

CONTENTS.

ON THE DIFFERENT SENSES OF 'FREEDOM' AS APPLIED TO WILL AND TO THE MORAL PROGRESS OF MAN.

	PAGE
1. In one sense (as being search for <i>self</i> -satisfaction) <i>all</i> will is free; in another (as the satisfaction sought is or is not real) it may or may not be free	2
2. As applied to the inner life 'freedom' always implies a metaphor. Senses of this metaphor in Plato, the Stoics, St. Paul	3
3. St. Paul and Kant. It would seem that with Kant 'freedom' means merely consciousness of the <i>possibility</i> of it ('knowledge of sin')	5
4. Hegel's conception of freedom as objectively realised in the state	6
5. It is true in so far as society does supply to the individual concrete interests which tend to satisfy the desire for perfection	6
6. Though (like the corresponding conception in St. Paul) it is not and could not be realised in any actual human society	8
7. In all these uses 'freedom' means, not mere self-determination or acting on preference, but a particular kind of this	9
8. The extension of the term from the outer to the inner relations of life, though a natural result of reflection, is apt to be misleading	9
9. Thus the question, Is a man free? which may be properly asked in regard to his <i>action</i> , cannot be asked in the same sense in regard to his <i>will</i>	10
10. The failure to see this has led to the errors (1) of regarding motive as something apart from and acting on will, (2) of regarding will as independent of motive	11
11. Thus the fact that a man, <i>being what he is, must act</i> in a certain way, is construed into the negation of freedom	12
12. And to escape this negation recourse is had to the notion of an unmotivated will, which is really no will at all	13
13. The truth is that the will is the man, and that the will cannot be rightly spoken of as 'acting on' its objects or <i>vice versa</i> , because they are neither anything without the other	13
14. If however the question be persisted in, Has a man power over his will? the answer must be both 'yes' and 'no'	14

	PAGE
15. 'Freedom' has been taken above (as by English psychologists generally) as applying to will, whatever the character of the object willed	14
16. If taken (as by the Stoics, St. Paul, Kant (generally), and Hegel) as applying only to <i>good</i> will, it must still be recognised that this particular sense implies the generic	15
17. Whatever the propriety of the term in the particular sense, both 'juristic' and 'spiritual' freedom spring from the same self-asserting principle in man	16
18. And though the former is only the beginning of full freedom, this identity of source will always justify the use of the word in the latter sense	17
19. But does not the conception of 'freedom' as = the moral ideal imply an untenable distinction like that of Kant between the 'pure' and 'empirical' ego?	18
20. The 'pure' and 'empirical' ego are one ego, regarded (1) in its possibility, (2) as at any given time it actually is	20
21. In man the self-realising principle is never realised; i.e. the objects of reason and will only <i>tend</i> to coincide	20
22. So far as they do coincide, man may be said to be 'free' and his will to be 'autonomous'	21
23. The growing organisation of human life provides a medium for the embodiment, and disciplines the natural impulses for the reception, of the idea of perfection	23
24. The reconciliation of reason and will takes place as the individual more and more finds his own self-satisfaction in meeting the requirements of established morality	24
25. Until these come to be entirely superseded by the desire of perfection for its own sake, and his will becomes really free	25

LECTURES ON THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION.

A. The grounds of political obligation.

1. Subject of the inquiry	29
2. Its connection with the general theory of morals. Ideal goodness is to do good for its own sake: but there must be acts considered good on other grounds before they can be done for the sake of their goodness	29
3. When, however, the ideal comes to be recognised as the ideal, the lower interests and rules must be criticised and revised by it	30
4. The criticism of interests will yield a 'theory of moral sentiments'; that of rules will relate (1) to positive law, (2) to the law of opinion	31
5. As moral interests greatly depend on recognised rules of conduct, and these again on positive law, it is best to begin by considering the moral value of existing civil institutions	31

CONTENTS.

ix

PAGE

6. The condition of morality is the possession of will and reason, and it is realised in a personal character in which they are harmonised	31
7. Civil institutions are valuable so far as they enable will and reason to be exercised, and so far they answer to 'jus naturæ'	32
8. The essential questions as to the 'law of nature' are, (1) Are there rights and obligations other than those actually enforced? (2) If so, what is the criterion of them?	33
9. While rejecting the theory of a 'state of nature,' we may still use 'natural' of those rights which <i>ought to be</i> , though they actually are not	33
10. Such 'natural law' is (as admitting <i>enforcement</i>) distinct from, but (as implying a <i>duty</i> to obey it) relative to, the moral law	34
11. Hence two principles for the criticism of law, (1) only external acts can be matter of obligation proper, (2) the ideal of law must be determined by reference to the moral end which it serves	34
12. Observe (a) that in confining law to 'external actions,' we mean by 'actions' <i>intentions</i> , without which there is properly no 'action'	35
13. (b) That by 'external' we mean that law, though it does supply motives to action, looks merely to whether the action is done, not to whether it is done from a particular motive	36
14. Law then <i>can</i> only enjoin or forbid certain acts; it <i>cannot</i> enjoin or forbid motives	37
15. And the only acts which it <i>ought</i> to enjoin or forbid are those of which the doing or not doing, <i>from whatever motive</i> , is necessary to the moral end of society	37
16. The principle of 'natural law,' then, should be to enjoin all acts which further action from the highest motive, and no acts which interfere with such action	38
17. This principle would condemn much legislation which has tended, e.g., to weaken religion, self-respect, or family feeling	38
18. This, and not the principle of 'laissez-faire,' is the true ground of objection to 'paternal government'	39
19. The theory of political obligation (i.e. of what law ought to be, and why it ought to be obeyed) is not a theory (a) as to how existing law has come to be what it is	40
20. Nor (b) as to how far it expresses or is derived from certain original 'natural' rights	40
21. 'Natural' rights (like law itself) are relative to moral ends, i.e. they are those which are necessary to the fulfilment of man's moral vocation as man	41
22. This however is not the sense in which political obligation was based on 'natural rights' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, previously to utilitarianism	41

	PAGE
23. The utilitarian theory so far agrees with that here advocated that it grounds existing law, not on a 'natural' law prior to it, but on an end which it serves	42
24. The derivation of actual rights from natural (i.e. more primitive) rights does not touch the real question, viz. how there came to be <i>rights</i> at all	43
25. The conception of a moral ideal (however dim) is the condition of the existence of rights, and conversely anyone who is capable of such a conception is capable of rights	44
26. Thus the consciousness of having rights is co-ordinate with the recognition of others as having them, the ground of both being the conception of a common good which <i>ought to be</i> attained	45
27. Rights then can only subsist among 'persons,' in the <i>moral</i> sense of 'persons,' i.e. being possessed of rational will	45
28. Though the moral idea of personality is later in formulation than the legal, and this again than the actual existence of rights	46
29. Rights which are directly necessary to a man's acting as a moral person at all may be called in a special sense 'personal'	47
30. Nor is there any objection to calling them 'innate' or 'natural,' if this means 'necessary to the moral development of man,' in which sense 'duties' are equally 'natural'	47
31. Without a society conscious of a common interest there can be only 'powers,' no 'rights'	48

B. *Spinoza.*

32. Spinoza, seeing that 'jus naturæ' = 'potentia,' and not seeing that it is not really 'jus' at all, identifies all 'jus' with 'potentia,' both in the state and in the individual	49
33. From which it follows that the 'right' of the state against its individual members is only limited by its 'power'	51
34. And the same principle applies to the relations of one state to other states	51
35. But, according to Spinoza, though everything is 'lawful' for the state, everything is not 'best,' and the 'best' state is that which secures a life of 'peace,' i.e. rational virtue or perfection	52
36. This conclusion does not seem consistent with his starting-point, according to which men are 'naturally enemies'	53
37. From such a 'status naturalis' there is no possible transition to the 'status civilis,' and the phrase ' <i>jus naturæ</i> ' remains unmeaning	55
38. Spinoza's error of regarding 'rights' as possible apart from society was confirmed by his denial of final causes	56
39. It was just because Plato and Aristotle regarded man as finding	

CONTENTS.

XI
PAGE

his end in the end of the state, that they founded a true theory of rights	57
40. Spinoza, however, while insisting that man is 'part of nature,' yet places his 'good' in understanding nature and so acquiring a new character	57
41. In thus recognising the idea of perfection as a determinant of life, he really recognises an operative final cause, though without seeing its bearing on the theory of right	59

C. *Hobbes.*

42. Hobbes differs from Spinoza in regarding the right of the sovereign, not as limited by his power, but as absolute . .	60
43. Statement of his doctrine	61
44. He uses 'person,' as in Roman law, for either (1) a complex of rights, or (2) the subject of those rights	61
45. Though by his theory the sovereign may be one or many, and sovereignty is transferable by the act of a majority, he tacitly vindicates the absolute right of a <i>de facto</i> monarchy . . .	62
46. The radical fiction in his theory is that there can be any 'right' <i>after</i> the institution of sovereignty, if (as he holds) there is none before it	63
47. To justify his doctrine of absolute submission he has to assume a 'law of nature' which binds men to keep covenant, while yet he holds the 'law of nature' to be mere 'power' and covenants to be only valid under an <i>imperium</i>	64
48. His 'contract' can confer none but natural right, and that is either not a right at all, or (if it is) it belongs to all men, subject and sovereign alike	65
49. The real flaw in the theory of contract is not that it is un-historical, but that it implies the possibility of rights and obligations independently of society	66
50. Though it has not been popularly accepted as regards the rights of sovereigns over subjects, the behaviour of individuals to society is to a great extent practically determined by it . .	67

D. *Locke.*

51. The development of this latter side of it is peculiarly due to Rousseau, but Locke, Hooker, and Grotius have essentially the same conception: Spinoza alone differs	68
52. Ambiguity of their phrase 'state of nature.' They agree in treating it as the negation of the 'political state.' But if so, contract would be impossible in it	69
53. Nor could it be a state of 'freedom and equality,' as most of them assume it to be	69
54. And if this state of nature implies consciousness of obligation, it must imply recognition of social claims, and must therefore be virtually a political state	70

	PAGE
55. In fact the theory of a state of nature governed by a law of nature, as preceding civil society, must be untrue either to the conception of <i>law</i> or to that of <i>nature</i>	71
56. Locke differs from Hobbes (1) in distinguishing the 'state of nature' from the 'state of war'	72
57. He implies (more consistently than Hobbes) that the 'state of nature' is one in which the 'law of nature' is observed	73
58. (2) He limits the supreme power in the state by the legislature, which holds its functions in trust from the community	74
59. And this distinction between the supreme community and the supreme executive enables him to distinguish between dissolution of the political society and dissolution of the government, which Hobbes had confused	75
60. He invests the community with the right of resuming the powers which they have delegated, and thus justifies revolution when it is the act of the whole community	75
61. The difficulty is to determine when it <i>is</i> the act of the whole community, and on this Locke's theory gives no help	76
62. The difficulty indeed is not so great as that of conceiving the act of original devolution of power, and is inherent in the theory of contract	77
63. In the particular case of the reform of the English representative system, Locke does not contemplate the carrying out of his own theory	78

E. *Rousseau.*

64. Rousseau conceives the community to be in continual exercise of the power which Locke conceives it to have exercised once and to hold in reserve	80
65. In his view of the motive for passing from the state of nature into the civil state he is more like Spinoza than Locke	80
66. His statement of the origin and nature of the 'social contract'	80
67. Its effects upon the individual	81
68. His idea of the sovereign is really that of a supreme disinterested reason, but he fuses this with the ordinary idea of a supreme coercive power	82
69. The practical result of his theory has been a vague exaltation of the will of the people, regardless of what 'the people' ought to mean	82
70. Further consequences of his ideal conception of sovereignty. It cannot be alienated, represented, or divided	83
71. Thus the 'government' is never the same as the 'sovereign,' and constitutions differ according to where the government, not the sovereign, resides	84
72. The institution of government is <i>not</i> by contract, but by the act of the sovereign, and this act must be confirmed or repealed periodically	85

CONTENTS.

xiii

PAGE

73. His distinction between the 'will of all' and the 'general will': the latter always wills the common good, though it may be mistaken as to means	86
74. He admits however that it may be overpowered by particular interests, and so find no expression even in the vote of a general assembly	87
75. What then is the test of the 'general' will? Absolute unanimity is what Rousseau requires of the parties to the original contract	88
76. But what is to decide whether their successors are parties to it? Not 'residence,' unless there is also freedom to migrate	89
77. The element of permanent value in Rousseau is his conception of the state as representing the 'general will'	89
78. Difficulties in this conception. It seems that either no actual state realises it, or that there may be a state without a true sovereign	90
79. We may distinguish between <i>de facto</i> and <i>de jure</i> sove- reignty, and say that Rousseau meant the latter; but this is only an <i>inference</i> from what he says.	90

F. *Sovereignty and the general will.*

80. Hence it may be asked, (1) Is any actual sovereignty founded on the 'general will'? (2) Can sovereignty <i>de jure</i> be truly said to be founded on it? (3) If so, must it be expressed through the vote of a sovereign people?	93
81. (1) According to (e.g.) Austin's definition of sovereignty, we should answer this question in the negative	93
82. (Observe that from Austin's definition it would follow that, while every 'law' implies a 'sovereign,' a 'sovereign's' commands need not be 'laws')	94
83. That definition directly contradicts that of Rousseau, in (a) placing sovereignty in <i>determinate</i> persons, (b) making its essence lie in power to compel obedience	95
84. Actual sovereignty combines both definitions; the habitual obedience of subjects to the sovereign is due to the sense that by obeying they secure certain ends	96
85. So far as Austin means that a fully developed state implies a <i>determinate</i> supreme source of law, he is right as against Rousseau	97
86. But if sovereign power = the aggregate influences which really make the people obedient, it must be sought in the 'general will'	98
87. Such power need not be 'sovereign' in the narrower sense, and may coexist with a separate coercive power which is 'sovereign'	98
88. This has been the case in ancient despotisms, and in the modern empires of the East	99

	PAGE
89. So in states under foreign dominion, which retain a national life, the technical sovereign is not the law-making and law-maintaining power	100
90. Under the Roman Empire, in British India, in Russia, where the technical is also the real sovereign, its strength rests in different degrees on the general will	100
91. Thus the answer to question (1) depends on the sense of 'sovereign.' If it = a power which guarantees equal rights, it is implied in every 'political' society	102
92. But (a) it <i>need</i> not be the supreme coercive power, and (b) if it is so, it is not <i>because</i> it is so that it commands habitual obedience	102
93. Thus (retaining the technical use of 'sovereign') it is true that if the sovereign is to be so <i>really</i> , it must express and maintain a general will	103
94. Though this is compatible with the fact that some of the laws of the sovereign conflict with the general will	104
95. Thus as to question (2) (above, sec. 80), if sovereignty is said to rest on the general will 'de jure,' either 'sovereign' or 'jus' is not used in the strict sense	105
96. An antithesis between sovereign 'de jure' and 'de facto' can only arise from a confusion between 'sovereign' as = the source of law and 'sovereign' as = the 'general will'	106
97. Though there are cases in which (in a different sense) a sovereign may be conveniently described as 'de facto,' not 'de jure,' or <i>vice versa</i>	108
98. Similarly, to say that the people is 'sovereign de jure' is to confuse the general will with the coercive power of the majority	108
99. Rousseau's confusion is due to the theory of 'natural rights' (that the individual is not bound by anything which he has not individually approved)	109
100. The individual must indeed judge for himself whether a law is for the common good; but though he judge it not to be, he ought as a rule to obey it	110
101. Cases in which a doubt may arise	111
102. (a) Where the legal authority of the law is doubtful, owing to the doubt where the sovereignty in the state resides	111
103. In such cases the truth generally is that the 'right,' on the particular issue, has not yet formed itself	112
104. But it does not follow that because the 'right' is on both sides, one is not 'better' than the other; though this <i>may</i> be the case	113
105. In such cases of disputed sovereignty the distinction of 'de jure' and 'de facto' may be applied, though it is better to say that the sovereignty is in abeyance	114
106. The individual, having no 'right' to guide him, should take the side whose success seems likely to be best for mankind	115

CONTENTS.

XV

PAGE

107. (b) Another case is where there is no legal way of getting a bad law repealed. Here it is a question, not of <i>right</i> , but of <i>duty</i> , to resist the sovereign	116
108. Nor is it a question of the right of a majority, as a majority, to resist : it may be the duty of a helpless minority	116
109. Some general questions which the good citizen may put to himself in such dilemmas	118
110. They can, indeed, seldom be applied by the agents at the time as they can be after the event	118
111. In simple cases we may judge of the right or wrong of an act by the character which it expresses, but generally we can only judge them by its results	118
112. All that the historian can say is that on the whole the best character is likely to produce the best results, notwithstanding various appearances to the contrary	119
<i>G. Will, not force, is the basis of the state.</i>	
113. The doctrines which explain political obligation by contract agree in treating sovereign and subject apart, whereas they are correlative	121
114. For the desire for freedom in the individual is no real desire unless he is one of a society which recognises it. (Slaves are not a real exception to this)	122
115. And without an authority embodied in civil institutions he would not have the elementary idea of right which enables him to question the authority	123
116. But the theory of contract expresses, in a confused way, the truth that only through the common recognition of a common good, and its embodiment in institutions, is morality possible	123
117. Thus morality and political subjection have a common source	124
118. And <i>both</i> imply the twofold conception, (a) 'I <i>must</i> though I do not like,' (b) 'I <i>must because</i> it is for the common good which is also my good'	125
119. It is a farther and difficult question, how far the sense of common interest can be kept alive either in the government or subjects, unless the people participates directly in legislation	126
120. And this suggests the objection, Is it not trifling with words to speak of political subjection in modern states as based on the <i>will</i> of the subjects ?	127
121. We must admit (a) that the idea of the state as serving a common interest is only <i>partially</i> realised, even by the most enlightened subject, though so far as realised it is what makes him a loyal subject	128
122. (b) That if he is to be an intelligent patriot as well as a loyal subject, he must take a personal part in the work of the state	129

	PAGE
123. And (c) that even then his patriotism will not be a <i>passion</i> unless it includes a feeling for the state analogous to that which he has for his family and home	130
124. But are we not again assuming what was disputed, viz. that a sense of its serving a common interest is necessary to the existence of the state?	131
125. Observe that the idea of an end or function, realised by agencies unconscious of it and into which it cannot be resolved, is already implied even if the state be treated as a 'natural organism'	131
126. Such a treatment, however, would ignore the distinction between the 'natural' and the 'human' or 'moral' agencies which have operated in the production of states	132
127. It may be objected that these 'human' agencies are not necessarily 'moral,' but on the contrary are often selfish	133
128. But though human motives are never unalloyed, they only produce good results so far as they are fused with and guided by some unselfish element	133
129. If e.g. we would form a <i>complete</i> estimate of Napoleon, we must consider not only his ambition but the <i>particular form</i> in which his ambition worked	134
130. And further reflect that the <i>idiosyncrasy</i> of such men plays but a small part in the result, which is mainly due to agencies of which they are only the most conspicuous instruments	135
131. Thus an ideal motive may co-operate with the motives of selfish men, and only through such co-operation are they instrumental for good	135
132. The fact that the state implies a supreme coercive power gives colour to the view that it is based on coercion; whereas the coercive power is only supreme <i>because</i> it is exercised in a state, i.e. according to some system of law, written or customary	136
133. In the absence of any other name, 'state' is the best for a society in which there is such a system of law and a power to enforce it	138
134. A state, then, is not an aggregate of individuals under a sovereign, but a society in which the rights of men already associated in families and tribes are defined and harmonised	139
135. It developes as the absorption of fresh societies or the extended intercourse between its members widens the range of common interests and rights	139
136. The point to be insisted on is that force has only formed states so far as it has operated in and through a pre-existing medium of political, tribal, or family 'rights'	140

H. *Has the citizen rights against the state ?*

	PAGE
137. As long as power of compulsion is made the essence of the state, political obligation cannot be explained either by the theory of 'consent,' or by that which derives all right from the sovereign	142
138. The state presupposes rights, rights which may be said to belong to the 'individual' if this mean 'one of a <i>society</i> of individuals'	148
139. A right may be <i>analysed</i> into a claim of the individual upon society and a power conceded to him by society, but really the claim and the concession are sides of one and the same common consciousness	144
140. Such common consciousness of interests is the ground of the 'natural right' of slaves and of the members of other states .	144
141. But though in this way there may be rights outside the state, the members of a state derive the rights which they have as members of other associations from the state, and have no rights against it	145
142. I.e. as they derive their rights from their membership in the state, they have no right to disobey the law unless it be for the interest of the state	146
143. And even then only if the law violates some interest which is <i>implicitly acknowledged</i> by the conscience of the community	148
144. It is a farther question when the attempt to get a law repealed should be exchanged for active resistance to it	149
145. E.g. should a slave be befriended against the law? The slave has as a man certain rights which the state cannot extinguish, and by denying which it forfeits its claim upon him .	151
146. And it may be held that the claim of the slave upon the citizen, as a man, overrides the claim of the state upon him, as a citizen	152
147. Even here, however, the law ought to be obeyed, supposing that its violation tended to bring about general anarchy . .	153

I. *Private rights. The right to life and liberty.*

148. There are rights which men have as members of associations, which come to be comprised in the state, but which also exist independently of it	154
149. These are 'private' rights, divided by Stephen into (a) personal, (b) rights of property, (c) rights in private relations	154
150. <i>All</i> rights are 'personal'; but as a man's body is the condition of his exercising rights at all, the rights of it may be called 'personal' in a special sense	155

	PAGE
151. The right of 'life and liberty' (better, of 'free life'), being based on capacity for society, belongs <i>in principle</i> to man as man, though this is only gradually <i>recognised</i>	155
152. At first it belongs to man as against other members of his family or tribe, then as against other tribes, then as against other citizens, which in antiquity still implies great limitations	156
153. Influences which have helped to break down these limitations are (a) Roman equity, (b) Stoicism, (c) the Christian idea of a universal brotherhood	157
154. This last is the logical complement of the idea that man as such has a right to life; but the right is only <i>negatively</i> recognised in modern Christendom	157
155. It is ignored e.g. in war, nor is much done to enable men to fulfil their capacities as members of humanity	158
156. Four questions as to the relation of the state to the right of man as man to free life	159

K. The right of the state over the individual in war.

157. (1) Has the state a right to override this right in war? It must be admitted that war is <i>not</i> 'murder,' either on the part of those who fight or of those who cause the war	160
158. Yet it may be a violation of the right of life. It does not prove it not to be so, that (a) those who kill do not intend to kill anyone in particular	161
159. Or that (b) those who are killed have incurred the risk voluntarily. Even if they have, it does not follow that they had a 'right' to do so	162
160. It may be said that the right to physical life may be overridden by a right arising from the exigencies of moral life	164
161. But this only shifts the blame of war to those who are responsible for those exigencies; it remains a wrong all the same	164
162. But in truth most wars of the last 400 years have <i>not</i> been wars for political liberty, but have arisen from dynastic ambition or national vanity	165
163. Admitting, then, that virtue may be called out by war and that it may be a factor in human progress, the destruction of life in it is always a wrong	167
164. 'But if it be admitted that war may do good, may not those who originate it have the credit of this?'	168
165. If they really acted from desire to do good, their share in the wrong is less; but in any case the fact that war was the only means to the good was due to human agency, and was a wrong	168
166. (2) (See sec. 157). Hence it follows that the state, so far as it is true to its principle, cannot have to infringe the rights of man as man by conflicts with other states	170

CONTENTS.

xix

	PAGE
167. It is not because states exist, but because they do not fulfil their functions as states in maintaining and harmonising general rights, that such conflicts are necessary	171
168. This is equally true of conflicts arising from what are called 'religious' grounds	172
169. Thus no state, as such, is <i>absolutely</i> justified in doing a wrong to mankind, though a particular state may be conditionally justified	173
170. It may be objected that such a 'cosmopolitan' view ignores the individuality of states, and could only be realised if they were all absorbed in a universal empire	174
171. It is true that public spirit, to be real, must be national; but the more a nation becomes a true state, the more does it find outlets for its national spirit other than conflicts with other nations	175
172. In fact the identification of patriotism with military aggressiveness is a survival from a time when states in the full sense did not exist	176
173. And our great standing armies are due, not to the development of a system of states, but to circumstances which witness to the shortcomings of that system	176
174. The better the organisation of each state, the greater is the freedom of communication with others, especially in trade, which, beginning in self-interest, may lead to the consciousness of a higher bond	177
175. As compared with individuals, any bonds between nations must be weak; on the other hand, governments have less temptation than individuals to deal unfairly with one another	178

L. *The right of the state to punish.*

176. (3) (See sec. 156). What right has the state to punish? The right to live in a community rests on the capacity to act for the common good, and implies the right to protect such action from interference	180
177. A detailed theory of punishment implies a detailed theory of rights. Here we can only deal with principles	180
178. Is punishment <i>retributive</i> ? Not in the sense that it carries on a supposed 'right' of private vengeance, for no such 'right' can exist	181
179. The most rudimentary 'right' of vengeance implies social recognition and regulation, in early times by the family	182
180. And its development up to the stage at which the state alone punishes is the development of a principle implied from the first	182
181 'But if punishment excludes private vengeance, how can it be retributory at all? And how can a wrong to <i>society</i> be requited?	183

	PAGE
182. When a wrong is said to be 'done to society,' it does not mean that a feeling of vindictiveness is excited in the society . . .	183
183. The popular indignation against a great criminal is an expression, not of individual desire for vengeance, but of the demand that the criminal should have his due	184
184. And this does not mean an equivalent amount of suffering; nor such suffering as has been found by experience to deter men from the crime	185
185. Punishment, to be <i>just</i> , implies (a) that the person punished can understand what <i>right</i> means, and (b) that it is some understood <i>right</i> that he has violated	186
186. He will then recognise that the punishment is his own act returning on himself; (it is in a different sense that the physical consequences of immorality are spoken of as a 'punishment')	186
187. Punishment may be said to be <i>preventive</i> , if it be remembered (a) that <i>what</i> it 'prevents' must be the violation of a real right, and (b) that the <i>means by which</i> it 'prevents' must be really necessary	188
188. Does our criterion of the justice of punishment give any practical help in apportioning it?	189
189. The justice of punishment depends on the justice of the system of rights which it is to maintain	189
190. The idea that 'just' punishment is that which = the crime in amount confuses retribution for the wrong to society with compensation for damages to the individual	190
191. 'But why not hold that the pain of the punishment ought to = the moral guilt of the crime?'	191
192. Because the state cannot gauge either the one or the other; and if it could, it would have to punish every case differently . . .	191
193. In truth the state has regard in punishing, not primarily to the individuals concerned, but to the future prevention of the crime by associating terror with it in the general imagination . . .	191
194. The account taken of 'extenuating circumstances' may be similarly explained; i.e. the act done under them requires little terror to prevent it from becoming general	192
195. 'But why avoid the simpler explanation, that extenuating circumstances are held to diminish the <i>moral guilt</i> of the act?'	194
196. Because (a) the state cannot ascertain the <i>degree</i> of moral guilt involved in a crime; (b) if it tries to punish immorality (proper), it will check disinterested moral effort	194
197. Punishment, however, may be truly held to express the 'moral disapprobation' of society, but it is to the external side of action that the disapprobation is directed	195
198. The principle that punishment should be regulated by the importance of the right violated explains the severity with which 'culpable negligence' is punished	197

CONTENTS.

xxi

PAGE

199. And the punishment of crimes done in drunkenness illustrates the same principle	197
200. It also justifies the distinction between 'criminal' and 'civil' injuries, (which is not a distinction between injuries to individuals and to the community, for no 'right' is violated by injury done to an individual <i>as such</i>)	198
201. There would be no reason in associating terror with breaches of a right which the offender either did not know that he was breaking or which he could not help breaking	199
202. When such ignorance and inability are culpable, it depends on the seriousness of the wrong or the degree to which the civil suit involves deterrent effects, whether they should be treated as crimes	200
203. Historically, the state has interfered first through the civil process; gradually, as public alarm gets excited, more and more offences come to be treated as crimes	201
204. Punishment must also be <i>reformatory</i> (this being one way of being preventive), i.e. it must regard the rights of the criminal	202
205. Capital punishment is justifiable only (a) if it can be shown to be necessary to the maintenance of society, (b) if there is reason to suppose the criminal to be permanently incapable of rights	203
206. Punishment, though <i>directly</i> it aims at the maintenance of rights, has indirectly a moral end, because rights are conditions of moral well-being	204

M. *The right of the state to promote morality.*

207. (4) (See sec. 156). The right of free life is coming to be more and more recognised amongst us <i>negatively</i> ; is it reasonable to do so little <i>positively</i> to make its exercise possible?	206
208. First observe that the capacity for free life is a moral capacity, i.e. a capacity for being influenced by a sense of common interest	206
209. This influence will only be weakened by substituting for it that of law, but the state can do more than it usually does without deadening spontaneous action; e.g. 'compulsory education' need not be 'compulsory' except to those who have no spontaneity to be deadened	208
210. So too with interference with 'freedom of contract'; we must consider not only those who are interfered with, but those whose freedom is increased by the interference	209

N. *The right of the state in regard to property.*

211. As to property two questions have to be kept distinct, (a) how there has come to be property, (b) how there has come to be a <i>right</i> of property. Each of these again may be treated either historically or metaphysically	211
--	-----

	PAGE
212. The confusion of these questions and methods has given rise either to truisms or to irrelevant researches as to the nature of property	212
213. Property implies (a) appropriation, i.e. an act of will, of a permanent self demanding satisfaction and expression	212
214. (b) Recognition of the appropriation by others. This recognition cannot be derived from contract (Grotius), or from a supreme force (Hobbes)	213
215. Locke rightly bases the right of property on the same ground as the right to one's own person; but he does not ask what that ground is	216
216. The ground is the same as that of the right of life, of which property is the instrument, viz. the consciousness of a common interest to which each man recognises every other man as contributing	216
217. Thus the act of appropriation and the recognition of it constitute one act of <i>will</i> , as that in which man seeks a good at once common and personal	217
218. The condition of the family or clan, in which e.g. land is held in common, is not the negation, but on the contrary the earliest expression of the right of property	217
219. Its defect lies (a) in the limited scope for free moral development which it allows the associates, (b) in the limited range of moral relations into which it brings them	218
220. But the expansion of the clan into the state has not brought with it a corresponding emancipation of the individual. Is then the existence of a practically propertyless class in modern states a necessity, or an abuse?	219
221. In theory, everyone who is capable of living for a common good (whether he actually does so or not) ought to have the means for so doing: these means are property	220
222. But does not this theory of property imply freedom of appropriation and disposition, and yet is it not just this freedom which leads to the existence of a propertyless proletariat?	220
223. Property, whether regarded as the appropriation of nature by men of different powers, or as the means required for the fulfilment of different social functions, <i>must</i> be unequal	221
224. Freedom of trade, another source of inequality, follows necessarily from the same view of property: freedom of bequest is more open to doubt	222
225. It seems to follow from the general right of a man to provide for his future, and (with certain exceptions) to be likely to secure the best distribution; but it does <i>not</i> imply the right of entail	223
226. Returning to the question raised in sec. 220, observe (a) that accumulation by one man does not itself naturally imply deprivation of other men, but rather the contrary	224

227. Nor is the prevalence of great capitals and hired labour in itself the cause of the bad condition of so many of the working classes 225

228. The cause is to be found, not in the right of property and accumulation, but (partly at least) in the fact that the land has been originally appropriated by conquest 225

229. Hence (a) the present proletariat inherit the traditions of serfdom, and (b) under landowning governments land has been appropriated unjustifiably, i.e. in various ways prejudicial to the common interest 226

230. And further the masses crowded through these causes into large towns have till lately had little done to improve their condition 227

231. Whether, if the state did its duty, it would still be advisable to limit bequest of land, is a question which must be differently answered according to circumstances 228

232. The objection to the appropriation by the state of 'unearned increment' is that it is so hard to distinguish between 'earned' and 'unearned' 229

O. *The right of the state in regard to the family.*

233. The rights of husband over wife and father over children are (a) like that of property in being rights against all the world, (b) unlike it in being rights over *persons*, and therefore reciprocal 230

234. The latter characteristic would be expressed by German writers by saying that both the 'subject' and the 'object' of these rights are persons 231

235. Three questions about them: (1) What makes man capable of family life? (2) How does it come to have rights? (3) What ought the form of those rights to be? 232

236. (1) The family implies the same effort after permanent self-satisfaction as property, together with a permanent interest in a particular woman and her children 233

237. The capacity for this interest is essential to anything which can be rightly called family life, whatever lower forms of life may historically have preceded it 233

238. (2) The rights of family life arise from the mutual recognition of this interest by members of the same clan (in which the historical family always appears as an element) 234

239. Its development has been in the direction (a) of giving *all* men and women the right to marry, (b) of recognising the claims of husband and wife to be *reciprocal*. Both these imply monogamy 235

240. Polygamy excludes many men from marriage and makes the wife practically not a wife, while it also prevents real reciprocity of rights both between husband and wife and between parents and children 235

	PAGE
241. The abolition of slavery is another essential to the development of the true family life, in both the above respects	236
242. (3) Thus the <i>right</i> (as distinct from the <i>morality</i>) of family life requires (a) monogamy, (b) duration through life, (c) terminability on the infidelity of husband or wife	237
243. Why then should not adultery be treated as a crime? Because (unlike other violations of right) it is generally in the public interest that it should be condoned if the injured person is willing to condone it	238
244. Nor would the higher purposes of marriage be served by making infidelity penal, for they depend on disposition, not on outward acts or forbearances	240
245. All that the state can do, therefore, is to make divorce for adultery easy, and to make marriage as serious a matter as possible	241
246. (b) Should divorce be allowed except for adultery? Sometimes for lunacy or cruelty, but not for incompatibility, the object of the state being to make marriage a ' <i>consortium omnis vitæ</i> '	241

P. *Rights and virtues.*

247. Outline of remaining lectures, on (1) rights connected with the functions of government, (2) social virtues. (The antithesis of 'social' and 'self-regarding' is false)	244
248. Virtues, being dispositions to exercise rights, are best co-ordinated with rights. Thus to the right of life correspond those virtues which maintain life against nature, force, and animal passion	244
249. Similarly there are active virtues, corresponding to the negative obligations imposed by property and marriage	245
250. 'Moral sentiments' should be classified with the virtues, of which they are weaker forms	246
251. Although for clearness <i>obligations</i> must be treated apart from <i>moral duties</i> , they are really the outer and inner side of one spiritual development, in the joint result of which the idea of perfection is fulfilled	246

SUPPLEMENT.

Some Quotations rendered into English	248
---	-----