THE METAPHYSICAL THEORY
OF THE STATE

LECTURE I

THE OBJECTS OF SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

People naturally begin to think about social questions when they find that there is something going wrong in social life. Just as in the physical body it is the ailment that interests us, while the healthy processes go on without our being aware of them, so a society in which everything is working smoothly and in accordance with the accepted opinion of what is right and proper raises no question for its own members. We are first conscious of digestion when we are aware of indigestion, and we begin to think about law and government when we feel law to be oppressive or see that government is making mistakes. Thus the starting-point of social inquiry is the point at which we are moved by a wrong which we desire to set right, or, perhaps at a slightly higher remove, by a lack which we wish to make good. But from this starting-point reflection advances to a fuller and more general conception of society. If we begin by criticizing some particular injustice, we are led on to discuss what justice is. Beginning with some special social disorder, we are forced to examine the nature of social order and the purposes for which society exists. The social theory which we reach on these lines is a theory of ends, values, purposes, which leads us up to Ethics or Moral Philosophy, to questions of the rights and duties of man, and the means by which institutions of society may be made to
conform thereto. The principles of Ethics are supreme, or, as they have been called, architectonic. They apply to man in all relations and to life on all sides. They guide, or are meant to guide, the personal life of man no less than his collective and political activities. They provide the standard by which all human relations are to be judged. When, therefore, we study social and political institutions with a view to ascertaining their value or justification, our inquiry is in reality a branch of Ethics. Our results rest in the end on the application of principles of well-being to the social organization of man. This is one perfectly legitimate method of social inquiry, and as involving an analysis of common experience, leading up to or down from a theory of ends or values, it is appropriately called Social Philosophy.

Legitimate as it is, this method of investigating society has its special danger. In pursuing the ideal it sometimes loses hold of the actual. In analysing the meaning of institutions it may overlook their actual working, and if we follow it too blindly we may end either in abstract propositions which have little relation to practical possibility and serve only to breed fanatics; or in abandoning the interest in actual society altogether and amusing ourselves with the construction of Utopias. In reaction from this tendency many students would say that the primary business of social theory is to investigate the facts of social life as they are, the historical development of society and its several institutions, the statistical description of any given society as it is, the endeavour to ascertain the laws of cause and effect which, it is held, must permeate social life as they permeate every other sphere of reality. In place of a social philosophy, then, we have a social science, and it is held that by a social science we can ascertain, measure and predict, just as we can ascertain, measure and predict the behaviour of any system of physical bodies.

Without touching here on the question whether in social science prediction is possible or not, it is sufficient to say that the scientific study of social life or the
endeavour to ascertain the relations of cause and effect is not only a legitimate object but one which has in point of fact yielded good results. Few would now deny that the strictly scientific method has its place in social inquiry. But objection may still be taken to the distinction between ideals and facts. To begin with, it may be urged that the social inquirer could not if he would lay aside his ideals. Whenever we are dealing with social life we are dealing with a matter of profound interest to ourselves. When the chemist wishes to ascertain the temperature at which a solid liquefies, or a liquid boils, he has in the end to read off a certain observation, and it is not a matter of profound human interest whether the figure that he reads is 150° or 160°; but when a social student inquires how an institution is working, whether a new law is attaining its object, whether Trade Union activity is or is not succeeding in raising wages, shortening hours or otherwise improving the condition of the operatives, the answer to his question is not only in reality much more difficult to ascertain but is also one which stirs prejudices, confirms or refutes presuppositions, is certain to be challenged by lively interests. The difficulty is not peculiar to the study of contemporary fact. History, even ancient history, is written in a certain spirit and a certain temper dependent on the personal presuppositions of the writer. Human affairs are so complex and the interweaving of cause and effect so subtle that in the presentation of an historical development there will always be an element dependent on the point of view of the writer and on the selection and emphasis which may honestly seem the fairest selection and the natural emphasis to the particular writer, but which may seem quite other to a different investigator approaching the same object with a different background of thought.

Nor is this all. Putting aside all that may be said as to the bias of investigators, it may be urged that the subject of investigation itself is charged throughout with the ideals, emotions, interests of men and women, both
as individuals and as corporate bodies; and, moreover, the logic of those ideals, the very thing which social philosophy investigates, the degree, that is, of their mutual consistency or inconsistency, is a matter of profound importance to their actual working. If two ideals penetrate the same nation or the same class and those two ideals are at bottom in conflict, the results must show themselves in the tangle of history. They must manifest themselves in divided aims and ultimately in failure. If, on the other hand, they are coherent and harmonious, then once more that result must appear in the greatness of the success attending their historical development. Thus, if we start with the most rigid determination to adhere to facts, we shall find that ideals are a part of the facts, and if we say that nevertheless we will treat them as facts without examining their truth, we shall find it hard to adhere to that position because their consistency and coherence, which are intimately relevant to their truth, deeply affect their practical efficiency.

It may be granted that it is easier to distinguish the philosophical and the scientific treatment of society in principle than to keep them apart in practice. In principle we call the philosophical inquiry that which deals with the aim of life, with the standard of conduct, with all that ought to be, no matter whether it is or is not. The scientific method we call that which investigates facts, endeavours to trace cause and effect, aims at the establishment of general truths which hold good whether they are desirable or not. The distinction of principle is clear, but in point of fact the inquiry into ideals can never desert the world of experience without danger of losing itself in unreality and becoming that which the poet of idealism was unfairly called, "a beautiful, ineffec- tual angel beating in the void his luminous wings in vain." The ideal, though it has never been realized and perhaps may never be realized, must grow out of reality. It must be that which we can become, not that which is utterly removed from the emotions and aspi-
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rations which have grown up within us in the actual evolution of mind. The ethically right, Professor Höfding has said, must be sociologically possible. Thus, even as pure theory, the philosophical view cannot afford to disregard the facts. Still less can it do so if it passes over, as philosophy should, into the constructive attempt to reorganize life in accordance with its ideals. If the principles which it discovers are to be realized in this workaday world, this can only be by intimate knowledge of the details of this world, by the control of events through their causes, for the discovery of which we must go to pure science. Social Science, on the other hand, as we have seen, cannot ignore the elements of idealism as a working factor, as one of the forces, if you will, among the other forces, which it studies; nor can it disregard the logical consistency or inconsistency of ideas, upon which their working force depends. Thus the philosophical, the scientific, and the practical interest, however distinct in theory, tend in their actual operation to be intermingled, and it must be admitted that we cannot carry one through without reference to the other.

Nevertheless, to keep the issues distinct at every point is the first necessity of sound reasoning upon social affairs. What is essential for social investigation, whether it starts with the philosophic or scientific interest, is that in putting any question it should know precisely what that question is; specifically, whether it is a question of what is desirable, of what ought to be; or a question of what has been, is, or probably will be. These two questions, though necessarily related, are no less necessarily distinct, and to confuse them is the standing temptation of the social inquirer. If the social philosopher has sometimes thought to legislate for society without first informing himself of the facts as to what is possible and what is not, the scientific sociologist on his side is not innocent of all encroachments. It is a standing temptation to overbear questions of right and wrong by confident predictions, which in reality rest more on the prepossessions of the prophet than on his insight into cause and effect.
It is the weakness of human nature that it likes to be on the winning side, and just as in an election the argument most effective in catching votes is the demonstration that we are winning already—a demonstration which might seem to make effort on that side superfluous—so in the study of social and economic development it is rhetorically effective to demonstrate that a particular social change is at hand, that it is an inevitable consequence of a concatenation of events that is bringing it about whether we will or not; and this demonstration exercises, and is intended to exercise, a kind of coercion upon our minds whereby we resign ourselves to accept the change as desirable on the strength of arguments which have never touched its desirability at all, but have proved, if they have proved anything, nothing more than the probable effect of certain operative causes. Intellectually, this method is one of confusion; morally, it is paralysing to the will. If there were nothing for us but to accept the trend of events as we find it, then our science would relapse into fatalism, and, as members of the society which we study, we should be in the position simply of knowing the course of the stream which carries us along without any increase in the power to guide it, whether it happen to be taking us into the haven or over Niagara.

When we allow Social Science thus to persuade us of the inevitableness of things, we are reversing the normal course of science. For, whatever else may be said of science, one of its functions is to increase human power, and this applies to sciences which deal with human life as well as to sciences which deal with inanimate objects. When we know the etiology of a disease we acquire for the first time a real prospect of controlling it. So it should be in social affairs, but so it can only be if we hold firmly to the distinction between the desirable and the actual, if we grasp clearly the principles which should regulate social life, and do not allow ourselves to be shaken in our hold of them by any knowledge of the changes which are actually going on among us. The
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foundation, therefore, of true social method is to hold the ideal and the actual distinct and use our knowledge of the one as a means to realizing the other. We may pursue the two investigations, if we will, side by side, for we have seen how very closely they are interwoven. But every question that we ask and every statement that we make ought to be quite clearly a statement as to fact or an assertion of what ought to be, and never a hybrid of the two.

This distinction would, I think, be accepted both by the bulk of ethical thinkers and of scientific students of society, but there exists a form of social theory which repudiates it in principle. The foundation of this theory is the belief that the ideal is realized in the actual world, and in particular in the world of organized society, not in the sense already noted above that there are ideals operating as psychological forces in human beings, but in the sense that the world at large, and in particular the social world, is, if properly understood, an incarnation or expression of the ideal; that, as one thinker would put it, the Absolute is perfection; or, as Hegel, who may be considered as the father of this school, laid down, "the insight to which . . . philosophy is to lead us is that the real world is as it ought to be." The theory of society on this view is not to be detached from general metaphysics; it is an integral part of the philosophy of things. Just as in a simple form of religion, the powers that be are ordained of God, so with the metaphysician who starts from the belief that things are what they should be, the fabric of human life, and in particular the state system, is a part of an order which is inherently rational and good, an order to which the lives of individuals are altogether subordinate. The problem of social theory upon this view will not consist in the formulation of ideals as distinct from anything actual, yet capable of becoming actual if once human beings grasp them with a very firm determination to realize them; still less can it consist in investigating facts in distinction from

1 Philosophy of History, p. 38.
ideas, for the very foundation of society as a part of the fabric of things is the ideal which it enshrines. The problem will be neither ethical nor scientific. It will start by a repudiation of the distinction upon which we have been insisting, and its task will be to state the nature of society in terms revealing the ideal elements which mere facts have a tendency to veil from our human eyes.

This, then, is the metaphysical theory of the state. It is the endeavour to exhibit the fabric of society in a light in which we shall see it, in or through its actual condition, as the incarnation of something very great and glorious indeed, as one expression of that supreme being which some of these thinkers call the Spirit and others the Absolute. There is no question here of realizing an ideal by human effort. We are already living in the ideal. It does not much matter whether we are rich or poor, healthy or enfeebled, personally aware of happiness or misery; nay, it does not seem to matter very much whether we are just or unjust, virtuous or depraved, for we all are integral parts in something much wider and nobler than the individual life, something to which mere human good and evil, happiness or misery, are small matters, mere constituent elements that, whatever they may be for each one of us, play their part right well in the magnificent whole. Evil is indeed necessary to good. It is a part of the Perfection of the Absolute, and anything which would point to its extirpation as an ideal is condemned as an offshoot of popular notions of progress or ridiculed as a piece of humanitarian enthusiasm.

Such, then, is the spirit of the metaphysical theory of society which I propose to examine in the shape given to it by its founder, Hegel, and his most modern and most faithful exponent, Dr. Bosanquet. This theory is commonly spoken of as idealism, but it is in point of fact a much more subtle and dangerous enemy to the ideal than any brute denial of idealism emanating from a one-sided science. Against every attempt to construe the world as mere fact which we cannot modify, there will
always spring up the reaction of human hope, of human endeavour, of the deep-seated indignation at injustice, the "rebel passion" of pity. If the scientific man insists that as this world rose out of the whirl of atoms, agitated by mechanical forces, so it will ultimately disappear in the cold and darkness, none the less men will say "Here are we, conscious living beings palpitating with emotion, with feeling, products it may be of your whirl of atoms, yet allowed meanwhile some latitude to shape our lives, to avoid the worst evils and to cultivate some fleeting happiness; let us at least stand together against this unkindly fate and make the best of life while we can, not only for our short-lived selves, but for our feeble race." Thus mechanical science stimulates at least the ethics of revolt. But when we are taught to think of the world which we know as a good world, to think of its injustices, wrongs and miseries as necessary elements in a perfect ideal, then, if we accept these arguments, our power of revolt is atrophied, our reason is hypnotized, our efforts to improve life and remedy wrong fade away into a passive acquiescence in things as they are; or, still worse, into a slavish adulation of the Absolute in whose hands we are mere pawns. These, it may be said, are questions of general rather than social philosophy, but the point is that to the idealistic school, social philosophy is an application of the theory of the Absolute to human affairs. As Dr. Bosanquet tells us,\(^1\) "the treatment of the state in this discussion is naturally analogous to the treatment of the universe." The happiness of the state is not to be judged by the happiness of the individual; the happiness of the individual must be judged by the goodness of the state. It is to be valued by the perfection of the whole to which he belongs. In the conception, therefore, of the state as a totality, which is an end in itself, an end to which the lives of men and women are mere means, we have the working model of an Absolute. For the thoroughgoing idealist, all the conscious beings that live under the shadow of

\(^1\) *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, p. 311.
the Absolute seem to have just as much or as little title to independent consideration as the cells of the human body. Now, for Hegel, the state is a form of the absolute spirit, which is the essence of all things. "The state is the divine idea as it exists on earth." For "all the worth which the human being possesses—all spiritual reality he possesses only through the state." "The state is the spirit which stands in the world and realizes itself therein consciously. . . . The existence of the state is God's movement in the world." "The state is the divine will as the present spirit unfolding itself to the actual shape and organization of a world" (Ph. d. R. p. 327). "It is the absolute power upon earth" (p. 417). "It is its own end (Selbst-zweck). It is the ultimate end which has the highest right against the individual, whose highest duty is to be a member of the state" (p. 306).

The method followed by this theory is not ethical because it does not seek to find reasons for human conduct in any ultimate goal of human endeavour or in any rational principle of human duty. It does not seek these because it denies that the reflective reason of the individual is the method by which truth about ideals is to be ascertained. All true ideals are actual; they belong to what is called the objective mind; they are incarnated in the laws, traditions, customs of the society to which we belong. Nor, again, is the method scientific. It is neither historical nor statistical. It does not concern itself with the varying forms of social institutions, nor with the correlations of co-existence or succession. It assumes certain abstract conceptions and expounds them dogmatically in general terms, putting aside the appeal to experience. If actual societies differ from the idealistic conception of them, so much the worse for

1 Philosophy of History, E. T., p. 41.
2 Ibid. p. 40 f.
4 Not that they are admitted to be abstract. They are believed by the idealist to be the very soul of reality (see, e.g., Phil. des Rechts, p. 58).
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those societies. Thus the centre of discussion is, "the state," as though there were precisely one and only one type of social organization to which the name applies and which can be described without reference to experience in universal terms. Dr. Bosanquet in his latest restatement justifies this procedure. "The state," he tells us, "is a brief expression for states qua states." ¹ Now it may be perfectly true that there are propositions which hold of states as such, distinguishable from propositions which hold of some states and not of others; but the urgent question for any science is how such general truths are arrived at. Is it by induction—a comparison of states, from which the points of agreement and difference may emerge? No such inductive process is to be found in the metaphysical theory. Is it by self-evidence? Is it, for example, self-evident "that states represent differentiations of a single human spirit... whose extent and intensity determine and are determined by territorial limits"? ² Is this a proposition which commands acceptance by intuition like a mathematical axiom? If not, on what evidence is it based? When Hegel asserts that the state must have a monarch to complete its personality and that the monarch must be determined by a natural method, and this is primogeniture, are these self-evident propositions? Do they rest on intrinsic necessities revealed to Hegel's intuition or do they really do no more than clothe the practice of the Prussian state in sounding generalities? The truth is that in social investigation large and unproven principles are apt to be either mere generalizations of customs or institutions which happen to be familiar to the writer, or expressions of his ideals, or very possibly a fusion of the two. Dr. Bosanquet thinks that his critics, dealing unguardedly "with states" (positively wandering off into the region of fact), "attribute to states that which qua states they are not, namely, defects which the state organization exists to remove." ³ For him the state is the power which, as the organization

of the community, "has the function of maintaining the external conditions necessary to the best life." If one objects that many states maintain conditions that are quite adverse to the best life, Dr. Bosanquet retorts that we must distinguish a function from its derangement. States *qua* states do not maintain bad conditions. It results that the state is not the actual organized community, but only so much of the organized community as makes for good. This is to define the state by an ideal. But elsewhere Dr. Bosanquet defines the state as that society "which is habitually recognized as a unit lawfully exercising force," a definition which would apply to the rule of the Czar or Sultan. The second definition is much nearer to common usage, which certainly thinks of the state as an organization which may serve good or bad ends, maintain good or bad conditions, but is a state as long as it holds together and maintains law and government. It is a violent departure from usage, which at best would only lead to constant misunderstanding, to restrict the term to the good elements of any such organization. But things are still worse if the state means at one time that which is actually common to stable political organizations and at another the ideal functions of a possible political organization. Such methods of definition are equally fatal to science and

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1 *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 186.

2 It may be permissible to define a structure by its function, provided the definition be unambiguous. For this purpose the structure must only have one function, and we must know what it is, and that it is invariably performed. If every government performed the function of promoting the common good and no other, there would be no harm in defining the state as that which exists for the common good, but if, e.g., the state is in the hands of a governing class which governs for selfish ends, it does not perform this function. Do we then mean by the state the organization which sustains government or the organization which sustains a peculiar kind of government aiming at a particular kind of purpose? If the latter, we must get another name instead of the state for every actual organization in so far as it deflects from our ideal, otherwise we shall never know whether we are talking about the ideal world or the real world.
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philosophy, and our general charge against the method of idealism must be that it starts with and never corrects the fundamental confusion of the ideal and the actual.

In older days we passed by the Hegelian exaltation of the state as the rhapsodical utterances of a metaphysical dreamer. It was a mistake. The whole conception is deeply interwoven with the most sinister developments in the history of Europe. It is fashionable to conceive German militarism as a product of the reaction against a beautiful sentimental idealism that reigned in the pre-Bismarckian era. Nothing could be more false. The political reaction began with Hegel, whose school has from first to last provided by far the most serious opposition to the democratic and humanitarian conceptions emanating from eighteenth-century France, sixteenth-century Holland and seventeenth-century England. It was the Hegelian conception of the state which was designed to turn the edge of the principle of freedom

1 The truth seems to be that idealists suppose actual states to be so good that the error is insignificant. Thus, Hegel interrupts one of his rhapsodies (Phil. des Rechts, p. 313) with the caution, "In the idea of the state one must not have particular states before one's eyes nor particular institutions. One must rather treat the idea of this actual god on its own account (für sich)." For the moment the reader thinks that after all Hegel has only been romancing harmlessly about an ideal world. But he goes on, "Every state, though one may recognize this or that fault in it, has always, especially when it belongs to the developed states of our own time, the essential moments of its existence in itself." The god, it seems, is actually incarnated in actual states, though it seems to have some little trouble in the flesh.

There is a case for restricting the use of the term "state" to those political organizations which recognize the rule of law and some measure of self-government. The present writer has himself used the term in this sense (Morals in Evolution, ch. ii), but this still defines the state by actual and assignable features of its organization, not by the way in which that organization performs its functions, and the term "state" is in practice used by many writers in a much wider sense, as applicable to all communities that possess an organized government. In the Hegelian state in particular, though the reign of law is certainly postulated, there is no notion of self-government.
by identifying freedom with law; of equality, by substituting the conception of discipline; of personality itself, by merging the individual in the state; of humanity, by erecting the state as the supreme and final form of human association.1

The direct connection between Bismarckian ethics and Hegelian teaching was ably worked out many years ago by a close student of the relations of ideas and facts in the political sphere, Mr. William Clark, but it is not in Germany alone that the Hegelian influence has profoundly affected the course of thought in one form or another. It has permeated the British world, discrediting the principles upon which liberal progress has been founded and in particular depreciating all that British and French thinkers have contributed. Perhaps it has been none the less dangerous because it has captivated men of real humanity, genuinely interested in liberal progress, so much so that in the hands of T. H. Green the Hegelian theory was for a time transmuted into a philosophy of social idealism, a variant which has a value of its own and does not lack distinguished living disciples. But as a fashionable academic philosophy genuine Hegelianism has revived, and the doctrine of the state as an incarnation of the Absolute, a super-personality which absorbs the real living personality of men and women, has in many quarters achieved the position of an academic orthodoxy. For academic purposes, indeed, it is a convenient doctrine; its bed-rock conservatism is proof against all criticisms of the existing order. It combats the spirit of freedom in the most effective method possible, by adopting its banner and waving it from the serried battalions of a disciplined army. It justifies that negation of the individual which

1 Above the state stands the Spirit which realizes itself in world history and is the absolute judge of the state. There is here a hint of a wider view which perhaps explains how it was that Karl Marx could reach internationalism from a Hegelian basis. But for Hegel combinations of states are only relative and limited (Phil. des Rechts, p. 314).
The modern practice of government is daily emphasizing. It sets the state above moral criticism, constitutes war a necessary incident in its existence, contemns humanity, and repudiates a Federation or League of Nations. In short, we see in it a theory admirably suited to the period of militancy and regimentation in which we find ourselves. The truth or falsity of such a theory is a matter of no small interest; indeed, it is not a question of theory alone but of a doctrine whose historical importance is written large in the events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I propose in the following lectures to set out the fundamentals of this theory and endeavour to discover the processes of thought by which, in the judgment of so many able men, the state assumes in the modern world a position which earlier ages might have given to the church or to the Deity Himself.
LECTURE II

FREEDOM AND LAW

DURING the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries established authority came under criticism from many points of view. The authority of the church was challenged by the claims of conscience; the authority of law and government was opposed by the natural right of the individual. Presently the whole social structure, the notions of political prosperity and national well-being were scrutinized in the interest of the happiness of individual men and women. It is not my purpose here to trace the movements of these theories, nor to show how in some forms they were brought round to a justification of the social order, while in others they issued in a more or less revolutionary ideal. I call attention only to the tendency to judge the state, the fabric of law and government, the structure of social institutions in terms of and by reference to the conscience or the rights or the happiness of individuals. This tendency is not very happily or fairly described when it is called a tendency to put the individual above society. This suggests a kind of egoism, as though one man counted for more than millions. It is more fairly to be described as an effort to go back from institutions, laws and forms, to the real life that lay behind them, insisting that this was a life of individual men and women with souls to be saved, with personalities to be respected, or simply with capacity for feeling anguish or enjoying their brief span of life. The danger was that the emphasis on personality might be exaggerated to the point of depreciating the
common life, that criticism might degenerate into anarchy, and what was valuable in the social tradition might be thrown away along with what was bad. The natural man might be endowed with none of the vices and all the virtues of his civilized counterpart, and it might be supposed that, if left to himself, or enabled to start afresh without the incubus of the established order upon him, he would build up a new life incomparably more free and beautiful. The exaggeration of revolution is the opportunity of reaction, and in the new world of theory, partly reflecting, partly anticipating the world of action, exaggerated individualism paved the way for reconstructions. Of these the most far-reaching and in the end the most influential was the metaphysical theory which challenged the whole assumption, tacit or avowed, of the critical school in all its forms, by setting up the state as a greater being, a spirit, a superpersonal entity, in which individuals with their private consciences or claims of right, their happiness or their misery, are merely subordinate elements.

The starting-point of this theory, reduced to its lowest terms, is the principle that 'organized society is something more than the individuals that compose it. This principle cannot be as quickly disposed of as some individualists think. Every association of men is legitimately regarded as an entity possessing certain characteristics of its own, characteristics which do not belong to the individuals apart from their membership of that association. In any human association it is true, in a sense, that the whole is something more than a sum of its parts. For example, the whole can do things which the parts severally cannot. If two men in succession push a heavy body, they may be wholly unable to move it. If they work together, they bring it along. Mechanically the summed output of energy in the two cases is equal, but in the one case it will be dissipated physically in heat, morally in the sense of frustration and loss of temper. In the other case it will succeed in its object and shift the resisting weight. The association of the two there-
fore has palpable effects which without the association could not be achieved. On the other hand, it is important to remark that the result of the joint effort of the two men working together is simply the sum of their efforts as they work together, though it is something other than the sum of those efforts when not co-ordinated. Any association of people involves some modification, temporary or permanent, superficial or far-reaching, in the people themselves. The work or the life of the association is something different from the work which could be achieved or the life lived by the same people apart from that association. But it does not follow that it is anything other than the sum, the expression or the result of the work that is being done, or the life that is being lived, by all the members of the association as members. When we are told, then, that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, we must reply that this depends on the sense in which the "parts" are taken. Further, we must observe that the statement, so far as it is true, is true generally; it holds of all associations, not only of that particular association which we call the state. Family life, for example, necessarily exercises a profound influence upon its members. The family is a whole which co-operates for certain purposes and in which the various members lead lives quite other than that they would do if the family were scattered. On the other hand, the family as it stands at any given moment is simply the co-ordinated or associated whole of its members as they stand at the same moment. It is an expression of their lives so far as lived in common or in close association with one another. The family in particular has no well-being, no happiness, no good or evil fortune, which is not the well-being, the happiness, good or evil fortune of its members one or more. In an organized body, a profession, for example, a Trade Union, a business, a factory, there is again a whole numbering so many scores, hundreds, thousands of individuals as its members. In every case the members are in greater or lesser degree modified by the association into which
they enter. Of the Trade Union, of the profession or business, certain things will hold true, which would not hold true of the individuals who belong to any of those associations if they did not belong to them. But again in the whole there is nothing but the co-ordinated or associated activity of the individuals which constitute it. This remains true though the organization may be permanent and the individuals changing. A college may have for hundreds of years a certain peculiar character and stamp of its own. The number of individuals passing through it and affected by it is quite indefinite. It is not constituted solely by the number present within its walls at any given time; nor can we enumerate those who may have come within its influence during the whole period of its establishment. Nevertheless its tradition, its spirit which seems to be lodged in no single individual, is maintained by individuals, propagated from generation to generation, sometimes perhaps broken by the influx of a new type of character which fails to assimilate the tradition which it encounters.

Thus, in discussing society, we are liable to two fallacies. On the one hand we may be tempted to deny the reality of the social group, refusing to conceive it as a distinct entity, insisting on resolving it into its component individuals as though these individuals were unaffected by the fact of association. On the other side, in reaction from this exaggerated individualism, we are apt to regard society as an entity distinct from the individuals, not merely in the sense that it is an aggregate of individuals viewed in some special relation, but in the sense that it is a whole which in some way stands outside them, or in which they are merged to the prejudice of their individual identity. Further, having reached the conception of a superpersonal entity in which individuals are submerged, we are inclined to look for this entity, not in all the varied forms of associated life which intersect and cut across one another, but in some particular form of association which seems to include the rest and so to present itself as a whole to which the individual
must belong as an element. This entity, idealist writers have found in the state. There are thus two points which we have to consider, first the general notion of a superpersonal entity and, secondly, the identification of this entity with the state.

We have seen that the notion of a superpersonal entity appears at first sight to express a very obvious fact. It may also appear to formulate a clear principle of ethics. The conception of duty, it may be said, teaches us that the individual lives not for himself but for a greater whole to which his own claims must be subordinated. An abstract individualism might regard the individual as possessed of certain rights, but rights are a function of the social group, since rights involve demands made upon others either for positive services or for negative forbearances. The rights of A impose obligations on B and C. They are obligations incident to and arising out of social relations, and can only be justified if their fulfilment is held to be for the good of the society—temporary or permanent—for which they are prescribed. Thus the individualistic conception defeats itself and leads us back to the whole and the duties rendered to the whole by each of its members. Now, in maintaining the superiority of the whole to any of its parts, the idealist, it may be thought, is merely asserting the superior claims of society to any one of its members. But here again there is an element of danger in the contrast between society and the individual. Any one individual is but an insignificant element in the great society, and may justly feel that his small interests must be subordinated to those of the greater body. But we cannot thus contrast a society with all the individuals which belong to it. Ethically there would be no sense in the demand for the sacrifice of all the individuals who belong or may belong to a society to the interests of that society. The million is more than the one, the interests of the million greater than the interests of the one. The question is whether the society of the million has any interests other than the conjoint interests of the million belonging to it. If the
Society is something other than the individuals, such a position is arguable, and we shall have to consider it as we proceed. What has to be said here is that it by no means follows from the ethical claim that the interests of the individual must give way to those of the whole to which he belongs. That claim is satisfied by the conception of the whole as the organized body of living men and women. We are not speaking here of associations that exist to promote objects beyond themselves—a conspiracy, for example, aiming at a political revolution. Here the whole society of conspirators might rightly judge that it were better for them all as individuals to perish than that the movement should be lost. "Que mon nom soit flétri, que la France soit libre." This, indeed, might be the motto not only of the individual but of the association too. We are speaking of a society regarded as an end in itself. If we ask what good is actually realized in a society other than the good of its members, we certainly get no answer from the ethical consciousness which bids us do our duty to others and love our neighbours as ourselves. These requirements are amply recognized by the conception of ourselves as human beings placed among other human beings, whose happiness and misery our actions sensibly affect.

The method by which the idealist turns the flank of these arguments is to contend in substance that the individual possesses no independent value, ultimately we may say no independent life of his own. He is absorbed in the organized political society, the state of which he is a member. He claims freedom. The claim is admitted. Freedom is the starting-point of the Hegelian philosophy of the state, but freedom in Hegel's sense turns out to be conformity with the law and custom as interpreted by the ethical spirit of the particular society to which the individual belongs. He claims the right of judgment, he aims at a rational order of ethics. The claim is admitted but the rational order is that of the objective mind, and this on analysis turns out to be the system of institutions and customs which the state has
engendered and maintains. Finally he claims to be at least himself, an independent centre of thought and feeling, palpitated with its own emotions, subject to its own joys and sorrows, but not even selfhood is left to him, for his self is realizable only in the organized whole in which he is a kind of transitory phase. Thus the edge of the revolutionary weapon is turned, or rather the hilt is grasped and the point directed towards the revolutionary himself. The freedom which the revolutionary, the liberal, or for that matter the plain man of the modern world, asserts is accepted and transmuted into obedience to law. His demand for rationality in society is granted, but granted in order to be attributed to the existing social order. The very sense of personality, instead of being checked and chastened by the stern assertion of duty, is gently and subtly resolved into a phase or expression of the general will. There can be no finer example of the supreme maxim of dialectical art, that the admission of an opponent's contentions is the deadliest method of refutation.

It will be convenient to set out in briefest possible terms the central points in the conception of society with which we have to deal. The point of departure in Hegel is his doctrine of freedom. Freedom is, in his view, falsely conceived in ordinary thought as equivalent to absence of constraint. That is a negative and, in the end, Hegel argues, a self-contradictory idea. True freedom is something positive. It is self-determination. The free will is the will which determines itself. The sense in which the will can determine itself is this, that it forms a rational whole or system of conduct, in which any particular act or deliverance of the will performs a certain necessary function. Such a system of conduct is not achieved by the individual on his own account but is incorporated in the law and custom of society. Law alone is merely the external side of this system, but law, developed by the moral consciousness of man and worked out into the detail of custom that regulates daily life and society, constitutes the actual fabric that
we require and is the objective expression of freedom. That which sustains this fabric of a rational life is the state, which is therefore the realization of the moral idea. The state is its own end, and the highest duty of the individual is to be a member of the state. Beyond the state there is no higher association and states have no duties to one another or to humanity, but their rise and fall is the process of universal history, which is the ultimate court of judgment before whose bar they come.

In order to examine this very summary account, we see we have (1) to consider the meaning of freedom. We have to understand the process of argument by which freedom is defined as self-determination and self-determination as the subordination of action to an articulate system; (2) we have to inquire into the identification of this system with law and custom, and that will bring us (3) to the conception of the state and the reasons why it is regarded not only as an end in itself but as the supreme and the highest form of human association.

In his theory of the freedom of the will lies the key to the Hegelian theory of the state, of morality and of law. This theory consists in essentials of three positions. (1) The underlying principle is that freedom consists not in the negative condition of absence of constraint but in the positive fact of self-determination. Will is freedom because it is self-determination. What then does self-determination mean? This will bring us to the second position. The will is determined by its purposes or objects, and we are apt to think of the object as something external, pulling at it, so to say. So to think is to abandon self-determination, and in reaction from this view we think of the will as exerting free choice as between its objects. But again freedom, so conceived, is an uncharted, motiveless freedom, for if I choose one thing rather than another, there must surely

1 I confine myself here to the essentials of the argument as I understand it. A somewhat expanded statement of Hegel's view will be found in Appendix I.
be something in the thing which moves me or my choice appears groundless and irrational. Here arises a form of the familiar controversy between determinism and free will which Hegel holds to be insoluble on this plane of thought. The position (2) reached then is that the will must be determined by its object, but that if this object is independent of the will, an insoluble dilemma ensues. This brings us to the third position, namely, (3) that the object of the will is determined by the will itself. Before asking how this could be, let us note the reasoning. Freedom is understood to be self-determination. The will is determined by its object, but the object is determined by the will. Ultimately, therefore, the will is self-determined and free.

But in this reasoning there appears to be a circle. How can the will be determined by its object and yet determine the object? To escape the circle we must realize that the object of the will is not outside the will at all, it is the will itself. At first sight this seems perilously near to sheer nonsense. How can the will will itself? The line of answer seems to be that the will at any given moment and in any given relation may have the whole nature of the will as its object. Thus, to suggest an example, we might think of the consistent Christian who directs his action from hour to hour by the light of a principle running right through his life. This principle he has adopted for good and all. It has become the comprehensive expression of his will. So in each act of his will it is his own will that is its object. If then the will is determined by its object, it is here determined by itself, that is, it is free.

Two lines of criticism suggest themselves. First, the Christian himself would probably say that it is not his own will but the will of God which he seeks to obey, and whatever illustration we might take, the answer would in essentials be the same. I must will something that is not yet realized, otherwise I achieve nothing. Even if I will to reform myself, the one case in which I do seem to have my own will for an object, this means
that I, as I am now, set a different self before myself as something to be achieved. And if I could attain perfect consistency of action, this would mean that I should consistently serve some comprehensive end beyond myself and only to be realized by my action. The end or object then is always other than the will as it is when acting for the end. Will, like other acts of mind, has relation to an object, and things that are related are not the same. The identification of subject and object fails here as elsewhere and with it the whole scheme of self-determination breaks down.

The second criticism has a special bearing on the use which Hegel makes of his definition of freedom. Grant, for the sake of argument, that self-determination is something more than absence of constraint. But it is not less than absence of constraint. Where and in so far as an act of will is constrained, it is not free. What is absolutely free is absolutely unconstrained. What is relatively free is relatively unconstrained. Freedom in one thing may indeed imply restraint on something else—if I am secure in freedom to go about my business, this implies that others are prevented from hindering me in doing so—but the thing which is free is not in the respect in which it is free also restrained. To be free in one part or in one relation it will have to be restrained in another part or relation, but in that in which it is restrained it is not also free.

Now in adopting a principle of conduct we may be acting on our own motion in response to an internal conviction. So far we are free. But the principle may be such as to put heavy constraint on a part of our nature, and if so, that part of our nature is not free. We may be slaves to our principles, as well as to our impulses, and in fact common experience tells us that there are those who would be better men without their principles, if they would only give their natural emotions free play. But a life of uncharted impulses cannot be free, because unregulated impulses not only restrain but utterly frustrate and destroy one another. But neither is a life
of narrow principle free, because such a principle at best holds a great part of us subdued, perhaps sullen and unsatisfied. In a word freedom for one element in our nature, be it an impulse or a conviction, may mean the subjection of the rest of our nature. If there be such a thing as freedom for our personality as a whole, its parts must have as much scope as is compatible with their union. This cannot mean absolute freedom for each part, for no one must override the remainder. It means freedom limited by the conditions of development in harmony, and by nothing else. If we suppose a whole of many parts capable of a harmonious development, and if we suppose this whole to be subject to no restraints except those which it itself imposes on its parts to secure the common development, then we have an intelligible sense in which the whole may be termed free. Now the self is a whole capable of a harmonious development, and it may be termed free when it orders its life accordingly. The principle of freedom then springs from the nature of the self as a coherent whole. It is to be distinguished from a principle cramping harmony of development, even if accepted by our own consent. Still more is it to be distinguished from one imposed from without by suggestion, authority and perhaps some mingling of compulsion. Now Hegel does not draw these distinctions. Discarding absence of constraint from the idea of freedom, and concentrating attention on the element of unity which the will undoubtedly introduces into action, he tends to identify freedom with mere acceptance of a principle of conduct and thus paves the way for its further identification with law. He saw that freedom involved restraint on something but did not see that it was restraint on something else, that which is free being in the respect in which it is free necessarily unconstrained.

1 It may be said that it is the function of will to subdue nature, but this is precisely to give it the freedom of a despot, and leave the personality unfree. To do Hegel justice, no such antithesis seems contemplated in his argument.
Hegel's first position is now before us. Freedom for him rests not on absence of constraint but on the acceptance of a principle expressing the true nature of rational will running through and unifying all the diverse purposes of men. The embodiment of such a principle and therefore of freedom Hegel finds in the system of right and law. Two terms here require some consideration before the meaning of this principle can be understood. By the term "embodiment" I have rendered the word Daseyn. Daseyn in the Hegelian philosophy is a term used in contradistinction to what we ordinarily call a mere idea or bare thought of a thing, for example, or to its mere potentiality. We must not, however, translate the word Daseyn by "reality" or even by "existence," as both of these terms are assigned to distinct phases in the Hegelian dialectical development. We may, however, think of the embodiment of a political idea in an Act of Parliament or of a political principle in an institution or a constitution, as giving what Hegel would call Daseyn to that idea or that principle. That being understood, we see in general the meaning of the phrase that freedom is embodied in right. But the term "right" or law also requires comment. Hegel's term is Recht, and it would seem better to use the German term whenever ambiguity is to be feared. According to Dr. Bosanquet it is the advantage of the German term that it maintains in itself the intimate relation between right and law. It may be urged on the contrary that the very fact that German writers use one term for these two related but quite distinct notions is an obstacle to clear thinking in their Jurisprudence and Ethics in general, and in the Hegelian philosophy in particular. The consequence of its use is that we begin and go on with the confusion of two issues, which it is the particular purpose of social philosophy to hold distinct. The one issue is the nature of right, the foundation of moral obligation, the meaning, value and authority of a moral system; and the other the meaning, value and authority of law; and the final
question of political philosophy consists of the relation between these two distinct things. That relation can never be clearly set forth if we use terms which imply a confusion between the terms related.

But in what sense is Recht the embodiment of freedom? Let us first, for the sake of accuracy, supply a correction, without which we should do injustice to Hegel, though the correction does not touch the essence of the question. Mere law is only an external embodiment of freedom, Hegel fully admits. Law is abstract, general, and regards primarily the externals of behaviour; to complete it we want something which is on the one hand more concrete, more closely adapted to the requirements of individual life, and, on the other hand, something expressing the inner acceptance of the rule of society as well as its external observance. This conception we find in the word Sittlichkeit, a term which can hardly be rendered in English by a single word. We cannot translate it "morality," because Hegel uses the word Moralität as something which is purely inward and subjective, whereas Sittlichkeit is objective as well. Dr. Bosanquet translates it by the phrase "ethical use and wont," and we may understand it as the whole system of customs and traditions as accepted by the normal member of a society, as forming the fabric within which he has to live. This system is, in Hegel's phrase, the conception of freedom come to self-consciousness in the world in which we live.¹ Restating our question therefore we have to ask, in what sense is the social tradition an embodiment of freedom? The examination of this question takes us into the heart of the Hegelian conception of the relation of the individual man to society, and this again will be found to be a particular case of the relation of the individual to the universal, which is the central point of the Hegelian metaphysics.

It will have been noticed in discussing the Hegelian theory of the will we have always to speak of the will. We have not spoken of the wills of different men and

¹ Phil. des Rechts, p. 205.
their relations to one another. We have never used the plural term. We have always spoken of the will as though it were one substantive reality; and this is in fact the Hegelian view. But in society there are many wills and in obedience to law we conform, as we suppose, to the will of another. How then can we talk of the will as if there were only one? The question will lead us ultimately into the metaphysical problem of the one and the many, for the Hegelian theory of the universal underlies the whole issue. But let us first set out the problem with more fullness and consider the solution proffered by Hegel's most recent and most faithful exponent.

At the first blush it must be owned it is difficult to attach any clear meaning to the statement that the social tradition is the actual or concrete realization of freedom. Freedom, as we have been told, means self-determination. Self-determination, we were further told, implies determination by a principle as against mere impulse. But even if we waive for the moment all controversies on these points, it remains that if there is self-determination, the determining principle must be a principle of our own choosing, an expression of our own character, the real bent of our own selves. The established ethical tradition may of course fall in with our desires, and if so, we are aware of no constraint in accepting it, but socially and ethically the question of freedom only arises where there is a clash of wills. Suppose then that our will happens to be in conflict at one point with the social tradition, what are we to understand? To say that in such a case we ought to yield up our judgment and conform is at least an intelligible, though sometimes a disputable proposition; but that is not what is said or intended. The proposition before us is that in conforming to the social tradition and only in conforming to it we are free. It does not appear to matter whether we ourselves find the rule which it propounds contrary to our happiness or opposed to our conscience. Our freedom lies, it would seem, in the surrender of our own
happiness, even in the stifling of our own conscience, for we are free only as we conform to the moral tradition embodied in and supported by the state. Freedom is self-determination, yet freedom is realized only in the submission of self to something which may at any time conflict with all that is strongest and all that is deepest in ourselves. The use and wont of the organized political society to which we belong may, for example, at certain points conflict with the teaching of the religious body to which we belong, or it may involve injustices and oppressions against which our conscience comes to revolt. Now it is not merely contended that in such a conflict we ought to surrender our judgment. That is at least arguable. It is contended that in submitting ourselves, and in this alone, we are actually free. We seem faced with something like a contradiction. And, however we define the state, this particular contradiction does not seem to be resolved. For we may think of it as essentially an organization of persons like ourselves. In that case, in obeying it against our own will we are simply under the constraint of others; or we may think of it as something impersonal, superpersonal, or, as Hegel calls it, divine, and in that case we are obeying an impersonal or divine authority. Even if we are free in yielding to it, that would seem to be the last act of our freedom. It is an abdication, a final discharge of our authority over ourselves.

Now something like this conception of the relation of freedom to the general will goes back to Rousseau. Dr. Bosanquet \(^1\) quotes Rousseau as saying "that whoever shall refuse to obey the general will shall be constrained to do so by the whole body, which means nothing else than that he will be forced to be free." He goes on to say, "In this passage Rousseau lays bare the very heart of what some would call political faith and others political superstition. This lies in the conviction that the 'moral person which constitutes the state' is a reality." If we follow the development of this con-

\(^1\) The Philosophical Theory of the State, pp. 95, 96.
ception, we shall find the key to the difficulty before us. Reviewing his examination of Rousseau, the details of which we need not follow, Dr. Bosanquet writes: "(a) The negative relation of the self to other selves begins to dissolve away before the conception of the common self and (b) the negative relation of the self to law and government begins to disappear in the idea of a law which expresses our real will as opposed to our trivial and rebellious moods. The whole notion of man as one among others tends to break down and we begin to see something in the one which actually identifies him with the others and at the same time tends to make him what he admits he ought to be." This passage really seems to contain the sum and substance of Idealistic Social Philosophy. There is a common self, and this is no metaphor. It does not mean a community among selves because "the whole notion of man as one among many tends to break down." It is a self which is a higher unity than the legal or moral person, and this self seems to be identified with the real will, which is also, it seems, the self that one ought to be.

We now begin to see why that which appears to us a stark contradiction is seen in quite a different light by the idealist. Our difficulty was that self-determination cannot be the same thing as determination by other selves, or by an impersonal state. The answer is that the division between self and others dissolves away into the conception of a common self and the division between the individual and the state disappears in the conception of a law expressing our own real will; so that in conforming to law, we are submitting ourselves neither to other persons nor to something impersonal. We are conforming to our own real will. But if in point of fact we happen to will just the opposite to that which the law ordains, how can this be? The answer lies in the distinction between the actual and the real will. We must give Dr. Bosanquet's statement of this distinction with some fullness.
"It was observed above that what Rousseau had before him in his notion of the General Will might be described as the 'Will in itself;' or the Real Will. Any such conception involves a contrast between the Real Will and the Actual Will, which may seem to be meaningless. How can there be a Will which is no one's Will? and how can anything be my Will which I am not fully aware of, or which I am even averse to? This question will be treated more fully on psychological grounds in a later chapter. For the present, it is enough to call attention to the plain fact that often when people do not know what they mean, they yet mean something of very great importance; or that, as has commonly been said, 'what people demand is seldom what would satisfy them if they got it.' We may recall the instances in which even Mill admitted that it is legitimate to infer, from the inherent nature of the will, that people do not really 'will' something which they desire to do at a given moment. . . . Now the contradiction, which here appears in an ultimate form, pervades the 'actual' will, which we exert from moment to moment as conscious individuals, through and through. A comparison of our acts of will through a month or a year is enough to show that no one object of action, as we conceive it when acting, exhausts all that our will demands. Even the life which we wish to live, and which on the average we do live, is never before us as a whole in the motive of any particular volition. In order to obtain a full statement of what we will, what we want at any moment must at least be corrected and amended by what we want at all other moments; and this cannot be done without also correcting and amending it so as to harmonize it with what others want, which involves an application of the same process to them. But when any considerable degree of such correction and amendment had been gone through, our own will would return to us in a shape in which we should not know it again, although every detail would be a necessary inference from the whole of wishes and resolutions which we actually cherish. And if it were to be supplemented and readjusted so as to stand not merely for the life which on the whole we manage to live, but for a life ideally without contradiction, it would appear to us quite remote from anything which we know."

Postponing for a moment any critical examination of this conception, let us take stock of our position. According to Dr. Bosanquet, then, there is underlying the actual will, of which we are aware, a deeper real will, which is the actual will reorganized and made completely consistent or coherent. It is in fact that organized system of purposes which we found in the
Hegelian will, and in a later passage Dr. Bosanquet adopts the Hegelian phrase—"the will that wills itself."

But now, if we grant for the moment this underlying will and suppose ourselves to be free only when we conform to it, we still have not reached the connection between the real self and the common self, which is the state, in which the distinction between self and others is absorbed and whose will is expressed in the social tradition. The connection is explained by Dr. Bosanquet (p. 123), where we are told, "The habits and institutions of any community are, so to speak, the standing interpretation of all the private wills which compose it." And this seems to be taken as the content both of the general and the real will. It is an imperfect representation of the real will because "every set of institutions is an incomplete embodiment of life." On the other hand "the complex of social institutions" is "very much more complete than the explicit ideas which at any given instant move any individual mind in volition."

The essence of the position is now before us. Moral freedom—we shall see later that Dr. Bosanquet candidly recognizes the distinction between moral and legal liberty—lies in conformity to the real will. The real will is the general will and is expressed in the social fabric. The expression is not perfect and admits of progressive development, but it is in the main what we require. Social tradition, if not the complete expression of ourselves, is the fullest available to us at any given time. The vehicle of social tradition, or rather the organizing principle which gives it vitality, meaning and coherence, is the state. The state, therefore, is the true self in which the mere individual is absorbed. This is the corner stone of moral and political obligation. Briefly, we are morally free when our actions conform to our real will, our real will is the general will, and the general will is most fully embodied in the state. These are the governing positions of the metaphysical theory which we have to examine.
LECTURE III

THE REAL WILL

(a) The steps by which the conception of the real will is reached by Dr. Bosanquet are contained in the passage quoted in the last lecture, and may be summarized thus. What we will from moment to moment is called our actual will. This actual will is always incomplete and often contradictory and inharmonious. To get at a full statement of what we will it would have to be corrected by (a) what we want at all other moments, and (b) by what others want. If this correction were carried far enough, our "own will would return to us in a shape in which we should not know it again." Yet the whole process would only have been a logical series of inferences from the whole of the wishes and resolutions which we actually cherish. And if, going further than this, we suppose criticism carried to a point at which it would achieve a life ideally without contradiction, then the will to such a life "would appear to us quite remote from anything which we know." Remote as it is, this is what Dr. Bosanquet seems to mean by the real will. We are then left with the paradox that our real will may be something which we never really will because we do not even know it and could not recognize it if it were set before us.

What is the explanation of this paradox? How does Bosanquet arrive at it? (x) The justification appears to be that the objects which we set before us, at which we consciously aim, are not always what we really want. They do not really satisfy us. This is a
form of words expressing of course a perfectly well-known truth. A man's nature is constantly driving him on to ends which he imperfectly appreciates and the concrete shapes which these ends take are often quite unsatisfactory. They give illusions of desirability which cheat him on attaining them. None the less, so far as he really chooses them that choice is for the time being his real will, in the true sense of real as that which is not merely supposed to be but is. Moreover, the fact that he so chooses them and makes a mistake in doing so is a real limitation of his will. The illusoriness of the will is precisely as hard a fact, as stubborn a reality, as the persistent background of want and unrest, which is the other side of the matter. The man's will is in short just what it is with all its limitations and not what it might be if these limitations were removed. It may be suggested, and this is what Bosanquet seems to mean, that logically a man must be taken to will all that his actual will implies. But this is quite fallacious. On the contrary, show me a consequence following from an act of my will, which I have not yet seen, and it is quite possible that I may recoil from it. In any case the act seen with fresh implications is a different act, the will which chooses it a different will. We may reasonably say that the man who has gone through the long process of criticism and judgment described by Bosanquet in the evolution of the real will has become in that process a very different man.

But there is a more fundamental objection to the term "real will." Strictly there is no part in me which is more real than any other part. There are elements in me which are more permanent, and if the self is permanent, there are, let us say, moods or actions which really belong to myself more than others do, but one mood is not more real a mood or one act more real an act than another. The term "Real" is in fact in such passages as these used rhetorically, that is, in a way which does not distinguish between its adjectival meaning, connecting a particular phase of myself with myself as a whole, and
its substantival meaning, in which the term "Reality" is something which must either be simply asserted or simply denied; and there is no more or less. A particular emotion is either something which I have and then it is real, whether permanent or transitory, reasonable or unreasonable; or it is something which, say, you falsely attribute to me and then it is unreal. For the contrast between the real and the unreal then should be substituted the contrast between the self as it is permanently constituted and the self as it acts in some transitory excitement.

(2) The real will then, if it means anything, means the permanent underlying nature of any one of us, but this again does not mean our nature as it might be if we were spiritually born again, transformed by no matter what process of rational reflection, hortatory suggestion or moral and emotional re-orientation. This has a most important bearing on our second position. Dr. Bosanquet's assumption is that the real will is in fact identical with the general will. The supposed ground is that the real will must be one which would be perfectly harmonious with itself. This is assumed to involve a harmony with other wills. The assumption begs the principal question of Ethics, but let it pass for the moment. Let us agree that the perfectly rationalized will involves a harmony of self and others. What ground is there for assuming that this harmony would express the true permanent nature of John Jones? John Jones, if you unrolled before him the life which you expected him to lead as a rational being, might repel it with scorn. He might say, if articulate enough, that it makes no room for certain elements which he finds very real in him, his passions, his physical appetites, his desires to get the better of others. How are you to prove to him that these are not real parts of himself? The answer seems to be that if you carry John Jones through the process of rational criticism, he will discover elements of contradiction in these warring desires. As long as you present this to him as an intellectual proposition, how-
ever, John Jones will reply, "Consistency be hanged! I will have my life in parts, each as good as I can make it. It is these that are the true John Jones." To this again the only reply available seems to be that the process of revealing the true rational harmony to John Jones cannot be an intellectual process merely, it must be one which touches his emotions, his will itself. But what is this but to admit that the true John Jones must undergo a change? If he is to be formed into a rational will, he must be transformed. I would be far from denying that every human being is capable of such reformation. I insist only that it is a reformation which is a transformation and that the will, which Bosanquet calls real and which I would call rational, harmonious or simply good, is not real in the average man, nor even in its completeness in the best of men. Bosanquet's

1 In the discussion of the criminal (pp. 226, etc.) there are some instructive remarks, illustrating the nature of the real will. Bosanquet says justly that if an uneducated man were told that "in being punished for an assault he was realizing his own will, he would think it cruel nonsense." Some who are not the criminal might also think it nonsense; and the only reason why they should not think it assigned by Bosanquet is (a) that the criminal would quite well understand that he was being served, as he would say, in the same way as somebody else would be served who had done the same thing. (b) That the punishment is the reaction on the criminal of a system of rights to which he is a party. As to (a) the essential difference between the criminal and the good will is that while the criminal may be prepared to judge others, he makes exceptions in favour of himself. Very often he cannot see the identity of his act with another which he condemns and even if he can see it, so far as he is criminal, his attitude is "I don't care." If an acute dialectician were to argue with him, he would no doubt entangle him in inconsistencies and show that if he were a reasonable man, and if he admitted universal rules applying to himself and others, he would not be a criminal. But if this argument is to have effect, it must not only convince the man's intelligence but convert his will. In order genuinely to condemn himself, the criminal must therefore become another man than that which he in fact is. And we see very clearly from this instance that the good, rational or social will imputed to the criminal as his real will is precisely the will that the criminal, as criminal, really does not possess. The fallacy consists in describ-
own description of course shows he is perfectly aware of this, yet he confuses the whole issue by the use of the adjective "real." It is misleading to contrast real with transitory, trivial aims. It is not merely one's superficial or casual interests that clash with others and exhibit contradiction with one another so that they interfere with the best life, it is also the deepest passions and sometimes the most fervid conscience. A man may feel, and the feeling may be no illusion, that a personal passion goes to the very foundation of his being, and yet the passion may be lawless or it may collide with the entire bent of his life in other directions, his devotion to public duty, for example, or perhaps deeprooted obligations of family and friendship. If the real self means that which goes deep, we cannot deny that it contains possibilities of contradiction far more serious than the collision between permanent interest and passing desire.

There is conceivable a will which is perfectly rational and harmonious in all its deliverances. There is conceivable a system of wills so harmonizing with themselves

ing as a real will something which a logician regards as being implied in the actual will of the criminal. This implication rests on some principle of impartiality which the logician may have very good grounds for maintaining; but this is precisely the principle which the criminal, as criminal, either ignores or definitely rejects. As to (b), at bottom the same analysis applies. The criminal acquiesces in the system as far as he chooses, as far as he finds it suits him, or perhaps as far as he is unable to resist it, but, *qua* criminal, does not in the least care for the inconsistency, as a rational man would judge it to be, involved in his departure from the system where that departure suits him better. In brief, the murderer does not really want himself to be hanged unless he has repented and ceased to be the man that he was when he committed the murder.

It must be added here that the conception of punishment as expressing the will of the offender has a sinister application to the rebel. It may be said that the rebel has accepted the social system and thereby the punishment which will follow upon him when he comes to challenge it. From the rebel's point of view the answer may be that he never willingly accepted the social system as a whole but found himself involved in it and could not react against it until the moment for rebellion had arrived.
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and with one another; such a perfect harmony we may legitimately speak of as the ideally rational life and the ideally good life and, as such, may contrast it with any actual life which is imperfect in these respects. Again, we may grant that there is something real within us which answers to the conception of such a life, and something real within any society of human beings which, in a sense, moves us towards such a life. At any rate, from the nature of the case contradiction tends to defeat itself and harmony to fructify. Thus by continual trial and error society moves on. Unfortunately the inharmonious elements are equally real and the disharmonies are not merely trivial, transitory, superficial, but rooted in the structure of the self and, what is almost as important, in the social structure. Every group of human beings acquires a corporate life and with it only too probably a collective selfishness, which over long periods may hold the development of other groups in arrest. The contrast is between the rational harmonious good and the irrational conflicting bad. When this contrast is confused with the contrast between the real and the unreal the problem is stated in wrong terms and does not admit of solution. The peculiar vice of this statement is that, in laying down a certain kind of life as expressing the real will of the individual, the ground is prepared for the argument that in the compulsion of the individual to lead such a life there is no interference with his real will. He is supposed to be merely unable to judge for himself. Thus, in principle, there is no limitation to restraints upon the individual, no core of freedom which collective action should not touch. And yet it must be plain that no actual human being, or association of human beings, knows what the real will is, for it is admitted that the process of eliciting it is so roundabout and involved that a man would not recognize his real will if it was put before him. Why not then admit that it is not real but ideal—an ideal which is beyond human nature though it may be a legitimate object of human endeavour?

(b) The General Will. If for the "real" we write the
ideal or rational will, we have next to ask whether this
would be a general will. We may grant that if the will
in you or me were made completely rational, it would
accept principles upon which we should agree. Thus,
in all rational wills there would be a qualitative identity.
We should so far be like one another in our fundamental
attitude towards life and conduct. But when we pass
from the conception of like persons or like selves to a
corporate person or a common self, there is an inevitable
transition from qualitative sameness to the sameness of
continuity and numerical unity. The assumptions are
(1) There is in me a real self, my real will, which is opposed
to what I very often am. (2) This real will is what I
ought to be as opposed to what I very often am. (3) There
is in you a real will and in every other member of society
a real will. All these real wills are what you and every
other member of society ought to be. In quality and
character these real wills are indistinguishable. They are
therefore the same. (4) This sameness constitutes of all
the real wills together one self. But the kind of unity
involved in what is called qualitative identity or sameness
of character is quite a different unity from that involved
in the self or from that involved in the state. The self
is a continuous identity united by strands of private
memory and expectation, comprising elements of feeling,
emotion and bodily sensation, which are its absolute
exclusive property. No such continuity unites distinct
selves, however alike, or however united in their objects.
So at least it seems to those whom Dr. Bosanquet dis-
misses with contempt as "theorists of the first look."  
For them human individuality is and remains some-
thing ultimate. To Dr. Bosanquet on the other hand
individuality is only a particular case of the distinct
contribution offered by parts within a system which he
calls the universal. The differences within the self are
for him in their essential nature identical with the differ-
ences between selves. I am of course in a sense one, but
I am in a sense many. I am a centre of many experiences,

* The Philosophical Theory of the State, ch. vii.
and even of many groups of experiences, each of which has its own controlling principle. This makes me, as popular metaphor has always recognized, a kind of miniature state; and for Bosanquet this metaphor expresses the real truth. Two passages may be taken as summing up his discussion.

"If we consider my unity with myself at different times as the limiting case, we shall find it very hard to establish a difference between the unity of what we call one 'mind' and that of all the 'minds' which enter into a single social experience."

And again in the following chapter:

"Individuals are limited and isolated in many ways, but their true individuality does not lie in their isolation but in that distinctive act or service by which they pass into unique contributions to the universal."

Common sense confronted by these statements has a feeling of outrage which makes it disinclined to argue. It is inclined to say that the difference between self and another is as plain as the difference between black and white, and that if a man does not see it, there is nothing plainer to appeal to. It is inclined to add that, if certain views of the state are reduced to justifying themselves by such confusion as this, that is their sufficient refutation.

But it is not quite satisfactory to leave the argument at this point. We must trace the roots of the fallacy. Let us first ask in what sense it is true that individuals have a common life or a common experience. To begin with they live in the same world. A and B may be said to have a common experience when they both perceive the same object. For example, both are reading the same book, studying the same subject, have before their eyes the same rose, are partners in one enterprise, members of one society. Here is a real unity, a numerical unity, but this unity is in the outer world, the world with which both minds are in contact. It may be in the actual existing world, as in the case of the rose which

1 P. 178.  
2 P. 183.
both see and both smell, or it may be in the processes of the world and the changes to which both contribute, the purpose which both desire to realize, but in any case it is external to both. The unity is in the object—a term here which may be conveniently used in its popular ambiguity as meaning sometimes a real thing, sometimes a purpose. The individuals are subjects, distinct centres of sensation, perception, thought, feeling, active will, standing in relation to that object. They are two, while the object is one. But, secondly, even between A and B, as two, there is a kind of unity. They are, or may be, similarly affected by or to the object. The rose smells sweet to both. The success of the business is an object of eager interest to both. The relation here is one which some would call resemblance, others identity of character. When spoken of as identity of character it is easily merged in thought with the numerical identity belonging to the object. Nevertheless it is a distinct relation. These then are the two foundations of identity as between individuals, the relationship to an identical world and the partial identity of character in themselves.

How do these relations differ fundamentally from the relations between parts of my experience to one another? For example, I may smell the same rose twice and pursue the same object through successive days and with considerable differences of mood, slackening and tensioning of interest and so on. The answer is that there is something common in me to all my acts and experiences which is never common to you and me. I am aware in myself not only of the object that I experience but of the act of experiencing it, but I am never aware of your act of experiencing any object. Certainly I believe that you experience objects but I believe it on inference, you being a person like myself and acting in ways sufficiently similar to mine to enable me to interpret them. When it is said that our experience is common there is an ambiguity in the term "experience" which is overlooked. There is a sense in which you share my experience. There is also a sense in which your experience is absolutely
and for ever private to you, and mine absolutely and for ever private to me. Experience may mean a series of objects that is before the mind, and in that sense it may be common, or it may mean what Professor Alexander calls enjoyment, or what might with more propriety be called suffering. Mind is always dealing with objects, apprehending them, thinking about them, operating upon them and so on. The dealing, the thinking is not the object dealt with, the object thought about, it is the act or state that is enjoyed or suffered. True it becomes known and is in that sense an object, but it is an object of a distinct class, the character of which class is that everything in it is known as the subject of some other object. The entire system of these subjective acts or states forms a continuum, constituting what I know within me as my individuality or myself. My consciousness of myself rests upon a distinction between this thread of enjoyment and suffering and the entire system of the objects to which it relates, and my sense of personal identity is my recognition of the continuity of this thread. This is the element of isolation which, in contradiction to Bosanquet's dictum, is the true core of individuality. This isolation is not merely physical. My body is a part of the objective world to me. I know it by the senses as I know the rose, but the experience, as suffering, is always located in the body, felt within the body, and the physical separateness of my body from another, though not the ground of my isolation, is inseparably connected with it. What in practical philosophy is even more important is that the whole series of my feelings belongs to the thread of suffering. True, I am aware of my feelings and can name and classify them and to that extent they are objects to me, but I always know them as feelings of my own, which I enjoy or suffer as being attributes or states of the subjective continuum that is distinct from the outer world as being in me incommunicably private. When I am said to share another's feeling, that is confused metaphor. The sight of another's pain may arouse pain in me but it is another pain.
Normally, it is not even qualitatively the same pain. I do not feel toothache when my child is suffering from toothache but pity or anxiety, an emotion not a sensation. There are cases of what is sometimes conceived to be sympathy in the strictest sense in which the sight or description of physical torture seems to stimulate something of the same anguish in myself, but even here it is a qualitative and not a numerical identity that is in question. And it is fortunate that it is so, for if I felt all the real anguish of the sufferer, I should hardly be in a position to come to his relief.

We trace the foundations of Dr. Bosanquet’s identification of individuals then to a confusion in the use of the term “experience.” Experience as meaning a world of objects may be common to many selves. Experience as that which each self enjoys or suffers is absolutely private. In the former sense different minds can enter into a single experience; in the latter sense never, though they may know about one another’s experience. In the former sense experience is not as such a universal but rather one comprehensive world of objects to which all individuals are related. In the latter sense it is a universal in the true sense of a class of individual beings resembling one another or possessing identities of character.

1 It would be unfair to Dr. Bosanquet to suggest that he ignores the exclusiveness of consciousness. In the present work he tells us, for example (p. 183), “In a sense it is true that no one consciousia can partake of or can actually enter into another.” And similarly in his Principle of Individuality and Value he writes (p. 47): “No one would attempt to overthrow what we have called the formal distinctness of selves or self. This consists in the impossibility that one finite centre of experience should possess as its own immediate experience the immediate experience of another.” But he seems to regard what we have called enjoyment as a kind of form, to which the object of experience gives content. So in the same work a little earlier (p. 38) we read: “The pure privacy and incommunicability of feeling as such is superseded in all possible degrees by the self-transcendence and universality of the contents with which it is unified; and as these contents are constituents of our individuality, the conception that
The privacy of enjoyed experience, and in particular of feeling, has an important bearing on the doctrine of force individuality or personality has its centre in the exclusiveness of feeling, neglects the essential feature of individuality or personality itself. It has an aspect of distinct unshareable immediacy; but in substance and stuff and content, it is universal, communicable, expansive." And so we learn a little later (p. 48) that the inevitable distinctness of any immediate experience, which is said to contain the essence of individuality, is a very different thing from the inexplicable and fundamental foreignness commonly postulated as between different persons. "It merely comes to this, that they are organizations of content, which a difference of quality, generally though not strictly dependent on belonging to different bodies, prevents from being wholly blended." There must, it would seem, be some characteristic differences between you and me, just as there are characteristic differences between any two parts of the same thing, but not such as to interfere with our fundamental sameness, not radically distinct from the differences which may be discerned within myself at different times or in different relations. This position is developed on p. 58. "With the one exception, of the thread of conæsthesia, compatible with any degree of hostility and foreignness, there is no ground of unity with our past and future selves which would not equally carry us to unity and fellowship with others and with the world. Our certainty of their existence is in both cases inferential, and on the same line of inference, both are cemented to it by the same stuff and material of unity, language, ideas, purposes, contents of communicable feeling; and, as we have seen, the other may in these ways be far more closely knit with me than is my previous self." Hence we are not surprised to learn in the same book (p. 62) that "Separateness is not an ultimate character of the individual, but is a phase of being akin to externality, and tending to disappear in so far as true individuality prevails." It appears from these passages that in spite of admissions as to the exclusiveness of finite centres of experience, the radical distinction between the subject and the object, between enjoyment and things experienced, escapes Dr. Bosanquet. His whole world is, as it were, on one plane. It is all experience more or less articulate and complete, more or less partial and confused. Individuality means a relatively high level of articulateness, and for that reason all individualities, in proportion as they develop, approximate to one and the same limit, the single experience which is wholly articulate. This conception of the entire fabric leading up to it and down from it falls to the ground as soon as subject and object are distinguished.
and freedom. When Bosanquet comes in chapter viii to deal with the limits of state action he finds the difficulty to lie in the antithesis between force and the spiritual character of the real will. The state has to rely on rewards and punishments (p. 190) that destroy the value of an action "as an element in the best life." "An action performed in this sense under compulsion is not a true part of the will." This, so far as it goes, is very sound and undoubtedly touches one of the true motives for restricting the operations of the state;¹ but

¹ It is only fair to Dr. Bosanquet to say that he recognizes the character of moral liberty more fully than some other writers and in particular than Hegel. His general conception of liberty, as explained in The Philosophical Theory of the State, is that the self is free when it is master of its passions, or, more precisely, when the real will is the master of the false will. But it is recognized by a piece of candour, which should be acknowledged, that this is not the literal or elementary sense of liberty. That literal sense means the absence of constraint exercised by one upon others, and in going beyond that we are more or less making use of a metaphor (p. 137). It is, however, maintained that we may acquiesce as "rational beings in a law and order, which on the whole makes for the possibility of asserting our true or universal selves, at the very moment when this law and order is constraining our particular private wills in a way which we resent or even condemn." The term "condemn" here is odd. Does it mean we condemn the law judicially, that is rationally? If so, there would seem to be a contradiction. What Bosanquet must mean is that we recognize law to be necessary, or rather perhaps recognize law-obidingness to be necessary even if a particular law is bad. But the real question lies beyond this. In what sense is law as such an instrument of moral liberty? The suggestion is apparently that the coercive repression of warring impulses in me sets my real, that is rational, will free. Thus, there would be no objection in theory to the plan of making men good by legislation. But this hardly seems to express Bosanquet's own meaning because at a later stage he frankly recognizes the limits of coercion, and fundamentally the whole idea is untrue. If my rational will has conquered the erring impulse, then it has established its own mastery, and may be called free in the moral sense. But, if and in so far as the erring impulse is overcome by an external restraint, my will is not only not free but not even effective. The best that can be said for making men good by coercion is that coercive restraints at a given moment may prevent an irreparable error
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the denial of individuality leads Bosanquet to repudiate
the view that force, or generally speaking state inter-
ference, lies in the intrusion of others upon the self (see
p. 183). To him in principle there are no others. I
should be inclined to subjoin that, if that is so, there is
no force. What is at the back of force and what does it
rest upon? The isolation of the individual. When we
speak of forcing a man to do a certain kind of action,
we do not mean that we take hold of his hands and make
him do it. A nurse may do that with a small child but
it is not what is intended or practical in adult life. What
we mean is that pains and penalties are imposed, that
there is an appeal to fear of future suffering or to the
hope of future reward. Now when A puts forth force
on B, what is the situation? B, let us suppose, is the
subject of a certain impulse, craving or feeling which is
absolutely private to him, not shared and not necessarily
in the least understood by A. B, if he yields to this
impulse, is under the fiat of A to suffer a penalty. Once
more the feeling of pain, grief, perhaps agony, is abso-
lutely private to him, unshared and perhaps little
appreciated by A. The danger is that A may be indifferent
to B's feelings. There is nothing necessarily to com-
municate to A the experience either of the craving or of
the penalty by which he represses it. Now if A literally
shared all B's experiences, there would not be this danger.
In prescribing for B, A would have to go through the same
thing himself and would have to take his own prescription.
If there were always this community of experience in
the sense of a community of suffering, there would be no
special practical danger in the use of force, and in a
democratic and uniform society we do in fact expect
to find greater mildness in the use of penalties to which
all are equally exposed. But in so far as there is a dis-

and so make it possible for me to recover my genuine self-control
later on; just as, if I am prevented from suicide, I have at least
the opportunity of living to do better another day. But if I am
permanently in tutelage, I am permanently unfree and without
means of freedom.
tinction between the governors and the governed, the use of force is subject to great abuse, which consists precisely in the fact that it is an intrusion on one set of people by others who are in a large measure immune from the practical working consequences.

We may carry the theoretical point a little further, and we may ask if a man could ever put force upon himself in the sense in which he could put force upon another. We have seen that when he puts force upon another there is the threat of pain, not necessarily following from the action and not a pain which he will feel himself. Neither of these conditions is realized when a man puts force on himself. When a man puts force upon himself he conquers an impulse, that is to say, he brings the whole force of his nature to bear, or more accurately, the organized system of convictions, principles, interests, which is his personality, and does not in truth so much conquer himself as win a victory for himself. He does not threaten himself with a penalty which he will not share. He does not, strictly speaking, threaten himself at all. It is true he may fear a penalty, remorse it may be, or a headache it may be, and he may say to himself that this will follow as surely as day follows night. This, however, is not a threat but an anticipation, and it is an anticipation, not of something arbitrarily attached \textit{ab extra} to the act, but of something following from it as an inherent consequence. Obviously, too, it is not something from which the author of the supposed menace is to be immune. The only sense in which a man can be said to threaten himself would be under some artificial form of self-reformation in which a man undertakes a vow to himself to undergo a specific penance for a specific trespass. Such a case, if we may regard it as real, would be an analogical transfer to the sphere of self of the relation of self and others, and can only belong to the sphere of play-acting with our moral nature.

I conclude, therefore, that the use of force is essentially what Bosanquet denies it to be. It is an imposition on the individual by others, and its practical dangers lie
precisely in that isolation of the individual feelings through which force acts, which Dr. Bosanquet dismisses as of secondary importance.

We cannot, therefore, accept the definition of freedom suggested by Dr. Bosanquet in his new volume. To the question how self-government is possible, he replies that the answer is drawn "from the conception of the general will which involves the existence of an actual community of such a nature as to share an identical mind and feeling. There is no other way of explaining how a free man can put up with compulsion and even welcome it." On the surface this theory is attractive. In an ordered society I am free, though under compulsion, because the will of society is my own will, and the compulsion is exercised by myself upon myself. But these are mere words. The will of society may be radically opposed to my own, and yet I must obey. It may even be my duty to obey, and normally it is so, even though I think the law wrong, because society must be kept together; and if its deliberate decision is to carry no weight with its dissentient members, profound disorganization must ensue. The evil of one bad law is not, unless in a very extreme case, to be weighed against the evil of diminishing the authority of all law.

The only sense, therefore; in which I am conforming to my own will, in obedience, is that of two evils I prefer the lesser. If in this I am free, it is not because I am a member of a society like-minded with myself, but simply because I am master of my own actions and can choose, if I will, to abide by the penalties which disobedience will entail. If freedom depended upon identity of will, there would not be much of it in a complex world. In general freedom depends (1) on the defined and restricted use of compulsion. If the state prevents another man from coercing or oppressing me by force or the use of superior economic power, it augments my freedom; and the uniform compulsion of law is in fact the only known method by which individuals can be assured in the enjoyment of a common liberty from possible oppression by

1 Social and International Ideals, p. 271.
one another. If, on the other hand, the law prevents me from drinking or compels me to serve in the army, it is absurd to maintain that it is in these very respects augmenting my freedom. It may be justified in either of these actions by other considerations—even by the consideration of other kinds of freedom—if, for example, it has been right in judging that compulsory service is necessary to national freedom. That does not alter the fact that freedom is impaired at one point even if it is gained at another, and the man who is compelled against his will to give up his drink or to join the army is mocked if you tell him that in doing that which he most resents his will is free because the decision of society is his own. Essentially political freedom does not consist in like-mindedness, but in the toleration of differences; or, positively, in the acceptance of differences as contributing to richer life than uniformity. Freedom, as something shareable by all members of a community, involves restraint upon that which prevents such sharing. A society is on the whole free not because there is in it little law or much law, but because the law is such as to secure scope for personal development and free association as a common possession by restricting those developments, and those only, in which the fulfilment of one is the frustration of another. It is free, not where a common mind shapes the individual, but where all minds have that fullness of scope which can only be obtained if certain fundamental conditions of their mutual intercourse are maintained by organized effort.¹

¹ Properly interpreted, the dictum of Lycophron the Sophist, that the law is a guarantee of mutual justice, is nearer the truth than the contrary proposition of Aristotle, that it is such as to make the citizens good and just (Aristotle, Politics, Book III, ch. ix, § 8). It is not the business of compulsion to make men good and just, but the guarantee of protection for him who acts justly is a condition under which men may make themselves good and just. The state can, however, without serious increase of coercion apply the resources of organization to secure more positive conditions of development than the mere restraint of injustice, and in particular it is only the state which can accumulate for social ends
(2) In a second and more specific sense, political freedom implies active citizenship. The claim of the free individual is not the impossible one that the common decision should coincide with his own, but that his decision should be heard and taken into account. He claims his part in the common councils; he takes his share of responsibility. In so far as he makes this claim effective he contributes to the common decision even though in a particular case it goes dead against him. He is free, not because the social will is his own, but because he has as much scope for expression as any one man can have if all are to have it and yet live and act together. More than this is the beginning of tyranny, less is the beginning of slavery.

We cannot, however, do justice to the argument from the likeness between individuals to a common self which actually unites them without reference to the ultimate metaphysical theory of which this transition is a particular case. Let us restate our position as we have maintained it against Dr. Bosanquet's attacks. For us the system of law, the social tradition, is clearly not the product of one will, unless in the imaginary case of an omnipotent despot who imposes a complete system of laws on a subject people. It is rather the product of innumerable wills, acting sometimes in concert, sometimes in opposition to one another, and through their conflicts and combinations issuing in a more or less orderly system, part of which gets itself inscribed on the statute book, while part is incorporated in customs and institutions, and as such passes through generations, conserving its main outlines through long periods, but also subject to expansion, growth and decay. Such is the system of Recht, partly moral, partly legal, as understood by the plain man, and as more fully understandable that large element of wealth which does not depend on the energy of living individuals. It should be remarked in this connection that to restrict the functions of the state is by no means to place a limit on the value of voluntary co-operation, but rather the reverse.
by comparative and historical investigation. If we call it an expression or embodiment of the will, we do not mean 'by that term a single continuous entity but a universal, that is, something which in reality consists of thousands and millions of wills, all distinct in their existence, though acting on and acted on by one another. But to the Hegelian this statement implies a false view of the universal. We are contending for individuality, for the irreducible distinction between self and others, and we have met some of the arguments directed against that distinction. But now we have admitted a "universal" running through thousands and millions of selves. This admission, according to the idealist, will be fatal to the separateness which we have maintained. The universal for him unites the instances which fall under it just in the manner which we dispute. We have maintained a radical distinction between the identity of character found in different individuals and the identity of continuous existence which constitutes each individual. But the idealist will deny the radical character of this distinction. For him identity is universality, and the two cases of identity that we distinguish are mere specific forms of the universal. We come, therefore, to that theory of the universal which, as we said above, underlies the whole question. This theory is due to Hegel.

What then for Hegel is the universal? Like other things in his dialectic it can only be understood by surmounting certain false and partial views. Firstly, then, for him the universal is apprehended in contrast with the particular cases in which it is manifested. Thus the colour red is a universal, but it is not the red rose, nor the red cloth, nor the red blood. The red rose is a particular instance of the universal, the red blood is another. Redness, the universal, here is something distinct from, and in a manner opposed to, the cloth and the rose which are red. This is the abstract universal, the universal arrived at by taking away all the particulars in which it appears. But if we take away all the particulars,

what remains? If it is neither the red rose, nor the red cloth, nor the red blood nor red anything else, there is no red, nothing appears to remain for the abstract universal, and we seem forced to say that only particulars exist. To escape this difficulty we might perhaps say that red means the common element in the flower, the cloth and the blood. It is the character in which all agree and in which they all share as distinct from the characters in which they differ. But here another difficulty arises. The character of redness is not exactly identical in the different cases. The rose is of one tint or shade, the cloth of another, the blood of a third. The red that is common to all becomes something thinner and more attenuated, of which we can no longer form even a perfectly clear and unambiguous image. If we try to picture the red that is all these things, we stumble, as Hume says, in our minds not upon red in general but some particular shade of red. The difficulty becomes greater the higher we go in the region of abstraction. Red, blue and green are all colours, for example, but what precisely is the colour that is above all, which is not red, nor blue, nor green, nor of any other particular tint? If we try to think upon these lines, we get into the way of constructing our conception into a kind of mosaic. If colour is an element which is common to two coloured objects, then let us say redness is another element common to one set of coloured objects and distinct from others, and crimson a third element, and luminosity, transparence, opaqueness again further elements, and in this red rose before me several of these particular elements must coexist. Here then in another sense the universal has passed into the particular—the common element, colour, being just one of the constituent parts of the actual colour which is before me. On the other hand, it may be said each of these particulars is also universal, since the colour is common to the entire class of objects, the redness is common to a section of that class, and the particular tint to a smaller section, while certain characteristics like luminosity cut across the distinctions
of tint and are common to colours of many different tints. The conclusion of this argument is that the universal "as placed in opposition to the particulars, and the particulars placed in opposition to the universal, both involve contradictions. They pass into one another.

What is the truth then? The truth may be seen in this way. Colour is not a distinguishable element common to red, blue, green, etc. It is rather that which is now red, now blue, now green, and so all of them, though it is not all of them at one and the same time and place. Nor is it the sum or totality of them all. This would ultimately be only the collection of all the individual things that are coloured. It is rather the principle that permeates them and that develops itself into the one or the other, and the thought appears to be that, if we had insight into the nature of the universal, we should understand that all these differences arise out of it, as the different organs of the body come from the development of a germ. Hegel expresses this by saying that the true or concrete universal is the individual. By this he does not mean, as he explicitly says, the individual object that our senses appreciate, e.g. the red rose. He means an individuality which permeates or runs through differences of development or expression, so that the differences are related to the universal as are the attributes of an individual thing to the thing itself, or the phases or activities of life to the living being. This distinction is much more plausible as applied to a concept than to the reality to which a concept refers. If one thinks of colour, for example, as an attribute of the material world, to describe it as an individual becomes paradoxical in the highest degree. Colours appear here, there and everywhere under all sorts of changing conditions. There is among them nothing at all resembling the continuity and selfsameness of an individual object. On the other hand, if we think of the concept colour in our mind, we can with more reason regard it as a kind of scheme, which to be realized at all must be filled in in some definite way, but which as a scheme is a permanent unity, and is main-
tained without changing its character through all its differences of fulfilment. We can then understand that to say of a thing that it has a particular colour is to place it in the scope of this scheme, so that we escape from the difficulty of trying to assign to the term "colour" a meaning which gives it some definite quality distinguishable from other definite qualities, an attempt which Hegel rightly says leads us further and further into meaningless abstraction.

Let us agree then that when we predicate a universal, e.g. colour, we bring an object into relation with a certain system which is operative in our minds, and that generally speaking it is true to say that our concepts are systems of this kind and systems of such systems. The fallacy in the Hegelian theory consists in identifying the system of our thought with the reality to which it refers. The system of our thought is not identical with the system of reality, except in the sense that our thought itself is an event, but has reference to that reality, and reality itself is not finally intelligible until we take the relation between it and thought into account by a further and more comprehensive thought. For example, in the particular case before us we have to recognize that while in classifying things we form certain systems of universals and particulars, and while these systems describe things accurately in one aspect, they do not describe them under other aspects. If we ask how a thing grows, comes to be, disappears, for example, we do not get the answer by exhibiting its place in a classification, but by tracing its relation to its antecedents, concomitants, consequents. The classificatory system, being all held together in our thought, has within our thought a unity, even if you will an individuality. The thinking of it is an individual act. But the objects to which this unified thought refers the objects to which the system applies, may be in any degree scattered through the universe, and devoid of all the interconnecting threads that make an individual whole. This then in the last analysis is the fallacy involved in the famous Hegelian doctrine of the concrete
universal. It attributes the unity which belongs to the concept as contained in the act of thinking to the mass of objects to which the concept refers. The reality which the universal describes consists of indefinite numbers of individuals related by identities and differences of character, i.e. by more or less exact resemblance, and not by any substantive or causal continuity such as constitutes the individual.

The confusion of the individual with the universal, however, would never have commanded any acceptance if it had not some plausible basis in fact. What is this plausible basis? It is that if you consider the individual under a certain partial aspect, and allowing one fundamental point to drop, its resemblance to the universal leaps to the eyes. Consider the living being, for example, a man. He is in a sense one and the same thing from birth to death, but he is also different from babyhood to youth and youth to manhood; in a lesser degree, from moment to moment. You have in him a sameness running through difference, which is just what you have in the colour that is common to red, blue and green. He is, moreover, many things in one. He is a thinking, willing being, a spiritual being and a physical being, and his unity pervades all these just as the redness pervades all its tints. Here, too, the question arises whether he is distinct from all the different things that he is, or whether he is all these things regarded as a whole, or whether he is something that is now one and now the other, something which must be the one or the other and which finally manifests itself completely only in the whole series. In all these ways the self-identity of the individual resembles the universal. The fundamental difference is that the individual is continuous throughout his existence. The man’s life is not broken, he is always

1 It may be said that every time we make use of the same concept we refer to the same mass of facts. There is thus an identity of reference as well as identity in the thought which makes the reference. But this is not to say that the mass of facts so identified constitute in their internal relations an individual.
there at a given spot at any particular time, and never breaking the continuity of his temporal existence. In speaking of him as an individual we affirm or imply a belief in a substantial continuity. We believe, that is, that what he is at one moment is the basis of what he is at the next, that he has become whatever we find him to be by a process of self-determination. That self-determination is certainly not absolute, for his environment affects him, but there is always an element of self-determination which makes up the continuous thread of his identity. Now as between individuals of the same class, there is no necessary continuity of this kind. Two men may come into relation with one another or they may not. They are nevertheless both members of the same universal and they share a common character which has nothing whatever to do with any substantive continuity. On the other hand—and here is a further source of confusion—as between different individuals there may also be in certain relations important inter-connections, so that while each is an individual and while they constitute members of a class, they may nevertheless be so united as to form a totality which has a certain substantive continuity of its own. Now this is precisely the case with any society. Take a family, for example. All the members are individuals, that is, each has his own substantive continuity. But the family is also a close union of these individuals who in certain relations very intimately affect one another, and so build up a common life. Thus the family is both the class of individuals which compose it, say, all the Thomas Browns—the members of the family Thomas Brown—and also a true individual of a higher order, the family of the Thomas Browns possessing a certain life and unity of its own which makes it behave for many purposes as a single self-contained entity. So regarded, however, the family is not a universal but an individual, though of a different order from the physical individual. It is the confusion of these two aspects of the community which dominates the whole theory of the general will.
Let us see how the logic of it works. In the first place, the particular, as such, is unreal. Every particular must be a case of the universal, a manifestation of the universal. Thus the particular man, as particular, has no real existence. He is only a phase in some universal. Where then are we to look for the universal? Not in his identity of character with other men. That is the false or abstract universal. We should look for it in something which is to be called an individual, that must be in some systematic totality, some fabric or union of human beings, self-sustaining, self-determining, a sort of system of wills. Now there are several such systems, but in the Hegelian view that which includes them all is the state, and thus the state is the highest universal to which a particular man belongs as a case or a manifestation, and the will of the state is the real will, the universal will of which particular wills are only incidents or phases. Accordingly the Hegelian logic abolishes on the one side the independence of the individual living human being, and on the other side the universal ties of identity of character which relate the individual to the human species as a whole, and substitutes for it as the reality the organized body of human beings, which in its highest manifestation is the state. How far there is an error in fact here, that is, how far it is true that the state is the highest human organization, we need not for the moment inquire. The point is that by identifying the universal with the individual, Hegel has destroyed the universality of character on which all the highest ethics and the highest religions are founded. They mean nothing to him because they are mere abstract universals. At the same stroke he has destroyed the self-dependence of the individual which is the root of freedom, and we can understand why for him all that unsophisticated men call freedom is an irrational and unmeaning caprice, a caprice of the particular, imagining itself to be a substantive reality instead of a mere fold in the garment of the all-covering universal. And yet Hegel's doctrine may be said to have contradicted itself, for if it is true that universality of character rests
on membership of some organized whole, then that universality of character, which we do as a matter of fact find in human beings, must imply that humanity is in some sense an organic whole, and the mere fact that we speak of the state as a generic term and recognize that there are many states must imply a universal element connecting them, and therefore must lead to the conception after all of a super-state, at any rate of something that is above all states, comprehending them all and forming an organic unity among them. It is just this organic unity which Hegel denies, recognizing above the state only a spirit of world history which is essentially a process and a process in which states contend and destroy one another, not a unity inspiring them with a single spirit and finding for them also a true freedom in conformity to universal law.¹

¹ Dr. Bosanquet in his Principle of Individuality and Value (Lecture II) recognizes the distinction between generality and what he calls the individuality. He takes the line of depreciating generality, e.g. p. 34, "the most general knowledge . . . must obviously be the least instructive and must have its climax in complete emptiness." To this it may be replied that the law of gravitation is neither uninstructive nor empty, because it applies to all bodies. On the contrary, it was precisely the discovery that it did apply to all bodies, and not only the earth and the objects on its surface, that enabled Newton to draw inferences of extraordinary range and interest. He goes on to argue that "you cannot explain a human body or a steam-engine by classifying the parts in each under their resemblances to one another." This is of course one part of the truth, though not the whole truth. We should not understand the operation of any part of the steam-engine if we could not regard it as an instance of a general law of the operation of bodies precisely similar to that part.

For the rest, Bosanquet's contention only goes to illustrate the difference between the general and the individual, and does not justify the use of the term "universal" derived from generality to characterize the individual. Bosanquet justly finds a certain correspondence, the correspondence noted above, between the individual and the general. "The ultimate principle we may say is sameness in the other. Generality is sameness in spite of the other. Universality is sameness by means of the other" (p. 37). We should say rather generality implies a plurality of objects similar, but not necessarily connected in any other way.
Individuality is a connection, psychical, physical, or whatever it may be, running through many parts and constituting of them one whole. Being unable to deny the distinctness of what we call generality, Bosanquet seems to set himself to minimize its value. He almost seems to scold its obstinacy in remaining a part of the universe. Exclusiveness, we are told, is a kind of minor mark of the individual. It is misleading if too strongly insisted on. It is admitted (p. 104) that a potential generality or repetition is a corollary of the universal infinite experience, "but it is a character of imperfection in such experience and not of perfection . . . why should any being express a second time what has been adequately expressed before?" So, again, on p. 116, "repetition suggests failure." Is it not rather that the admission of repetition suggests the failure of the theory which identifies the universal with the individual? A true proposition is not refuted by belittling its significance.