The state is for him a real corporate being which has an aggregate of citizens for its members, some of whom contribute to its unity much, some little, and others, as individuals, perhaps not at all, while the contribution

1 J. H. Bridges, Essays and Addresses, pp. 86–8.
may in any case be conscious or unconscious. There are difficulties in the Comtist conception, but it is both more spiritual and truer to fact than the idealistic conception. More spiritual because it goes below the externals of unity and relies on the permanence and penetrativeness of the inward forces which, uniting man to man, have built up the fabric of collective achievement. It is, so to say, a unity of the church rather than of the state. More true to fact because it recognizes that the higher values, on which Dr. Bosanquet insists, are not the achievements of one state or one nation, but of many, that the history of thought, ethics, religion or art, is not a history of separate communities but a world history. The co-operation, conscious or unconscious, which has wrought the best things in civilized life, is one to which races and peoples have contributed unequally, and some have not contributed at all, but it is one which far transcends the limit of any people or nation, not to speak of any state.

But below the idea of humanity, which he deems merely a confusion, Dr. Bosanquet detects a darker and more dangerous aspiration. He "suspects" current ideas of the international future to be seriously affected by popular notions of progress and an evanescence of evil, which should "compensate for the wrongs and sufferings of the past." To the idealist this is sheer blasphemy against the Absolute. Dr. Bosanquet tells us that he personally believes in a nobler future, but since the Absolute is perfection and since evil exists, evil is necessary to perfection and its evanescence seems "altogether contradictory." Its disappearance is certainly a remote danger. The world need not be under the apprehension of a premature drying up of the springs of misery and wrong. In the meanwhile it is instructive to find that in the last resort the gospel of state absolutism and opposition to the League of Nations rests on the necessity of evil as a part of the permanent scheme of things. Dr. Bosanquet may say that at any rate future good is no compensation for past wrong. In a sense, we must all agree, wrong done cannot be undone. Blighted and ruined lives cannot
be lived anew. Yet, if it is a question of the depth and genuineness of the feeling that a better future for the world is worth the sacrifice of the present generation, the idealist may bethink himself of many a young man, German as well as English, who has found in this thought an alleviation of the stark horrors of the trenches and the near approach of mutilation or death. It is not a question of compensation, but of the final meaning of the painful struggle of human life. If the world cannot be made incomparably better than it has hitherto been, then the struggle has no issue, and we had better strengthen the doctrine of the militant state and arm it with enough high explosive to bring life to an end. At any rate the final question is laid bare. There are those who believe life can be made good. There are those who believe it is good enough already. There are those who see life as an effort towards a harmony, of which as yet we see only the germs. They are well aware of all the tragedy that is involved in growth and do not delude themselves with any dream of personal reparation, but they recognize in the evolutionary process a principle which is neither the blind whirl of conflicting passions nor the clash of egoisms, but the emergence of a spirit of harmonious freedom, and on this they rest, and with this they identify themselves. There are those again for whom the world as it is is the incarnation of the ideal, for whom change is secondary and of no vital significance. For them evil must be justified as essential to good, though a more self-contradictory conception than that of good maintaining evil for its own purposes cannot well be devised. To the former the turning-point in the development of harmony is the clear consciousness and the adequate expression of the unity of mankind. To the latter it is a source of apprehension because it would cut the tap-root of those egoisms of state and nation, class and sex, colour and race, which engender the massive miseries of the world.

We have summed up the metaphysical theory in three propositions. (1) The individual attains his true self
and freedom in conformity to his real will; (2) this real will is the general will; and (3) the general will is embodied in the state. We have seen reasons for denying all these propositions. We have maintained that there is no distinction between the real will and the actual will, that the will of the individual is not identical with the general will and that the rational order, which the general will is supposed to maintain, is not confined and may be opposed to the state organization. We have suggested that serious fallacies, as calamitous morally as they are logically vicious, are involved in the political philosophy which turns upon this conception. But it would be unfair to the metaphysical theory of the state to leave the impression that it has always received the kind of interpretation which we have here examined. In the hands of Green, for example, the notion of the general will is stated in terms which bring it into closer relation to the facts of experience, and the relation of the state to the individual is so defined as to approach far more closely to the organic conception of society. It is not my purpose here either to explain or criticize Green's *Principles of Political Obligation*, a work of great power and of some weaknesses, which could not be adequately examined in anything short of an independent treatise, but for the sake of fairness to Green and to living writers who have drawn their principal inspiration from him rather than Hegel, I would call attention to one or two points in which Green departs notably from the Hegelian model.

First and above all, the right of the individual runs through Green's entire argument. For Green, each man has to attain his own good, realize his own perfection as an integral part of the common good. If society has a claim upon him for the performance of his duty, he likewise has a claim upon society for the power to fulfil it. (P. 347:) "The claim or right of the individual to have certain powers secured to him by society, and the counterclaim of society to exercise certain powers over the individual, alike rest on the fact that these powers are necessary to the fulfilment of man's
vocation as a moral being, to an effectual self-devotion to the work of developing the perfect character in himself and others." The state does not absorb the individual. It is (p. 443) "a body of persons, recognized by each other as having rights and possessing certain institutions for the maintenance of those rights." The reciprocal relations of state and society could not be put better in a single and succinct phrase. The rights of the individual certainly do not exist independently of society, but they are conditions of its own best life and therefore of the best life of the individuals which constitute it, which society is bound to recognize. (P. 351:) "Only through the possession of rights can the power of the individual freely to make a common good his own have reality given to it. Rights are what may be called the negative realization of this power. That is, they realize it in the sense of providing for its free exercise, of securing the treatment of one man by another as equally free with himself; but they do not realize it positively, because their possession does not imply that in any active way the individual makes a common good of his own. The possession of them, however, is the condition of this positive realization of the moral capacity, and they ought to be possessed because this end (in the sense explained) ought to be attained."

Where Green is less happy, as I think, is in his discussion of the rights which society ought to recognize but does not. Thus he tells us on p. 416 "a right against society, in distinction from a right to be treated as a member of society, is a contradiction in terms." The truth which this sentence contains is that a right is a social relation just as much as a duty is a social relation, your right being something which I or some one else or society at large owes to you. But Green is apt to confuse the social character of rights with the recognition of rights, even going so far as to say (p. 446) "rights are made by recognition. There is no right 'but thinking makes it so.'" This is not consistent with his admission (p. 351) of "rights which remain rights though any particular state or all
states refuse to recognize them"; a sense in which he has justly said a slave has natural rights. He gives the truth in the following sentence (p. 450): "They are 'natural' in the sense of being independent of, and in conflict with, the laws of the state in which he lives, but they are not independent of social relations." What is needed to make these positions consistent is merely to observe that social relations are not all conscious relations. The position is well stated in an early lecture (p. 353): "The capacity, then, on the part of the individual of conceiving a good as the same for himself and others, and of being determined to action by that conception, is the foundation of rights; and rights are the condition of that capacity being realized." Such a condition is something objective, independent of recognition. If any one can prove that some specific condition is in fact requisite to the realization of a good life, then that condition is scientifically demonstrated to be a right, though it may never have been recognized from the beginning of time to the present day, and though society may refuse to recognize it now. It is in this sense that all true rights are natural rights.

In all this discussion Green is on the track of the truth, but is obstructed by his idealistic presupposition that what is real must somehow be in the minds of men. Enough, however, has been said to show that Green's conception of the common good, far from overriding the individual, assumes his participation as an individual, and, far from ignoring his rights, jealously preserves them as conditions under which he is a free and rational being to achieve a good which is his own as well as the good of society.1

1 In his new volume, Social and International Ideals, Dr. Bosanquet advances a fresh definition of the state, which is more in line with Green's way of thinking. "I understand by the state the power which, as an organ of the community, has the function of maintaining the external conditions necessary to the best life. These conditions are called rights. They are the claims recognized by the whole of the community as the sine quä non of the highest obtainable fulfilment of the capacities for the best life possessed by its best members." This seems to carry a much fuller recognition of the individual than is usual in Dr. Bosanquet's writings. If
Nor does the general will in Green figure as the common self. It is rather an element in popular psychology, which Green finds in experience. Thus he speaks (p. 404) of "that impalpable congeries of the hopes and fears of a people, bound together by common interests and sympathy, which we call the general will." For Green it is the common will and reason of men, that is "the will and reason of men as determined by social relations, as interested in each other, as acting together for common ends." In these expressions we are at any rate in contact with reality. It may be said that they are vague, but Green might reply that so also are the facts which he is describing. That is to say, the actual extent to which men are swayed by common interests, the degree of their allegiance to the social order, the strength of the emotion prompting to obedience or warring against it are not rigidly determined, they fluctuate from people to people, even from district to district and from occasion to occasion. There is, he seems to say, a common good, which to the reflective mind is a definite conception and a clear ideal, but which is vaguely and partially apprehended by the ordinary man, so that it is rather the diffused sense of the common good than a clear purpose of realizing it which operates as a force in the ordinary life of society. These are propositions, I would suggest, rather in social psychology than in metaphysics.

When Green goes on to contend that will, in the sense which he has described, and not force is the basis of the state, it becomes clear that his conception of the state has to be shaped to suit his definition. But of course he admits the element of force and shows how it is fused with moral factors and in the end saves his general proposition by excluding political organizations based on power. (P. 443:) "We only count Russia a state by a sort of consistently pressed, it would, I think, lead to the reconstruction of his entire theory, but the chapter from which it is taken is professedly not a correction but a restatement of his theory of the state, and the criticisms on this theory in general must therefore stand unaffected.
courtesy on the supposition that the power of the Czar, though subject to no constitutional control, is so far exercised in accordance with a recognized tradition of what the public good requires as to be on the whole a sustainer of rights."

Green's principle, therefore, is less paradoxical, perhaps also less important, than appears at first sight. If will not force is the basis of the state, that is because only that society is a state which is based not on force but on will. It would be unfair, however, to reduce Green's argument to a truism. We may fairly put his conclusion in this form. In every organized society there are other elements than force sustaining the general conformity to law, and in the higher organization of society conditions are realized in which force recedes further and further into the background, goodwill at each step taking its place. Only societies which have made some sensible progress in this direction deserve the name of states. This definition would seem to be justified by the comparative study of political institutions.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that in Green's hands the conception of the general will is not allowed to overwhelm the individual, nor to override the moral law, but that the state is thought of rather as a guarantor to the individual of the conditions which enable him to fulfil his functions as a moral being. It may be objected that if we go behind Green's philosophy to his metaphysics, we shall find ourselves involved in the old difficulties of the universal and the particular and once more find personality absorbed in the universal self. This may be true, but it is a criticism of Green as a metaphysician rather than of Green as a political thinker. His living interest was in practical life, the strength of his grasp lay upon the hard problems of social reform. He was at his best in working through practical issues to the principles guiding them. As he receded from these principles to the ultimate theory of ethics and metaphysics, his grasp grew weaker and his meaning is often lost in obscurity and confusion. Descending again from this misty region to the
living world, we find the man for whom principles at least mean something which will affect the life of human beings, which will guide them in wisdom or mislead them in folly, will teach them to ensue the happiness of their kind or justify them in their pride and ambition, which are the cause of misery in society. In his political lectures Green never forgets that theoretical principles are charged with weighty meaning for the lives of men.

If we compare Green's account of the general will with that of Bosanquet and others, we shall, I think, arrive at the conclusion that several distinct conceptions are covered by this term which must be held apart if any such phrases are to be used at all without breeding confusion. (1) In the first place there is a conception of the common good, whether real or supposed. The common good is not the same thing as the common will, though if there were such a thing as a common will, it is presumably the common good at which it would aim. The common good is the well-being actually shared by the members of society, or conceived as desirable for the members of society, either, therefore, something actually existent or something which may be brought about. It may be regarded as realized or realizable in certain permanent institutions and conditions of life. (2) We may distinguish such permanent conditions from a particular object which may be conceived as a part of the common good for the time being, e.g. victory in war. This we may call a common aim. (3) Corresponding to the common good or the common aim there may be a will to maintain the common good or to achieve the common aim. This may be called the good will. It may exist in any individual, but, as existing in a single individual, it would not seem appropriate to speak of it as a general will. It is just the will of a particular man to secure a common good or a common purpose. (4) But, further, such a will may be diffused more or less widely in society. If the will of a society were so united that every one of its members willed one and the same

1 Good at least from the point of view of the society. One might call it the loyal will.
common object, as e.g. if the whole society is bent upon victory in a war, there would be something which we could appropriately and unambiguously describe as a general will, that is to say, a will active in all the members of a society as individuals to achieve an object by their organized efforts for their society as a whole. (5) If, further, we suppose all the members of a society to understand and appreciate the permanent good of the society as a whole and to will the necessary means for securing it, there would similarly be a general will to promote the common good. We may allow a little further latitude, and if such a will is shared, not by the whole of society but by a majority, we may still call it a general will, but for this particular case no special term really seems requisite. The general will here is simply the will of the majority. (6) But this is not the sense of the general will which seems really to be intended by the phrase. To interpret Green's expressions we must think rather of a network of psychological forces making on the whole in a determinate direction, generally speaking for the maintenance of a certain social structure, and more specifically for the attainment of certain definite objects. This network of forces will in a free society obtain expression ultimately in the will of the majority, but it is a good deal more complex and subtle than the content of any majority vote on a specific issue. What goes to make up the bent of the public mind in this sense is not merely so many definite acts of will in such and such a number of individuals. It is the intense conviction in some, the relative feebleness in others, the tacit acquiescence in one man, the partisan feeling in another, the support of a certain section on one particular part of the issue in spite of indifference or hostility on other portions of the issue, a prejudice which buttresses up the case on this side, a weakness which paralyses opposition on another side—a miscellaneous congeries of impulses driven hither and thither, out of all of which there will emerge through reams of controversy some tangible result. Will, which means the basis of clearly thought out action, is really a bad expression
for this unorganized mass of psychological forces of every sort and kind that actually go to the making up of great political decisions. It will probably be true, with Green, to hold that within this congeries there is a permanent element partly above and partly below the level of consciousness, guided directly or indirectly by considerations bearing on the common good. There are, for example, people who will not put themselves about much for justice in general but will be shocked by some act of concrete iniquity with which they come into personal contact. Those who have not been troubled to oppose a bad law in principle find themselves irked by one of its applications. Conversely, the normal man who does not generalize about the social good will deal with practical issues often enough in the way which principle would require. (7) And lastly, though we have taken exception to the description of the social tradition as an embodiment of the objective reason, we have not of course denied that thought and will have gone to the building up of institutions. It is not, as we have repeatedly maintained, one thought and one will, but the combination of many minds thinking and willing, each by its own lights and each acting too often in accordance with its selfish interests. None the less there is a sense in which the institutions and traditions of society imply a certain social mentality. The acceptance of such traditions, though generally unreflective, cannot be wholly unconscious, and each individual as he accepts them fits himself into a scheme of life, not as voluntarily choosing that scheme as a whole, but as accepting his part in it. This acceptance affects the mind of each individual, calling forth one faculty and repressing another, and so modifies the mental growth. Thus the outer behaviour of society as seen in its manners and customs must have an inner mentality to match. So far as there is discrepancy a change will take place in institutions. To express this aspect of social life, we might speak of social mentality, provided we understand that the kind of unity which the term expresses is not the unity of a person or self but that of many centres of thought and will in interaction.
One or another of these meanings seem to be in the mind of those who use the term "general will"; but the real objection to the term is that in so far as it is will it is not general, and in so far as it is general it is not will. The common good is explicitly willed by a minority of thinking and public-spirited individuals. What is general is more undefined and perhaps indefinable, a participation in the variegated mass of psychological forces out of which the actions and development of the community emerge.

We may be asked in conclusion whether after all we are to entirely deny any further meaning and reality to the general will. Was it not admitted at the beginning that there is a sense in which society is more than its members, and is it not this sense which the general will expresses? We can understand the service of our country. Can we in the same way appreciate the service to an indefinite number of individuals like ourselves, and is that what we rely upon in patriotism or in other forms of social duty? Is the collective life of society to go for nothing, and can it all be resolved away into its constituent atoms?

The broad answer to this question can, I think, only be found in the qualifications which we introduced to the statement that the life of a whole is more than that of its parts. The proposition is true, as we saw, only in this sense: that the life of the whole is more or other than that of the parts as they exist or would exist outside the whole. The body is something other than the cells which compose it, for this simple reason among others, that the cells die when separated from the body and therefore rapidly cease to be that which they at present are. But that the body is other than the totality of the cells composing it as they exist within the body, as they function in unison with one another, is a different and, as I think, an untrue proposition. We move in this region between two poles of fallacy. Wherever we have a whole consisting of parts, we are tempted to say that the whole is something other than the sum of its parts, whereby our view of the parts is distorted and the effect of their interactions ignored.
Or, in reaction from this view, we are tempted to say the parts alone are real and that the whole is only a way of regarding them or at best a superficial consequence of their juxtaposition in certain relations to one another. Both these theories are untrue. The first theory always and the second of those wholes which have any distinctive character of their own.

If I cast my eye idly over the leaves strewn on the lawn, I may count them and discover that there are thirty-seven, and treat the thirty-seven as forming a whole. This numerical whole is nothing to the actual leaves. As I count, three of the thirty-seven have run away with the wind and instead of thirty-seven I have thirty-four, which not having been moved are just what they were before. Such a numerical whole is the limiting case in which the parts are unaffected by the totality. It is just their arithmetical sum, no more and no less. If I gather the leaves into a heap, they are at least an aggregate that can be picked up and carried away. But still the aggregate has no permanence and its effect upon the parts is very small and very casual. Unless they happen to be somewhat crushed out of shape by pressure, the leaves will experience no change in passing into the whole and out of it again. If, on the other hand, I consider the leaf itself, even the dead leaf, it is something more than an aggregate. It consists of parts no doubt, but the parts are connected by definite ties. The leaf acts as a whole. If the wind catches a part of it, that part carries the rest along with it. Such a whole of parts in a determinate arrangement which for some purpose act together, is a structure which is in every respect as real and significant as the elements which compose it. What we call the onesided analytic tendency is the tendency to deny this, to think the cells something more real than the leaf, which is thus conceived only as a certain arrangement of cells, and the molecules of protoplasm more real than the cells and the atoms more real than the molecule. We get rid of a bunch of fallacies incidental to this line of argument when we refuse to speak of more or less real altogether.
Atoms, molecules, protoplasm, cells, leaf, all are just real or unreal. What we can say is that in many cases the elements are more permanent than the whole which they constitute. Certain physical molecules, for example, remain, I suppose, when the dead leaf begins to decompose, and it is this permanence, or supposed permanence, of the simple elements underlying complex structures, which has given the illusion of their greater reality. Conversely, in many cases the whole is more permanent than the parts. E.g. the living organism is always absorbing and excreting material elements. It remains while its components change. The components do not indeed pass out of existence when they leave the whole, but in proportion as the structure is organic they are profoundly modified. The cell does not survive the leaf, nor does the protoplasm, as protoplasm, the cell. Of any organic structure this principle will hold true. The parts will not survive the structure unaltered. Something in each may survive, but it will not be exactly that which existed within the whole.

Now in human society, as in the material world, there are many fortuitous aggregations, producing slight contact between individuals. The people who happen to be walking along a street at a particular time may be numerically conceived of as a whole, though they are barely modified by any contact with one another. A crowd is more united than this, though it has no structure, but for the time being people are affected by close contact with one another, and to that extent even a crowd is a unity and a reality, though not one with endurance. Passing on, we find all sorts of associations into which men can enter, affecting their lives in very varying degrees. When the effect is slight, we may well say that it is the individuals that are permanent, and if the society is broken up, it is just resolved into its component individuals, who remain very much what they were before. When we come to the deeper and more stable associations, this would no longer be true. The life of the family is an integral part of the men and women that compose it. When it breaks up the lives of those that remain may be tragically altered;
certainly they are very different from what they would have been if they had never known a family life. The same thing would be true of a religious body, or of a state, or of any great movement, intellectual, social or political, into which a man throws himself. All these deeper associations are of the organic type. They express important elements, perhaps fundamental elements, in the lives which compose them, so that without them those individuals would be essentially other than they are.

If thus for a moment we think of the life or value of such an association in terms of individuals, we must in turn think of the individuals as contributing and consciously contributing to the life of the whole. If the soldier is told that to die for England means to die for English men and women, he might say that that was good enough for him, but he might also go on to say that it is not merely for men and women as men and women, but for men and women as continuing to lead a certain life, as maintaining and developing the tradition which is essentially England. This tradition lives in nothing but individuals; all of it that is incorporated in material, even the land itself, however much that is the object of affection, vanishes into insignificance apart from the humanity which it subserves. The tradition, on the other hand, might flourish as well on foreign soil, as colonization proves, and as was understood by William the Silent when he thought of transporting the entire population of Holland and Zeeland to a part of the world where they could maintain their life free from the empire-state which was crushing it.

Thus the character of a social whole is as much in danger of being misunderstood when it is resolved into its component individuals as it is when conceived as separate from them, as though it were not made by them. The true organic theory is that the whole is just what is constituted by the co-operation of the parts, neither more nor less, not more real nor less real, not of higher nor of inferior value. In saying this we must take time into account. All the parts strictly means all that have been
or will be while the whole endures. When this succession of members is taken into account, it is true to equate the perfectly organic whole with the sum of its parts in their co-operative activity. But there is a sense in which a whole may be less, and a sense in which it may be more than its existing parts. (1) Wholes in general, even relatively organic wholes, may engage only a portion of the activity or capacity of their members. This is eminently true of human associations, none of which embrace the entire life of man. In such a case it is only the portion incurred in the whole that can be said to live or die with the whole, and only so far as that portion is concerned that there is anything of the nature of an organic union. One of the fallacies of the metaphysical theory is to identify the individual with one particular association, and to speak of his obligations to that association in terms only applicable to the sum of his duties and interests in all the relations of his life. (2) While some wholes are less, others, and particularly those which engage the deeper nature of men, are more permanent than their members. When we go, for example, below the state to the nation and beyond the nation to the great movements of civilization, we come to things in which the whole truly is something far greater than any of the parts that constitute it at any one moment. What concerns humanity is that such wholes should be maintained in so far as they serve its abiding interest. But this again is not, if we think it out, to erect the whole into an object distinct and opposed to those who have been, are or will be its members. It is merely to grasp its far-reaching extension, its deeply rooted continuity. The nation is all the generations which compose it as long as they maintain a certain unity and as long as the thread of causation remains uncut. More than this it is not.\footnote{When taken as more it will be found to be really less. If the good of the state is opposed to that of its component members, it is because its good is being found in ends which do not make life really better, for example, glory, wealth, expansion and power. Such ends the masses may serve in their capacity of “cannon-}
In what terms we are to describe the reality of the social wholes is a standing difficulty of sociology. They are, as we have seen, of organic character, yet, if we speak of them as organisms, we are liable to confound them with animals or plants, which they are not. Essentially they are unities of mind. Their component elements are minds and the relations into which these elements enter are determined by mental operations. Yet if we speak of them as personalities, we are liable to the fallacy of the common self. Social inquiry suffers from nothing so much as a lack of technical terms or of suitable metaphor to supply the place of technical terms. It has to use words derived from other orders of experience and conceptions elaborated in other sciences. What we must most eschew is any term suggesting a form of unity realized in some other whole than the particular social whole which we are consider-

fodder," but then they are not parts of the state but mere living tools, the effective organization consisting of the rulers and generals who want the glory. At bottom, when any organized human society is alleged to have a good other than that of its members, it means a good, at least a supposed good, of some of its members without regard to the remainder. It may be said that these unhappy ones acquiesce, e.g. when the multitude lets itself be dominated by its chiefs and led by them to the slaughter in the desire to share even in a subordinate capacity in the glory of reducing other people to a still more abject subjection. This is the solution suggested in a peculiarly sinister passage in Nietzsche. If so, the people constitute themselves partners of a common good of a false and inhuman sort. So far as the illusion of service to a state standing above its members encourages such false values, it is practically mischievous as well as theoretically false. Where an organized society has a "good" opposed to the summed up gain and loss of its component members, it is either that some of those alleged members are treated merely as instruments external to the body they share or that the good is a false good, cheating even those that partake of it.

When we speak of a good we mean a good supposed to be realized in the life of society itself. So far as any society subserves ends beyond its own limits, as, e.g. a state may be said to owe, and even to perform, a service to civilization, different principles of course apply. It may be right and good for a state like Belgium to risk all in such a case, but even here there is no final distinction between the duty or well-being of Belgium and of the Belgians as Belgians.
ing. Such a term is "a common self" or "the general will," suggested by a particular unity which connects the parts of a personality and which is precisely the form of unity that different persons do not achieve and into which they cannot enter. Such a term as "mind," "soul" or "spirit," though not satisfactory, is more appropriate, if so used as to suggest a collective character rather than a substantial unity. We can speak of the soul of a people, meaning thereby certain fundamental characteristics of their psychology which we believe to be widespread and important in the shaping of their social behaviour. We speak of the spirit of the times not inappropriately as a summary name for certain moral and intellectual tendencies, and generally the term "spirit" is appropriate for the relations of finite centres of intelligence each thinking, feeling and acting with reference to one another, and so linked together by mental and moral causation, just as physical structures are united by mechanical forces. But whatever terms we use, the rule of logic is simple. Our reasonings must always stand the test of substituting the thing defined for the definition. We must avoid importing into our defining term the associations which belong to it in another capacity. If we keep this rule before us, the terms which we use to describe society will have a less disturbing effect upon the progress of sociology. Thus, if we speak of a society as organic, we must not think of it as a great Leviathan, a whole related to individuals as a body to its cells. We must regard the organic as a genus into which animals and plants fall as species and society as another species. So considered, an organism is a whole constituted by the interconnection of parts which are themselves maintained each by its interconnection with the remainder. Its mutual determination is the organic character which any given structure may share in greater or less degree, a structure being organic in so far as this character prevails and otherwise inorganic. In its completeness the organic is an ideal. But actual societies have a touch of the organic character, some
more and some less. It is on this character that social ethics depends. It is through this character that societies, like biological organisms, maintain their plastic adaptability, their power of adjustment to new circumstances, of repairing injuries, of resilience to strokes of fortune. It is by reference to this character that their development is to be measured. This principle is set at nought when society is so resolved into individuals that the character of the life which they share is left out of account. It is equally set at nought when its life is regarded as other than that which its members live in their dealings with one another. The happiness and misery of society is the happiness and misery of human beings heightened or deepened by its sense of common possession. Its will is their wills in the conjoint result. Its conscience is an expression of what is noble or ignoble in them when the balance is struck. If we may judge each man by the contribution he makes to the community, we are equally right to ask of the community what it is doing for this man. The greatest happiness will not be realized by the greatest or any great number unless in a form in which all can share, in which indeed the sharing is for each an essential ingredient. But there is no happiness at all except that experienced by individual men and women, and there is no common self submerging the soul of men. There are societies in which their distinct and separate personalities may develop in harmony and contribute to a collective achievement.
CONCLUSION

The best and the worst things that men do they do in the name of a religion. Some have supposed that only supernatural religion could mislead. The history of our time shows that if men no longer believe in God they will make themselves gods of Power, of Evolution, of the Race, the Nation, or the State. In the name of such gods will they drench a continent with blood, and the youth will offer themselves up as willing martyrs. There is no double dose of original sin which established this worship in Germany. It is the product of a combination of historic causes—the long division of the people, their geographical situation, the national reaction against Napoleon, the achievement of union by military means, the fear of the Czardom, causing the acquiescence of the more pacific elements in militarism, the loss by emigration of those who would not tolerate the governing system. The idealized exaltation of the state supervened to reconcile the thinking classes and give them a creed justifying their dislike of humanitarianism. In Hegel's hands this creed had, as we have seen, its idealistic side, and events had to move before this could be shed, and the naked doctrine of Power be proclaimed by Treitschke. But the elevation of the state above men means at bottom the supremacy of Power. It is the natural creed of an aristocracy or a bureaucracy, as insistence on Personality is the natural creed of the people. Theories of politics or of conduct that live long and retain influence have something more than theory behind them. They appeal to powerful instincts and interests, and the Hegelian
CONCLUSION

philosophy is no exception. It appeals to the instincts and interests of counsellors and kings, of privileged classes, of Property and Order. It plays on the fear of fundamental criticism, of the razor-edge of thought, of the claim of conscience to scrutinize institutions and ordinances. It appeals to the slavishness which accepts a master if he will give the slave a share of tyranny over others more deeply enslaved. It satisfies national egoism and class ascendancy.

It was by no accident that the Greatest Happiness Principle took root and flourished during and after the last great war that devastated Europe. The spectacle of the massive misery caused by Governments had its recoil. Men began to test institutions and ideas of life by their effect on the felt happiness and misery of millions, and they found in the "happy fireside for weans and wife" a truer measure of a nation's greatness than stricken fields and extended territory. To that view in essence we are returning to-day. Much has been learnt in the interval, and a modern thinker could not regard happiness crudely as a sum of pleasures, or divorce it from the mode of life which is its substance, or judge the well-being of a whole society by the contentment of a numerical majority. But the desire to arrest the misery of mankind will revive in double strength. Europe has undergone its martyrdom, millions in the service of false gods, other millions in resisting them. It will ask itself what is the true God and where the true religion. The answer, whatever it be, must rest on this truth, that the higher ethics and the deeper religion do not come to destroy the simplest rights and duties of neighbour to neighbour, but to fulfil and extend them. Great purposes, vast schemes, haunt the imagination of man, and urge him on to achievements without which life would be relatively poor and stagnant. But too often such purposes are built on foundations of human misery and wrong. It is the rarer insight which sees in the great good the comprehensive unity of all the little things that make up the life of the common man. The theory of the state
is a case in point. The state is a great organization. Its well-being is something of larger and more permanent import than that of any single citizen. Its scope is vast. Its service calls for the extreme of loyalty and self-sacrifice. All this is true. Yet when the state is set up as an entity superior and indifferent to component individuals it becomes a false god, and its worship the abomination of desolation, as seen at Ypres or on the Somme. When it is conceived as a means to the extension of our duty towards our neighbour, a means whereby we can apply effectively and on the large scale what we know to be good in the simple personal relations of life, no such discord arises. The purposes of political action are no way narrowed, but purified and humanized. We learn to think of our political conduct in terms of the vast reverberation of consequences on thousands and millions of lives, great and lowly, present and to come. We cannot, indeed, ever adequately interpret great general truths in terms of the particulars which they cover. To give to vast social issues all their human meaning is beyond the power of imagination—an imagination which recoils even from the effort to appreciate the daily list of casualties. But the true progress of political thought lies in the cultivation of imaginative power. It insists on going back from the large generality, the sounding abstraction, the imposing institution, to the human factors which it covers. Not that it wishes to dissolve the fabric. Men must continue to build, and on deeper foundations and with larger plans. But there must be no slave buried alive beneath the corner stone. Or rather, the fabric is no building, but a tissue of living, thinking, feeling beings, of whom every one is "an end and not a means merely," and the value of the whole is marred if it requires the suffering of any single element. There is no lack of vastness in this design. It might rather be accused of vagueness, if it were not that it starts with the simple relations of man and man and bids each of us seek to realize in political conduct and through social institutions, on the widest scale and in impersonal relations, what we well
understand in our private lives as "our duty towards our neighbour."

Political morality is not super-morality, setting ordinary obligations aside. It is morality extended and defined, stripped of the limitations of class or national prejudice, generalized for application in great impersonal organizations, the only thing that can save such organizations from becoming inhuman. It may be said that institutions and politics generally can do little to make individuals happy. That may be true, but they can do a vast deal to make individuals unhappy, and to cut off this great source of woe is no unworthy aim. That is why a sound political philosophy will always insist on the individual, the freedom which is his basis of self-respect, the equality which is his title to consideration, the happiness whereof "the tiny bowl is so easily spilt." It is not that our little lives are rounded in ourselves. On the contrary, if we find happiness anywhere, it is only in merging ourselves in some greater object. It is that if all objects worthy of effort may be considered as contributing to the advancement of mankind, this advancement, properly understood, goes not over the bodies and souls of individuals like a Juggernaut's car, but through their heightened activities and larger lives like a quickening spirit. Here precisely lies the issue between two views of the state. In the democratic or humanitarian view it is a means. In the metaphysical view it is an end. In the democratic view it is the servant of humanity in the double sense that it is to be judged by what it does for the lives of its members and by the part that it plays in the society of humankind. In the metaphysical view it is itself the sole guardian of moral worth. In the democratic view the sovereign state is already doomed, destined to subordination in a community of the world. In the metaphysical view it is the supreme achievement of human organization. For the truth let the present condition of Europe be witness.