

## APPENDIX A

### THEORIES OF THE WILL

I APPEND with some hesitation a few notes on the more technical aspects of a question the proper treatment of which would require a volume. The whole problem of the will is inextricably bound up with that of dualism. The true dualism I take to be the contrast in man between two wills, one of which is felt as vital impulse (*élan vital*) and the other as vital control (*frein vital*). The crucial point would seem to be the proper place of intellect in its relation to the higher will. It is hard, on the one hand, to be reasonable without becoming rationalistic, and, on the other, to have faith without falling into credulity. The Christian form of the difficulty grew up in connection with the Pauline opposition between a law of the spirit and a law of the members; if the law of the spirit is to exercise its control effectually, it needs, according to the Christian, a greater or lesser degree of divine coöperation. So that if one wishes to get at a Christian's views of man's will the best method is frequently to ascertain his views of God's will.

One of the first to proclaim the superiority of the divine will over the divine mind was Origen. The most important of Christian voluntarists is, however, Saint Augustine. He asserts the primacy of will in both man and God and on psychological as well as on theological grounds. One of the arguments that he employs was influential on later voluntarists like Duns Scotus.<sup>1</sup> Will, says Augustine, reveals itself above all in the act of attention or concentration; it therefore takes precedence of intellect because it selects the field of facts or order of

<sup>1</sup> The work of Wilhelm Kahl, *Die Lehre vom Primat des Willens bei Augustinus, Duns Scotus und Descartes*, is a useful repertory of material for the whole subject.

perceptions to which the intellect attends and of which it acquires knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

With the influence of Aristotle from the latter part of the twelfth century on, there was a tendency to revert to Greek intellectualism and to reverse the Augustinian position in regard to will. Saint Thomas Aquinas, for example, not only grants a superior dignity to man's intellect as compared with his will,<sup>2</sup> but holds that the divine will is subordinate to the divine wisdom. It is hardly necessary to add that Saint Thomas is far from being a pure rationalist: man's intellect, though superior to his will, is infinitely transcended by the divine will.

To be sure the working of God's will as it had been affirmed traditionally with the support of Revelation had been felt from the outset, especially in connection with the more extreme forms of the doctrine of grace, to be a stumbling block to man's reason. The central preoccupation of the scholastic philosophy may indeed be said to have been the reconciliation of faith in this sense with reason.<sup>3</sup> This great effort culminated in Saint Thomas in whose system reason and faith seem to coöperate harmoniously. Theological truth, he maintained, though beyond reason, is not contrary to it.

The outstanding trait of the later scholasticism is the tendency of reason and faith once more to separate and to appear as irreconcilable. The "realist," Duns Scotus, develops the thesis that "will is superior to intellect"<sup>4</sup> (*Voluntas est superior*

<sup>1</sup> See his *De Trinitate* for this and other subtle psychological observations on the will.

<sup>2</sup> P. H. Wicksteed has collected passages from Saint Thomas in illustration of the relation between intellect and will in his *Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy*, pp. 582-620.

<sup>3</sup> For this struggle between faith and reason during the scholastic period see *La Philosophie au moyen âge*, par E. Gilson (the point of view is on the whole that of a scientific intellectual); also *History of Medieval Philosophy*, by M. de Wulf (the point of view is Catholic).

<sup>4</sup> According to M. Gilson (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 83-84), "Duns Scot revendique les droits du Dieu chrétien et les défend instinctivement contre la contamination de la pensée hellénique." In view of Arabian influence on Duns Scotus, one may perhaps go further and say that in his treatment of the will an Asiatic is arrayed against a European psychology.

*intellectu*) in both man and God. The nominalist, William of Occam, affirms in a still more uncompromising fashion that God's will is absolute and arbitrary. God does not will a thing because it is just, but it is just because he wills it. Theology may not hope to find support in reason. It must be accepted on the authority of Revelation and the Church.

This last stage of scholasticism is the point of departure for various movements that seem at first sight to have very little in common — for example, Lutheranism and Jansenism as well as the philosophies of Bacon and Descartes. The Jansenist and Lutheran exalt God's will at the expense of reason by an extreme interpretation of grace. Descartes and Bacon, on the other hand, are interested, though in very different ways, in the use that may be made of reason in the natural order. They continue to pay more or less sincere homage to religion conceived as indissolubly bound up with incomprehensible theological mysteries. It is especially important to ascertain Descartes's conception of the will in view of his position as the father of modern philosophy. We need to discriminate sharply between his conceptions of man's will and God's will. God's will he holds to be absolute and arbitrary and to this extent he reminds us of Duns Scotus.<sup>1</sup> His ultimate temper, however, is not that of the Christian voluntarist, inasmuch as he is interested above all in working out a mechanical law for phenomenal nature. His attitude towards God's will is to be explained in two ways: first by his extreme caution, not to say timidity; with the fate of Galileo fresh in mind he was almost morbidly apprehensive of becoming embroiled with the theologians. He was moved in the second place, according to M. Gilson,<sup>2</sup> by the desire to get rid of final causes in the interest of his own mechanistic hypothesis.

According to Descartes himself what he meant by his *Cogito ergo sum* was that one should start from the immediate

<sup>1</sup> M. Gilson, however, disagrees with Kahl as to the nearness of Descartes's conception of the divine will to that of Duns Scotus. See his work, *La Doctrine cartésienne de la liberté et la théologie*, pp. 128-49.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, ch. III; also p. 210.

data of consciousness.<sup>1</sup> Practically he relegates the higher will to God (as understood by the theologians) and gives the first place among these data to mind or reason. He proceeds to set up a sharp dualism between mind and matter conceived as separate substances. As for man's will, it is according to Descartes in itself infinite and to that extent reminds us of the divine will.<sup>2</sup> On closer scrutiny, however, this infinite liberty of the will turns out to be only a liberty to err. The will escapes from error only in so far as it is determined by reason.<sup>3</sup> In his tendency thus to make right will depend upon right reason, as well as in his practical ethics,<sup>4</sup> Descartes reminds us strongly of the Stoics.

By "reason," it is scarcely necessary to add, Descartes means logical and mathematical reason. The only ideas that should determine the will and that one can follow without danger of error are clear and distinct ideas. No tendency is more marked in the Cartesian system than to conceive as it were mathematically of the truth and reality of both the human and the natural order. An extreme example of the same tendency is the geometrical form that Spinoza gives to his "Ethics." Descartes would make of God himself a "clear" idea and demonstrate him in almost geometrical fashion.<sup>5</sup> He thus contradicts the universal experience of mankind which is that the truths on which the inner life depends are not clear in the logical or any other sense. These truths are rather a matter of elusive intuition.

Perhaps the first person to assert intuition against the abstract reasoning of Descartes was Pascal. A whole order of truths, to employ Pascal's own distinction, can be attained, not by *l'esprit de géométrie*, but only by *l'esprit de finesse*. To the rationalistic God of Descartes he opposes *Dieu sensible au cœur*. "Heart" means practically "grace," and grace Pascal

<sup>1</sup> *Principes de la philosophie*, Livre I, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Méditations métaphysiques*, IV (*Du vrai et du faux*).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See especially his *Lettres à la princesse Elizabeth*.

<sup>5</sup> "... par conséquent il est pour le moins aussi certain que Dieu ... est ou existe, qu'aucune démonstration de géométrie le saurait être." (*Discours de la Méthode*.)

associates with what was rapidly becoming an impossible theology. What is conspicuous indeed in the whole transition from the mediæval to the modern period is the failure to disengage the truths of the higher will from theology and to deal with them experimentally as "immediate data of consciousness." On the contrary, as the result of the endless disputes of Jansenists with Jesuits, of Catholics with Protestants, and of the various Protestant sects with one another, these truths became involved in a mass of almost incredible theological subtleties. The final reply to these subtleties was Voltaire. Especially significant is his article "Grâce" in the "Dictionnaire philosophique," the third section of which concludes as follows: "Ah! supralapsaires, infralapsaires, gratuits, suffisants, efficaces, jansénistes, molinistes, devenez enfin hommes et ne troublez plus la terre pour des sottises si absurdes et si abominables."

With the virtual substitution by Descartes of "reason" for what is truly transcendent in man, namely the higher will, the genuine dualism is compromised and the way opened for monistic developments. The tendency towards a rationalistic pantheism is manifest in Spinoza who reveals in many respects the Cartesian influence. Spinoza inclines to get rid of the Cartesian dualism between mind and matter by denying to mind any superiority of substance.<sup>1</sup> Man is in nature not as one empire in another empire but as a part in a whole. Man must adjust his will to the divine will, to be sure, but God is declared to be the same as "nature." When one has made an identification of this kind, it will not be possible by any number of subsidiary distinctions — for example, by setting up a sort of dualism in the cosmic process itself in the form of a *natura naturans* and a *natura naturata* — to maintain a sound doctrine of the will and to avoid pantheistic confusion. The God or "nature" to which Spinoza would have man conform his will is closely related to reason of a distinctly Cartesian type; so that to adjust one's will to God or nature is equivalent

<sup>1</sup> See *Ethics*, II, Prop. 7, scholium.

to adjusting it to reason. Reason and will are indeed for Spinoza identical.<sup>1</sup> Here as elsewhere Spinoza revives more completely perhaps than any other modern philosopher of the first rank the Stoical position.

Quite apart from Spinoza the followers of Descartes<sup>2</sup> tended to suppress the dualism between mind and matter in favor of universal mechanism. Descartes himself had seen in animals only automata; the temptation proved irresistible to look on man in the same way.<sup>3</sup> A parallel tendency was that of the English empiricists and utilitarians to deny that mind is transcendent, to assert that there is "nothing in the intellect that was not previously in the senses." At the same time they fail to recognize a quality of will in man that sets him above the natural order and so incline strongly towards a naturalistic determinism. The denial of the freedom of the will is especially complete in Hobbes and Hume.<sup>4</sup> Philosophy in its main trend from Descartes to Hume seemed to exalt analysis at the expense of synthesis and to be ready to sacrifice spontaneity to mechanism. Of the world as envisaged by Hume in particular one might say with Mephistopheles: "Fehlt leider! nur das geistige Band!" Among those who sought to restore unity and freedom to philosophy, the most important is Immanuel Kant. In the matter of the will, he asserts that in the "noumenal" realm, the realm of the "thing-in-itself," man is perfectly free; as a phenomenon among other phenomena, on the contrary,

<sup>1</sup> "Voluntas et intellectus unum et idem sunt." (*Ethics*, II, Prop. 49, corollary). In *Ethics*, III, Prop. 9, scholium, a different view of the will appears; it is there identified with impulse, possibly, as has been conjectured, under the influence of Hobbes.

<sup>2</sup> I am dealing with the main influence. Certain Cartesians like Geulinx developed in connection with the doctrine known as "Occasionalism" a sense of man's dependence on the divine will that reminds one of mediæval humility.

<sup>3</sup> La Mettrie, a disciple of the Cartesian Boerhaave, published *L'Homme-machine* in 1747.

<sup>4</sup> See *Free Will and Four English Philosophers* (Hobbes, Locke, Hume and Mill), by the Reverend Joseph Rickaby, S. J. Father Rickaby is of course a traditionalist, but makes remarks (see, for example, p. 205) that are decidedly perspicacious even from a strictly psychological point of view.

man is, he admits, as thoroughly determined as Hume had maintained. The question arises as to the value of this purely "noumenal" liberty in the actual emergencies of life. Huxley remarks apropos of this Kantian conception of the will: "Metaphysicians, as a rule, are sadly deficient in the sense of humor; or they would surely abstain from advancing propositions which, when stripped of the verbiage in which they are disguised, appear to the profane eye to be bare shams, naked but not ashamed."<sup>1</sup> The professional metaphysician often betrays an even more serious lack than that of a sense of humor — a lack, namely, of common sense. This lack appears in Huxley's own attitude towards the will when compared, let us say, with that of Dr. Johnson.

Kant's views regarding the "categorical imperative," as expounded in his "Critique of Practical Reason," seem especially open to objection from the point of view of common sense. The categorical imperative is conceived as something a priori, not as based on experience. It is not a living intuition of a will that is set above the cosmic process (which includes a man's natural self) and that acts upon this cosmic process restrictively and selectively. It is rather a rigid metaphysical abstraction that operates without reference to the happiness of the individual<sup>2</sup> or the special circumstances to which he needs to adjust himself.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, it is, as I have pointed out (p. 226), a will to act and not a will to refrain from acting. One may therefore raise the question whether it can be counted on to quell effectually the expansive "lusts" of the natural man

<sup>1</sup> See his *Hume*, ch. x (end).

<sup>2</sup> Schiller wrote satirically of the categorical imperative from this point of view in his poem *Die Philosophen* (v. 35 ff.). Elsewhere (*Werke*, Goedeke Ed., x, p. 101) he opposes to what seems to him the "Draconian" severity of the Kantian reason, the point of view of the "beautiful soul." Kant himself tended at the outset to base ethics on feeling. About 1770, however, he repudiated Shaftesbury and his followers on the ground that they were guilty of Epicureanism.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobi has this aspect of the categorical imperative in mind when he exclaims: "Yes, I am that atheist and godless man who will lie as dying Desdemona lied; will lie and deceive as Pylades did when he feigned to be Orestes, will murder as Timoleon did, etc."

— for example, the lust of domination. As an expression of cosmic reason, the categorical imperative reminds one of the reason-will of the Stoics. The reason, however, that the Stoic took as his guiding principle (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) was conceived as one with reality; whereas the conclusions of the "Critique of Pure Reason," so far as the relation between reason and reality is concerned, are largely sceptical. Kant therefore asks us to make certain important affirmations, not as necessarily true in themselves, but as postulates of the practical reason. He thus prepares the way for the *Philosophie des Als Ob* of Vaihinger. According to Vaihinger, you do not will a thing because it is true; you merely act *as if* it were true on the ground that it is a "useful fiction."<sup>1</sup> The "As-if" philosophy, again, is akin to the point of view of the pragmatist. The pragmatist does not conceive of truth as something that already exists: he makes his truth as he goes along, in other words he takes that to be true which seems useful or agreeable to his ordinary self. He thus tends to eliminate both the high impersonal standard and the ethical will that, with reference to this standard, opposes bounds to the expansive desires.

Though the philosophy of Kant supplies the freedom and the synthetic element that were absent from a philosophy like that of Hume, it supplies them in an abstract and rationalistic way. It does not satisfy the craving for immediacy. Those who felt this craving sought to gratify it by basing ethics on the emotions. Kant's "Critique of Practical Reason" suggests that the ultimate reality, the "thing-in-itself," is very closely related to will. Schopenhauer actually pushes on to the identification of reality and will. Only the will that he sets up is very different from the categorical imperative.<sup>2</sup> It is a cosmic will

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 225. See also *Rousseau and Romanticism*, p. 370 n., where I touch on the philosophy of Vaihinger in its relation to the problem of the imagination.

<sup>2</sup> For Schopenhauer's attack on the categorical imperative see the first nine sections of his *Grundlage der moral*. The reconciliation of liberty with necessity that Huxley ridicules seems to Schopenhauer, however, to be, along with his "transcendental æsthetics," Kant's most distinguished achievement.

conceived as a will to live and at the same time as the source of evil. Schopenhauer does not oppose to this cosmic *nisus* a higher will that may control it and even renounce it; if he had he might have achieved a true dualism. Instead he affirms expressly that the will, as he understands it, should include only that which is common to man and beast.<sup>1</sup> He hopes to get the equivalent of a true dualism by a recourse to the benevolent theory of ethics, especially, as we have seen (p. 73), to Rousseau's doctrine of natural pity. At the same time Schopenhauer inclines on occasion to see in actual nature not pity but ruthless struggle, thus anticipating Darwin. Nietzsche follows Schopenhauer in according the primacy to will but denies natural pity and affirms that the will that is fundamental in man is the will to power. He is thus related, on the one hand, to Hobbes and the Machiavellians, and, on the other, to the evolutionists.

One should note that those who gratify their thirst for immediacy by basing ethics on instinct or impulse, whether they conceive of the resulting "will" as a will to brotherhood or a will to power, agree in denying that the element of inhibition is primary or vital; they dismiss everything that interferes with the free expansion of "will" as artificial or conventional. Moreover, the attempt to recover the unity and spontaneity of instinct usually involves another dualism — that between a man's "heart" (in the sense of his impulsive and emotional self) and his "head" (in the sense of his analytical intellect) which destroys unity and leads him to see things, as Wordsworth phrases it, "in disconnection dead and spiritless."

The difficulties in the way of maintaining the benevolent theory of ethics have increased in direct measure as the nature "red in tooth and claw" of the evolutionist has been substituted for the idyllic nature of Rousseau. These difficulties may

<sup>1</sup> *Neue Paralipomena*. Fouillée seems to have missed the point seriously when he affirms (*Descartes*, p. 198) that in giving the primacy to will Schopenhauer continues Descartes. So far as Descartes's emphasis on the divine will is genuine, it is a survival of Christian voluntarism.

be illustrated from Huxley's attempt to deal with the problem of the will. In his "Evolution and Ethics" (Romanes Lecture, 1893) he develops the thesis that civilization and the cosmic process are sharply at variance with one another. A man should therefore in the interests of society seek to rise superior to this process. The lecture ends with an eloquent exhortation to effort and struggle along these anti-cosmic lines. At the same time Huxley denies that man has a will that transcends the cosmic process and moves in an opposite direction from it. He adopts unreservedly the determinism of Hume.<sup>1</sup> He proclaims that "man, physical, intellectual and moral, is as much a part of nature, as purely a part of the cosmic process as the humblest weed."<sup>2</sup> In that case, if one is to avoid the Nietzschean conclusion, it would seem necessary to affirm like Rousseau and the sentimentalists some principle of benevolence in Nature herself. On the contrary, Huxley declares in the most uncompromising fashion that Nature is ruthless.<sup>3</sup> When one confronts with one another passages of the kind I have been citing it is hard to avoid the conclusion reached by Mr. P. E. More<sup>4</sup> that Huxley is in his main trend a naturalistic sophist.

Recent philosophers like Bergson and James and Croce cannot be said to differ essentially in their dealings with the will from the older partisans of a subrational unity and spontaneity as a mode of escape from mechanism. Bergson exalts a type of "intuition" that involves a more or less complete turning away from the analytical intellect on the ground that it leads to the setting up of a "block universe"; at the same time he eliminates the will to refrain (*frein vital*) in favor of *élan vital*. He differs however from many of his romantic forbears, as I have already remarked (p. 17), by associating *élan vital* not with a will to brotherhood but with a will to power. Signor Piccoli points out that Croce's view of the will has much in common with that of Bergson.<sup>5</sup> Croce is not, how-

<sup>1</sup> See *Hume*, ch. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Works* (Eversley Ed., ix, p. 11).

<sup>3</sup> *Works* (Appleton Ed., ix, p. 200).

<sup>4</sup> *Shelburne Essays*, viii, p. 193 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Benedetto Croce*, p. 198.

ever, so frankly imperialistic. James, again, though he felt himself in intimate accord with the ideas of Bergson, is nearer to the older romantic psychology. Consider, for example, his essay "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings." Men are not most human, it would seem, in their moments of strenuous effort with reference to a human law that they possess in common; on the contrary, they are most themselves in the reveries of their idle and irresponsible moments: <sup>1</sup> they should at least try to enter sympathetically into one another's romantic dreams. In general the difficulty of discovering any basis for a genuine ethical communion among men becomes acute if one seeks, like James and Bergson, to prove freedom and spontaneity by the "gushing forth" of novelty in the cosmic process.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to see how men can come together in their differences. Moreover, Nature herself may be active in producing the vital variations that the intellect can neither foresee nor formulate, but the man in whom the "creative" evolution is taking place is not active; from a truly human point of view, he remains both passive and purposeless. In the popular summing up of this whole philosophical trend, he does not know where he is going but merely that he is on the way. He may be sure in any case that, as a result of his failure to put forth a specifically human quality of will, he is not on the way to peace or brotherhood.

I have already said something about two contemporary doctrines, psycho-analysis and behaviorism, that, at least as popularly interpreted, tend to break down the principle of control in human nature, and to that extent to disintegrate civilization. It may be well to add a word about behaviorism. Man is an animal among other animals, and in so far is subject to laboratory methods. When, however, one attempts to base a

<sup>1</sup> "The holidays of life are its most vitally significant portions, because they are, or at least should be, covered with just this kind of magically irresponsible spell." The point of view is related to that of Schiller when he says (*Werke*, Goedeke Ed., x, p. 327): "Der Mensch ist nur da ganz Mensch, wo er spielt."

<sup>2</sup> For attempts of James to prove free will in this way see *A Pluralistic Universe*, p. 391 n.; also *Some Problems of Philosophy*, p. 145.

complete explanation of conduct on such methods,<sup>1</sup> when, on the pretext that one must be "objective," one refuses to discriminate qualitatively between the behavior of a man and that of a frog, the result is naturalism gone mad. The behaviorist is not only pushing the mechanistic view of life to a point where he denies certain "immediate data of consciousness" but, in his eagerness to reduce everything to stimuli and physical reactions, he is in a fair way to eliminate consciousness itself. If, as Dr. Johnson says, all experience bears witness to the freedom of the will, one must conclude that the extreme behaviorist is turning his back on something that is highly experimental in favor of a theory.

In general, this very inadequate review of theories of the will held by the professional philosophers seems to confirm the wider survey I have attempted in the body of this volume. If the older treatment of the will led to a theological nightmare, the more recent treatment has only too often resulted in a metaphysical bewilderment. There has been a failure, on the whole, to assert in a positive and critical form certain truths of the inner life that were compromised by the interminable wranglings of the religious sects about God's will and its mode of operation.

<sup>1</sup> For an attempt of this kind see J. B. Watson: *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* (1919). For a discussion of the whole tendency see Mary W. Calkins: *The Truly Psychological Behaviorism* (*Psychological Review*, vol. 28, p. 1-18).

## APPENDIX B

### ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGNTY

By their distrust of absolutism combined with their respect for standards and the discipline in the State that only standards can give, our liberals of the unionist type are, as I have remarked (p. 246), close to the English political tradition of which the best exponent is Burke. Much of the Englishman's concern for personal liberty, it has been maintained, is merely an aspect of his humorousness (in the older sense of the word), of his dislike of conformity and regimentation; and so is in a way a denial of standards. But this is not the whole truth. English statesmen at their best have attained to some conception of the liberty that is at the heart of genuine Christianity and have been more successful than the statesmen of any other country in making this conception politically effective.

The lover of personal liberty is inclined to esteem it a fortunate circumstance that the common law never gave way in England, as it did in various European countries, to Roman law. I am not competent to discuss so vast a subject as the influence of Roman law on the mediæval and modern world, nor does my present subject require it. It is enough for my purpose to point out that the conception of liberty found in Roman law, even at its best, is very inferior to the Christian conception; it reflects unduly Stoic rationalism and, like all Greek and Roman political philosophy, is ready to sacrifice in a quite unwarranted measure the individual to the State. At its worst Roman law does not deserve to be called Roman at all but Byzantine. One should note the origin assigned in Roman law to the idea of *plenitudo potestatis* or unlimited sovereignty, an idea that can be shown to have had a considerable influence on the absolutists of the late mediæval and

early modern period. By the *lex regia*, we read in the "Digest,"<sup>1</sup> the Roman people made over its unbounded power to the emperor. The reasons for this renunciation are worth pondering. At the instigation of its demagogues, the Roman people had refused to limit itself and had at the same time tended towards the type of equality that is won at the expense of quality and the due subordination to standards that quality always requires. So far as our modern democracies are pursuing a merely quantitative equality, their fate would seem to be foreshadowed by this Roman development. The moment comes, sooner or later, when the concentration of power in the hands of one man is felt as a relief from the irresponsible tyranny of the mob. This is at all events the process by which a radical democracy passes over normally into what I have termed a decadent imperialism.

The genuinely mediæval conception of sovereignty is very different from the conception I have been associating with the *lex regia* and Roman law. For the Christian, sovereignty does not derive from the people as in Roman law but from God, who is conceived primarily not as reason but as will. The whole tendency of the doctrine of grace is to make this will seem absolute and irresponsible, a sort of supernatural *bon plaisir*. I have already said something about the historical justification of the doctrine of grace; one may maintain without exaggeration that it saved Western civilization. By historical justification I do not mean that the doctrine is to be regarded as a "useful fiction"; the saving element in it is its truth — its emphasis on the higher will. At the same time I have hinted at the difficulties that the doctrine offers to the individualist. The acceptance of the maxim that man is the measure of all things — and all individualists must accept the maxim in some form<sup>2</sup> — is fatal to every absolute whether of will or

<sup>1</sup> Book I, 4.1; see also *Institutes*, Book I, 2.6. So far as it refers to one specific transaction, the *lex regia* is of course a juristic fiction. The concentration of power in the hands of the emperor was more gradual.

<sup>2</sup> I have discussed the various meanings that this maxim may have in the last chapter of *The Masters of Modern French Criticism*.

reason. Absolute and unlimited will in the religious sense has often run over into a will to power, even when the rulers who asserted it have professed to do so only as the humble recipients of the grace of a divine sovereign. The tendency of a belief in the arbitrary sovereignty of God to result imperialistically may be illustrated not only from the history of royalty by divine right but also from that of the papacy.

In my first chapter I attempted to trace the transition through an intermediary period of rationalism from the mediæval belief in absolute will to another form of the same belief, — the transition, in short, from the sovereignty of God to the sovereignty of the people. The superiority of the person who conceives of the political problem in terms of will in any sense of the word is that he is taking his stand for something vital and primary, something compared with which reason will finally prove to be only secondary and instrumental. It is interesting to consider from this point of view the rationalistic absolute of Hegel. According to Hegel the Idea, after various incomplete historical manifestations, finally found its perfect incarnation in the Prussian State. The absolute reason that is supposed to animate this State has shown itself in practice, most persons would agree, the servant of the will to power.

The rival claims of reason and will may also be studied interestingly in connection with international law. This whole subject is now under the suspicion of being chimerical. If this suspicion should prove to be justified, the explanation is either that international law has given a primacy to reason that does not belong to it or else has been unduly superficial in its treatment of will. The representatives of the so-called positive school of international law have tended to confine themselves to recording the unfolding wills of various sovereign states in their relations with one another. If this record is to deserve the name of law at all, it should surely be distinguishable from mere force, from the will to power of some state or league of states at any particular international crisis. At this point one perceives that the fortunes of international law are closely bound up with the new doctrine of will that has tended to take

the place of the mediæval dependence on the divine will as well as of the later reign of rationalism. The question as to the quality of will that the sovereign people is likely to display is subordinate to the question as to the truth or falsity of Rousseau's underlying dogma of natural goodness. The tendency of this dogma is to discredit both inner and outer control. With the disappearance of control, popular will becomes only another name for popular impulse. I have already concluded that what manifests itself in a people that has reached this stage of naturalistic expansion is not a will to brotherhood but a will to power. One must admit the imperialistic elements that insinuated themselves into the humanistic and religious traditions of the Occident, especially in connection with theories of absolute and unlimited sovereignty. Yet these traditions were after all in some measure genuine and so did something to set bounds to the *libido dominandi*. For at the heart of genuine religion is a will to peace and at the heart of genuine humanism is a will to justice; whereas, if my analysis be correct, radical democracy and imperialism are in their essence identical.

I have already said something about the other side of the modern movement in its relation to theories of sovereignty (p 296 f.).<sup>1</sup> The utilitarian is tending to conceive of the State in a more and more absolute fashion. He feels that its power should suffer no restriction when it is seeking to promote what is socially useful, the greatest good of the greatest number. The underlying fallacy of the utilitarian, I have said, is that he conceives of the "greatest good" and of happiness in general in terms of pleasure or else in terms of a merely outer working. Society is bound to protect itself against the unrestraint of the individual, but if it is not to push this necessary assertion of its authority to an oppressive extreme, it needs to take cognizance not only of outer

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the best known attempt to base a theory of sovereignty on utility and social expediency is that of John Austin in his *Province of Jurisprudence Determined* (1832; 2nd ed., 1861). See especially **ch. VI.**

working but also of the inner working that is the final source of a sound individualism. To do so is not to become abstract but on the contrary to turn from sociological theorizing to positive psychological observation.

This brief survey of theories of absolute sovereignty would seem to confirm the passage of John Adams that serves as one of the epigraphs of this volume. From the *lex regia* to the utilitarian-sentimental movement these theories have been associated with a series of theological and metaphysical conceits that have, in their ultimate implications, been subversive of personal liberty.