

ITH_Box_05_Notebook_04

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Mr. Marriott -

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The Greek Policy -

Try to estimate & depict f & depth under
which Gr. has laid the mod. world
Adherence to subj. sh. not criticize

1. not merely obstinacy
2. Many communications expressing
gratitudes, change from strain of
contemporary happenings
3. Subj. not remote. (See notice in program)

Epic, philos, history surely this
race can still have emotions of
high order in our souls bringing
compassion into passions of humanity
Enable us to know & purify our nations

Plan for meeting

1. Historical background into which fit the other lectures.
2. Political side

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Why study - politics of anc. Greece?

Importance to cit. of mod. state

1. Simplicity of phenomenon - simpl. of problems that arise. Less complex

a. Education, Plato - Arist.

(1) not any cells. difficulties could analyze - dissect in a dry light.

2. Variety of phenom.

Each state had its own ^{spirit} of its

variety of polit. types is fundamental prin. for preserving small states

Prussian idea regards variety as troublesome (which it plus is) and injurious " .. seldom ..)

Take ex. of US state const.

Essentialment of hum. experience

stimulus to self improvement
Promotes formation of massive &
deadly might, corrects vulgar
idea of import. of brute force pros.

3. Problems confronting them were so
like our own

4. Pr. conf. them were so unlike
our own. (The subj. of his actions)

I Contrasted conditions of gk &
modern democracy -

1. Size of state, πόλις c-s.

Smallness not accidental, p. very
essence of it. Arist. ideal state

40-50,000 - 10 too few, 100,000 too many.

Didn't think great state & big
state were the same -

Gks. one supreme law was law
of ::

Village not self-sufficing, but a

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town like Man, a mob like London
too big for a state.

Arist. says cit. must know each
other for good appr. of officers &
admin. law.

2. Mod. dem. almost always repres.
anc. :: direct ::

he now talk of so or so "going into
public life". To Gk it was plain
of being complete man. Didn't vote
for other people to perform his duties
for him -

How possible? implies

1. small state

2. econ. basis of slavery

4th cent. Ath. 4:1 :: slave: free
equality among cit., small
exclusion class.

the Arist. depends of slavery

"Some men are naturally slaves"
Presupposes low intell. level in slave
but high moral & int. " - master
of cit. did not live noble life
Slavery fails to be justified.
Arist. included all who work at all
for satisfaction of other people's needs.
Barbaric when for other people's
wants - not one's own character.
At first cit. rested on prowess in
arms: clerks, artisans etc. not
eligible -
Ar. ^{philo} ~~taught~~ ^{taught} ~~one~~ not lit, art,
but ~~pract.~~ Best work to state
implicit leisure, not ^{for} amusement.
Is Ar. right - or are we right?

Simplification

Eliminate from problems of mod.
democ all those which are

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in whole or part economic -
no quest. of capital & labor, ^{bind}
beneath inst. of slavery - no
unions, strikes, trusts etc. wages,
factory legis, finance etc -
no religious trouble either, no
church, plenty of gods personif.
forces & phenom. of nature - Prayer,
divination, passions & desires -
Contrast - fundamental diff. be-
tw. Hebrew civilization - (Butcher)
Tend to say w. Old church: state
impress. for ~~to~~ to think them
antagonistic. What we call here
they call treason. But it got
rid of distinction bet. relig. -
secular. Enabling conception of
duties & respons. of citizenship.
Purchased for a price. It did

simplify conditions - Slavery does
away with con. questions. This
does away with ch. vs. state.
Take out of an Eng. Hist. (Lectures
Aristotle) The questions of ch vs
state - see. (Brilliant summary)
Apply it to mod. controversies on educ.
Ed. occupies largest space in
philos. problems. What was the
rest of politics, state etc. To live
highest - noblest life to us is civ.
Educ. honest for deval. of char -
virtue of a cit. was to be relative
to a const. Each state has its
own type of character. ∴ systems
of educ. must be designed for this.
Your governing classes or masses
must be imbued w. spirit of const.

Summary

1. Ident. of state - city - conseq.
limitation in size
2. Char. feat. of a democ. = direct
participation of every cit.
3. Limitation of cit. class, strict,
democ. rally = narrow olig. ∴
Slavery & its defence

There go for to explain some of
ideas - basis of the polit. theory

1. Prev. view of relat. of cit. &
state
2. Unquestioned supremacy of state
3. Full deval. of individ. character
4. Interdep. of ethics & politics
char. & citizenship.
5. Ident. of politics & religion
6. Transcendent importance of
training of cit., educ.

Eng. problem without //
not as like Act & Sp
not " fr. Italy
" " " "

Will Eng. democ. vindicate
its meaning & existence?

Can it confront anarchism
at home & abroad -

No such test as present has
ever had to be faced.

Not merely ^{fr} ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~emp~~, or
self preserved but to vindicate
polit. & ethical ideas. To retain
spiritual heritage - (Kip)

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II. Dealt with conditioning circumst.

" fr. democ.

Now fr. concrete phenom. to their
polit. theory. Based largely tho'
not exclusively on Arist. Politics
(Jowett).

Arist. The man & his work

1. b. 384, son of court phys. to King
of Maced, early predisp. to medicine
& study of biology. Until 17 spent
at home in Maced.
2. 367 went to Act, stayed 20 yrs,
Isoc. & afterwards Pl. Acad., also
took pupils & lectured. On
death of Pl. (347) Ac. sought for
headmanship of Acad but was
not appr. left A, 3 years at -
3. Court of Hermias in Ass. Then
at court of Ph. of Maced, to educ.

Alex (13 yrs old) stayed 3 years till
Ph. was at Byz. & Alex bee. unjust

(4) In Act. 334, 12 yrs. last of life
head of dyemum, took place of death
of Plato's day. 1.522 at Chalcedon, as
he was in danger when with re-
volved fr. Alex.

Precise point in GK politics at
time when A. work was done -
Fav. time for generaliz., wrote at
close of one st. epoch in hist. of
Europ. civ. Last work of GKs
proper in polit. science. Day
of CS over, that of moral cult,
Mae, R, Byz, was at hand.
Did A. realize the fact? Prob.
not, brilliant CS done to close
so suddenly, they did not realize
day was over (see Bung).

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Reluctant to acqu. in vicis, sh.
found time to mind into subord.
place. (Bung) Rep. of Gr. had
performed in perisk. work, most
precious - fearless freedom of thought.
A. idea of the State.

State: proper subj. of polit. phil

1. What - state is - idea
2. Why " " - rationale
3. How " came to be - origin

But from foot, st. & civ., to
nat. will, law, labor, educ etc.

Today's: conception of state
All contained in one word,
Aristotle analyzed brilliantly, φῦσις
To present in a text, 4 parts all
of which converge.

A. says of state 4 things, each
short & very important -

1. State is $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$, natural
2. Man is $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$ a precit. animal, a social being, a state-dwelling animal
3. State prior to v indiv.
4. Value of cit. is rel. to v polity or const.

1. What is v state? Does it belong to things merely conventional or contractual, ^{comes into being} is it $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (by law) or convention, is it v invention v artificer of man, or is it $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$ something planted deep in nature of man without which he cannot fulfill his dest. in v world -

Ab. fundam. conception in A
 What books call his teleological

method = why thing exists is defined by v end or purpose which it is designed to fulfil or achieve. Then this idea im- plicit in Plato, 'Hum. mind moves always towards a purpose & end bec. it acts by v reason in it & reason demands a purp. What is implicit in O, is explicit in A.

What is end of v state? To enable ind. to live v live in virtue or righteousness, to live well. \therefore not a mere convent. contrivance (it is) nor was it due to contract. ans. it was $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$, bec. it fulfil. a purpose for man - \therefore An. appears to doct. in Crit & Rep. of social contract.

So not invented by Fr. Aquinas
/ Locke, Melton, / Hobbes, Locke &
Rousseau - find it in Pl. but
not accepted by him -

2. Man, v. indiv, is a pol. an.
only full. destiny in a state,
his real nature or meaning exists
in cit. p a polis & until he
has attained this cit. he has
not " his nature, not a man
in full meaning of word. Complete
humanitas implies civitas.
End p his action - polit. good
acts as mem. of state to promote
its good -

Rights & dut. of cit. Some are
pol. conc. life of polis as tho
of indiv. But they have found
false v. true theory of rights.

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Hobbes says a republic state
as a society maint. by what
memb. do to " it & from wh.
memb. derive abil. the edue
to fulfil this funct. Noble
conc. of rights of citizenship
3. St. prior to indiv. Did
not mean st. was chron. prior,
but philo. prior. indiv. cit: state
:: indiv: body. Think of man as
a whole :: shd. think of indiv.
man as member of v. commun.
or state. Ck idea was not
meant to crush indiv. Noting
further fine truth, indiv.
highest & compl. in Act -

Ck vj. so highly & looked so
longingly on state that only
True ed. man real. higher-
capacities.

For man to attain highest ideal state must be perfect state.

4. Virtue f.c. must be rel. to polity of state of wh. he is a member.

State exists to enable man to live highest & noblest life, moral, phys & intell possibilities.

Refl. on this & see how widely diff. is that prevailing today.

No man can live his good life in a bad or imperfect state only under ideal const. can ind. attain to ideal life.

Hence enorm. import. of const. "soul of state" Soc, "const. is a state" Arist.

Some, overdrawn or exaggerated (hyper?), most harsh of paradoxes. Much has happened

since Ar, Xt sparrows, 2 other ideas emph. indiv, Rep & FR. This may seem cruel & harsh paradox but serves to make us see how bad we are & how much we owe to state & its form of govt. Ethics & politics closely interdep. to Ar. mind. Cannot adopt Ar view in its entirety yet can learn higher more nobly, more insp. concep. of recip. oblig. find. & state. (See Bradley in Hellenica).

Turn to comp. & cont. mod. views

1. Eng. polit. philosophy -

For more than 200 yrs. Eng p. ph. dom. with idea of sacred & inviol. of indiv, indiv. lib. Contract. Prin.

a. Ref. regarded as charter of
emanate for indiv, no human
interest. but man & creature
b. Const. rev. of 17th cent, turned
largely on rights of indiv. cit. vs
crown. Property, subj. vs. arb.
imprisonment, billeting, P of Rights.
To begin of 19th - Contractualists
They held in Eng - State an
aggr. of indiv, whose society
to protect rights of indiv. cit.
Aim of liberty - announced was
minimum consistent with
cohesion - All phil. contr.
End 18th - all intensified by FR,
1789 climax of indiv. in Europe
Decl of the "lib. credo" in
response to do something that
does not injure

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To phil. ^{based} on Eng, Contr. Util.
philos. derived largely from Dr.
Bentham's prag. on govt, same
year as the Wealth of N
Cred. of soc. by sch. from
crisis. vs. util philos of Bent.
Govt interference red. to minimum,
indiv. best judge of self & cond.
Facts seemed to fit in, ^{or} industrial
= def of nap;

Free trade 1846, foll. by gr. com-
plicity, laissez faire
(Malthus) became influential.

Sociologists, H. Spencer. Change
did not dislodge indiv. he
was now entrenched behind
ramparts of biol. & psych.
Freedom of contract, fittest
of the fittest took hold more - they
deserve it.

late 19th shaken largely thro' Opp.
teaching T.H. Green "life of nation
life of indiv." no hint of rights of
indiv. vs. state, like Aristotle.

What is likely to be effect of
quite recent events on theory of state.
Upon theory of state cont. events
will exercise profound infl.
As FR marks zenith of indiv.
Disorder "culm. of collectivism"

Then must discern issues.
For cont. post phil. has disc.
claims of commun. & cit.,
legislator's projects framed in
light of i. doct or the other.
Philosoph. resolve in light
of war, no quest. of theory
Rights of indiv. non exist.
Claim of state is paramount

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Pop. & life of indiv. inextr.
bound up & dep. on life of state.

German theory of state, non till
after FR, Humb, Kant Hegel
all in one sense of a kind of FR
But not FR but taught German.
Historically to think -

Humb = JS Mill, laissez faire
Fichte (first of his ext. lectures)
lectures Berlin 1806 occ. by Nap.
Mark epoch, gradual indep.
of ind. & state = politic. char
of an age, true freedom only by
means of higher obed. to law.
Bluntschli says of state now
only a means of serving indiv.
interests. Collective life
more valuable than indiv.

Statutebook none mutual
 assurance society - sent to
 Treitzke - wanted to be a
 soldier, then to devote self to
 politics, both avenues closed,
 "Bismarck f. chair" stone deaf.
 True his to be master f. v
 younger generation, his own
 his one compensation
 1859-75 - Leipzig, Freiburg, Kiel, Heide,
 175-96 at Berlin. More than
 prof. f. hist. - U. ext. lecturer
 in sculpture, large popular
 audiences - Die Politik.
 Tr. fervent disciple f. Aust.
 based on Politics. Delighted in
 Gk. conception f. v. state.
 "All seem men bunglers in
 light f. Aust." Mistake f. v

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one must be modified or
 tempered by v. root-idea f. Prot.
 Teaching infused by deep moral
 fervor, reason for his influence,
 blameless life. More nearly in
 brilliance, Carlyle in deep moral
 fervor. Mentorship fulfilled
 "State is power," function demand
 for it = implicit obed, highest
 duty = self pres, primary means
 f. " " = power -
 Nothing above v. state, highest
 duty in extern. security of man.
 To care for its power is v. high
 moral duty f. v. state,
 fulcra most-despicable
 sin - But v. likely object f.
 politics -

How since overthrow of Sp has
life of ind. been so completely
dom. by state. Here has ind
acq. so completely in his own
obliteration. "Since const. life
was intro. in G. it was never
so easy as now to rule from
above." ~~Canada~~.

Govt. machine marvel, hitch
of perfect, adm. ordered business,
runs with smoothness.

But - at what cost.

Norman 'dore a case, less in
this state that has once been a
home in arms & intellect, &
intel. shd. remain worthy
but & mil. state shd. remain
off. It is a ft. mil. power
G stands before world, power

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might, grandiose, colossal
intell. culture. If she will
return to worship cult
to sh. keep service or lips
enter into emily of her
state by sac. idea of cult.
guarded by sword to
then feminine cult guarded
by & spirit. King's dau.
when disunited
gave ft music, poetry -
philos -

may she shed curious paganism
sh. sees heroism only in
war, when to death
just by faith, or to
praise of war to thank
them. perfect peace.

III. The Education for Citizen.

Single text, Pol. V. IX. 1. 12.

"Best laws will be of no avail unless
you are trained by habit & educ.
in spirit for politics."

Supr. importance of educ. in Pol. & A.

Fund. prob. of all politics.

What acc. to Gr. that was evl (τῆδος)
for wh. state & govt. existed.

τὸ εἶναι ἡγεῖν = live noble life.

Means are format. of char, keener
& most specific instr = educ. Virtue
for cit. must be rel. to & const.

acc. in ideal state there are diff
kinds of virtue adapted to diff.

const. Diff. types of char ∴

less of state dep. on nature of
nat. char or ἦθος ∴ ed. must
be w. ref. to partic. const.

9th. security for perm. of const & stabil
of state = ed. in acc. w. spirit of pd.
Cit. must be trained by habit & educ.
in the lines of policy. Point =
(1) Work out own ed. syst. for
selves, not take what made
(from Gov. US or others).
(2) Const. may be perfect, law just
but will not pres. one or avail
self of other unless cit. (gov.
classes or gov. masses) are satia-
-ated w. spirit of policy.
Gov. syst. of educ.

Must decide previous question:
make up mind as to what is
end or purpose of educ. End =
to produce good man & good cit.
In ideal state virt. of cit. = virt
of good man. Must learn to

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Obey when young & rule when old.
Fit for various & successive activities
of life, practical & speculative
since there must be war, but al-
ways for sake of peace, business
for leisure, utility for things.
Laet. of all Arts gave most attention
to prob. of educ but this' praised
by A for attending to problem and
condemned because ed. designed to
bring end i.e. success in war.
Educated for power. Failed to
achieve ^{own} that end.

∴ ed. must suit men who are
(1) to be ruled (2) to rule.

How perfect? Follow course of
nature (as described) Gov. syst. =
psych. follows process of
deal of soul. 3 stages

1. Nat. disposition φύσις

2. Habit ἥθος

3. Reason λόγος

Should ^{ed. by} 2 or 3 come first?

Dilled into habit: action, ^{child} must learn empirically, man later will learn rationally.

Form good habits, then teach appree.

7 reasons for these habits

∴ man in a sense = a manuf.

Commodity, along lines of devel hum. capacity etc φύσις.

φ: force which shapes everything towards full. form functions.

Begin w. (1) body (2) appet. (3) intel
Each stage must prep. for next, train whole nature.

(1) Body, child before birth, quest. of marriage, then rearing on infant;

mainly on milk "not too much wine".

Exercise, ^{exposure} ~~to~~ to cold, hence may bath. plunge new born children in stream, few clothes. An. says

this process must be gradual -

3 periods of 2 years (roughly)

(1) 1-2 home training, not too much with slaves, nothing irrelevant or irrelevant, early impress. important.

Shameful words & actions -

• 5-7 may look on at pursuits

etc. They will later learn. Prepare ground for next stage by questions.

@ by whom to how ed. system at all?

b. If so, chd. educ. be in hands of state or private indiv.

c. Assuming a or b ans. in aff, what is best system or scheme?

Q { Ed. shd be reg'd by law
b { Ed " " " unified

How else regulate ^{training in} ethics or polity.
Do we agree that ed. shd. be in end
of state? Do end of mod. state
one? If agree to ethics of a state
then Ar. is correct. If war, com-
merce, righteousness etc. are end
to which all cit. shd. conform then
aim at uniformity, state controlled.
If have diff. idea - prefer variety,
liberty above order, cult. individ.
must aim at variety of ed. types.
(2) 7-adolescence, whole time = phys.
training, chiefly running, jumping,
wrestling, boxing, jousting, discus, etc.
Limitations in Ar. scheme of
gymnastiki. Not an end in
itself, still less as an exclusion
end (like dance). ^{shd.} ^{be} directed to
this or any other single end.

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State must train for action, aim at
that end of action = leisure (in Ar.
sense). Athl. must be balanced
1. If education obj. if they are end
2. Must not have professionalism
Must not have too hard training till
older - set. Gentle phys. training.
3. Not simult. w. training for mind.
Not labor at same time w. mind
& body. Was he right? Not mod. view
sh. holds phys. & int. training both.
Ar. misses mod. point, thinking
of phys. exercise as playing of
competitive games. Our games value
more for training of char. Ar. training
valuable vs. athl. as an end.
How does our training respond to that.
Does not produce a clearer, ^{not-}org.
business capac. but in how
char.

Char. not of our rules but of rules.
Short period (book not finished)
of intell. training in music, ed.
in v. arts. Sketchy acc. of this -
Util. subj. such as reading & writing,
like a strictly limited regard:
(1) No quest. of head & better for Ch. cit.
(2) Nothing acquired which of body
& mind must be brought to hb. of
profess. excellence. May teach
craft up to good amateur standard.
Music is only dept. of int. educ. in
sch. As discussed fully - Relaxation
because, if merely means of recreation
not in educ. Can be provided by
profess. Must have appreciation
of music: must learn to play
or sing, but not carry it too far.
Hornet pub. has banished it for.

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'Ideal state, etc. for its moral value.
End' always to be kept in view will
dictate method & measure.
Certain instruments to avoid only.
Choice of cer. melodies & harmonies
acc. to emotions aroused. Done
for ed. purposes, quietest, gravest
manliest. Lyd good too. for
working classes & young of soul of adults
may have lighter things. (See
preface in new Oxf. Hymn Book).
See Mahaffy on mod. music, some
much too exciting. Plato more
rigid than Ar. abt. music.
Ar. syst. is not complete, a mere
troce, no dancing, ballet, prose
recit. Doesn't get to part 3 when
reason is directly developed.
19-21 severe gym. training, infer

That abt 22 will study philo. &
training of intell. faculties. Began
about 21 & never ended, life long.
School inspires love of noble things,
not to pour in knowledge.

As. aim to produce well rounded
man, not spec. may sides heavily
in mind & in body, cit. soldier
cit. ruler, judge, jurist, philo.

Eng. educ. little time to add much
German educ.

Whole spirit of Ger. more
frankly Aristotelian than any.

As. maxim ed. syst. relat. to
Hitzig adapted in Prussia.

1840s = war - Ed. syst. & most
compr. framed w. view to warfare
(Sp.).

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Unity of prin. has given to fabric
of G. org. its completeness -
Idea that boy has come into
world to help defend fatherland.
Ed. & mil. syst. parts of a coherent
whole. Side by side w. infl. w.
G. educ. are infl. of G. mil. serv.
G. army impreg. w. science, idea
of discipline (mil. & educ.)
Compulsory ^{elem.} educ. at Weimar
in 1618. Others apply it in
Pruss. 1716, before end 18th whole
syst. under state control.
G. has accept. log. consq. of As.
doctrine, applied w. zeal & honor.
As Eng. Germ model has been
held up to be imitated. Cont.
w. our haphazard & slipshod.
Has merits of its own. Gt. diff.

at Nagpur

Trim garden & wide park at Windsor.
I don't recollect exact weakness as well as strength of G. Ed.
It may be highest - 4 pr. of human activity (see Craun also) then must say G. educ. is astonishingly successful prod. of org. genius of man.

But if purp. of ed. = attainment of worth, & devel. of char.
Then some doubts abt. G. methods are inevitable -
Eng. may be forgiven if confused in ref. to sustained & unceasing variety of G. educ.
Whatever can say abt. Eng. p. sch. & univ. They have not failed as sch. of patri. or of training of char.

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In G. teaching of hist. has been business & sc. subordinate,
These & philo. prostituted to exaltation of war & milit.
The new gain have demand for state control of G. univ.
Nat. univ. They are & ought to be must open portals wider & adapt curric. to changing condit.
Must do & work wh. they exist -
to do not adhere to dom. state (autoc. or deuce.)
Under no state will in fact (if can help it) w. intellect -
lib. & freedom. Work as not hindered for intellect, future of, but race under ins. of absolute oblige. See recent events.

Exercise of intellect, force, must be
left untrammelled - free -
New Disp calls for "M. No. shall
be living at this hour."

Even Treisch. says "must
start to anc. ideas but not fall into
anc. overestimated import.
of polit life. No need to fear
that we shall sink back into
anc. mode of thought - look at
men as so many citizens."
Much worse to look at them
as so many political soldiers.
Warlike pursuits not supreme
and, war is only a means
to peace said Aristotle.
∴ not follow Laeet.

Laeet. rejected "law of indi-
rectness" but ends in

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attending to saving it.

Issue of pres. war will help
decide if world is to practice
virtue after methods of Laeet
would even success justify
those methods? A. has reply
He who violates v. law can
never acqu. by any success
what he has lost by depart-
fr. virtue.

If Q. ed = Q. polity, both
stand condemned in v. eyes
of civil mankind by v.
detestable & iniq. fruits they
have borne.

He may be stupid, silly &
muddle headed, still he has
an ideal not ignoble
ideal, even best of all in

"The ideal of a man --- common
sense or mild excess of
ordinary life; --- court infl.
or peculiar grace --- if
face moment of crisis --- like
man inspired. ---" Wordsworth.
That is the true spirit of a policy
wh. we should seek.

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IV. Form of State.

Classif. & differentiation of forms
of govt. Gk. idea of ::, measure
structure, form paramount.

2 opposed views on signif of form
of govt

Pope "For forms of govt let fools contest
Whatever is best administered is best"
Arist. regards this as of grt.
imp, how are higher social activ.
to be distrib. bet. & constituted.

Why do gks attach so much
imp. to quest. of form of state?

1. Rec. const: state :: soul: body
∴ form of state determines
identity of a state. When is
a state the same & when is it
different? Most moderns wd.
say ident. of state dep. chiefly

on its territory - Eng.

This holds good in int. law, when Venice was handed over to Italy it carried w. it part of v. Aust. debt wh. was supposed to attach to territory of Venice.

The people? No, not identity of popul. Pol III. 3 "The sameness of v. state consists chiefly in v. sameness of const."

No ref. to whether population same or different.

Cont. for life of state depends on its soul (i.e. const.)

Ind. view quite diff, see France, 16 diff. const. in 120 years.

View of A. expl. why Gts attached such signif. to form of govt. Each form has its own attr. for.

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Right of edue, must be sub. to const.

Const. all important be. it is v. const. wh. determines v. char.

for citizens. Gts, as most brilliant of A. commentators (Newman) has said, for reaching ethical import. of const.

∴ const other than those v. best require some other virtue than that of v. good man -

In gr. states now opinion & manners reflect const - more slowly. Each const. form has infl. on cit.

Each embody. a complete scheme of life, cit. in harmony with it. What were v. possible forms?

Const. must belong to 1 of 3 cat.

1 - Vested in single person, mon.

2. In a few

3 " the many

A. starts from quantitative analysis but almost immed. he qualifies member standard by ethical standard.

1. Mon may rule in interests of
a. Self

b. People as whole

2. & 3 may rule same way -

Then get perverted forms of const. Orthodox forms.

1. True mon. in int. of many
Perv.

1. Tyranny

Few, { true aristoc.
{ int. of few, olig.

Mass { polity or const. govt
{ democracy

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Even this not quiet

"Dem. commonly defined as const in wh. masses are supreme (olig. too), but how define const. where ^{many} rich gov. in int. of majority - What is it?

Majority or numbers?

Poor minority - what?

Qualitative or quantitative? Decides that numbers is accidental - matter is essent.

point - ∴ olig = rule of rich whether few or many

dem = rule of poor (few or many) ruling in int. of poor

This classif. (Pl + a) has value of pointing to ethics rather than letter of const.

many mod. critics wd. regard A
 as rather trite some on quest. front.
 But const = soul of state, polit + ethico.
 Only in ideal state could publ. &
 private morality coincide. This
 is a hard saying to us, yet the
 const. docs us thro whole hist
 of polit. science, in Md. T. Aquin,
 any. polit. philos (Hobbes) who says
 pers. forms are not diff. forms
 but the others "misliked".
 How far & in. classif. is appl.
 to states of modern world.
 To 4: gt states of today into
 mon. or dem. would not carry
 us very far. Which is Eng, USA?
 Take 4: gt. states of mod world -
 try to class. acc. to A. Very
 difficult. For str. apper. in

51.

essence kept. G + B - US, than B + R
 New basis might be:

1. Divide acc. to whether
 - A {
 - a. Composite
 - b. Simple or unitary
 - B, ^arigidity or ^bflex of const,
 written or unwritten (not
 always exactly so)
 Rigid: cannot be changed by
 ordinary process of law - (Eng
 sometimes without order. pra. plan).
 (Read Eng. paper). Am.
 - C Pub. most import. of all
 a. Relat of exec to legis.
 In really dem. govt exec.
 must be subord. to legis.
 Those esp. from Eng (respon-
 sible govt) make exec.
 responsible to legis.

how far was A's classif. orig
& how far derived from
Platt or Hdt?

Which form did A prefer for ideal
state? (May send books)

Can we establish any causal
conn. bet. ^{form} structure & ^{dilemma of st.} function?

Must impartial crit. agree that
pres. calam. has been prod.

primarily by G. militarism?

Is this a necess. consequence of
partic form assumed by G
const in 1871?

Treitsche declares that no state
is entitled to resources &
egotism that belong to its
policy:

The egotism of Pr. policy was
the real hist. reason for

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This ethos of Pr. Nature
obviously led to intent Pr. to
reject:

1. no front
2. no position
3. no

A manifest prod. man by
genius of its king, an army
out of all: to sign ordinances.
needs of state

"Kaiser is polit. sc. par excellence."

Must we also be & actors of
Germany? There was a moment
in hist of mod G when she
might have taken right turn
but took wrong. Frankfurt Parl
1849, welded as const. state
& not as milit. empire.

The Hohenz. of that day would

not accept crown he had to pick
up out of "mud of democracy."
Refuse it he, not offered him by God.
That was a crit. moment. Then
came the man of blood & iron.
To unite G by diff. means,
his spirit is embodied in G. const.
Now the quest, any coun. but
{ Street, policy
{ Funct, policy
How may induce G & compel her
to face fact abt. democ.
12 mos. of war. have tended to
show dem. weakness in war
but not proved that democ.
cannot with all this init.
adv. achieve
Dem. init. adv.
See Dawson What is wrong w G?

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Says milit. is neces. for this
kind in G & this by change it
will keep appealing capacity
for mischief

This looks as if from present
deter policy & duty of
Europe so to modify const.
so as to leave Eur. free from
this menace.

It is a task peculiarly repug.
to Eng instincts & traditions
our foreign policy principle =
never has right to interfere
~~with~~ ⁱⁿ internal affairs -
Only safe rule, speaking generally
no right to impose better form
on those which prefer worse -
Still, must face this difficulty,
there is a def. & causal conn.

but policy in germ other
aggression policy - i. agree w
As that form of const. is of
paramount importance.

Limitations:

1. No single type applic. to all
states at all stages of devel
(const apply by to all)
but may ignore the hist. &
lack of unity.

2. No final or ult. type of
govt for all countries of
world. Must be a const.
Evolution. As did not recog.
that CB was gone forever -
Even by is not term of const.
govt. Gradual & not revol.
change -

Pres. stage not final, centrif,

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centrip. integrating imperialism,
may lead to tremend. modif.
in const. struct. of our polity.
Attempt to suppress have reached
finality. Even to total
democ. Now to maint. it.
Destr. forces are

IV.5.120

1. Tamper w. property
 2. Payment for perf. of publ. debts
 3. Growth of pauper class
- True friend shd. see they be
not too poor.

High sign. of const. forms, trends,
but constemp. events will
have effect on theory of state
& act of govt.

Wet. will be more notably wisdom
or thoughtfulness or org. power of
govt, our little to lead.

ship, vict. of common folk
(Linedu). That will not
leave things as they are. The
people will always have a
but in view, promot. of
justice bet man & man,
element bet this people & that
Rign of righteousness on earth.

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V. So far dealt w. polit. in narrower
sense. How to consid. A. views on econ
In what form do he. prob enter into
A. practice. Every state must have
econ substratum: must be a
science of supply (ἀρχηματιστική)
But it shd. be strictly referd. to
what he calls econ (οἰκονομία)
∴ wd. reduce to a min. necessary
activities, those sh. supply bodily
needs, to give time for noble things.
Has much to say abt. what we
call econ.

A. econ. woudt studying, be:

1. Some of the very fund. prin. of
economics of all times are
so well stated by him.
2. Import. that we shd. get
back to fund. principles

3 Long tried & persistent errors in econ thought - due to neglect of these 1st principles. But Ar.¹¹ does not form a system of econ, or a science of econ. Truths are detached.

(2) No attempt to apply to practice
(a) Money, not ^{paper currency} _{to metallism?}

A Circumst. partly fault^{able} to Ar. econ. bec.

(1) neither no. nor variety of ec.

thom. as in how to deal with

(2) All really diff. prob. of social econ. were (slavery.)

B. Drawbacks =

whole or ideal

1. Unfavorable to trade

@ To engage in trade was inconsistent w. citizenship

(b) Highest ideal of state = to be self-sufficing.

(OK for war, but war is not normal)

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In Ar. econ. quest. always strict or excl. obj of prov. for & state an econ substratum, not state paper shd. be leisure class of cit.

Byjus wit, means of prod. wealth

1. Natural & legitimate

2. Un " & ill legit.

Anti-Ethics

What is wealth? An abundance of means

& instr. necess. for & family & state.

Means not an end. Necessary limitations bec. it is a means.

Includes¹¹ var. processes by wh.

man obt various kinds of life

(a) Barter, needed to give man that complete indep. when passes out of family to state. B: exchange but he evidences as unnat. &

illy. & it. carried out through & medium of money.

Real root of evil is money. Barter
is cumbersome: only affected by
those who really need things. Money
gets things you don't need. From
satisf. of needs to satisf. of Covetousness.
Money is a convenient means but
dangerous here, soon becomes an end.
Accumulation. People make profit
at one another's expense. Acc. to
Arist. this is aim of all trade & commerce
except very simplest kind: endemous
trade in sh. today's immor. obj
is not to use things exchanged but
to make a profit out of them.
Must for us do not regard A as correct.
(Ruskin modern example of Arist.)
Real danger of all com. science is
that any good can understand it.
Where is its mistake, if it is one?

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1. Imperfect. anal. of prod. of wealth.
(cf. 10th cent. physiocrats in France).
They thought all wealth is derived
from land (true in one sense) but
product of w. means more than
agric. - It is ^{all processes} means by which
raw produce reaches ultimate
consumer. This is a real defence
of all intermedi. processes which
may condemn "Elim. & middleman".
Which of middlemen do you propose
to eliminate? Take heed or heed.
2. A Ray, there is another method of
prod. wealth, & that is & most
of all. The trade for money lender.
Interest money. (cf. med. church)
As we face problem of capital &
remuneration of capital. A's
whole system based on desire to

provide leisure for cet. class.

Accum. of wealth essential for
leis. in any class at any time.

A class not directly engaged in man.
labor. To maint. a standard of culture.

2 Accum. results in improvement of
condit. of labor. Why is gr. & gr. acc.
of wealth necess. for improv. of labor?

Gr. & suppl. of cap. in rel. to suppl
of labor = gr. demand: labor high.

Syndicalists

1. Opp. to how labor employ itself.

2. Hiring capital instead of c. hiring
labor - ^{But} Can't hire what doesn't
exist, - must hire as cheaply as
possible. Cheapness of capital is
desirable ∴ shd. be abundant.

3. Tends to cheapening of commodities.

Am't. of Brit. capital invested abroad,
interest comes in chiefly in shape

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of food. That investment now keeps
in food & raw materials, keeps food
relatively cheap now. This is all
due to saving & thriftiness in the past.

This wd. have been impossible if
we had followed teachings of Arist.

Medicor. money-lender bent to take
advantage of others, rel. spending no
capital in Mkt to carry on business.

Whole syst. of banking & lending money
is one of most demer. vices in
mkt. world. Lend to business man.

If how real bus. ability will not
long lack capital.

Cuts out Ar. view on money & on
currency tho' intended to do it.

Ar. on money is very simple.

Pol I Ch. VIII 24

(1) A. on slavery. Whole at time when
inst. itself was under discussion,
noted by Zephilo - others, called
it conventional & artificial

(2) Slavery itself was undergoing modify
Char. changing (near break).
Was on - dependence - A. depends it.

@ Essential to life & leisure of
ruling class, ^{φύσις} natural in itself
not a few men are naturally slaves
acc. to harmony of nature, rule
of subordination all through it. Classes
free, as inferior to others as
body is to soul or beast to man.
This doct. involves what. It pre-
supposes "low intellect. level of
slave but high " excellence in
v master" (Newman). If cit class
not noble, slavery failed.

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Unnat. slaves & unnat. masters
in Greece is admitted by A. This
applies to his ideal state.

He incl. not only slaves but artisans,
trading, merchant & profers. classes.

(See Lect I.) Originally full cit.
dep. on fulfil. of milit. duties.

To A. highest - power of man. political
leisure. See Bradley on this, not
to be stupid, idle or amused.

Summary:

1. NB peculiar char. of CS
2. A. always not in view v ideal
CS. Weakness

Strength
Rem
anal. } 1. Comparing, mingling, phant & error
 } True nat. of man
 } Rem basis of society
Error of A. is suggestion & helps
us to discern v truth.

Weaknesses:

1. No A can regard as anything but error, his idea of slavery
2. Theory of exchange, suggest. in detail, based on fund. error: What man gains from bargain another must lose.
3. Misconcept. in problem of capital & interest; There may be mutual adv. for both parties.
4. Wholly wrong in problem of econ. funct. No moral degrad. of honest labor any sort.
Provided always
 - (1) Time not so entire. & here as no time for noble leisure
 - (2) Work done in spirit of service to common weal.

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VI. Distribution of wealth. This is real problem wh. has been perplexing Eng. more difficult than prod. of wealth. What A says is largely crit. of views of Pl. Diff. bet A & P more in method of spirit than in conclusions. Both regard society as malleable by govt. Both think govt covers nearly whole gamut of human life. Both accept CS as a relation form of soc. Both construct utopias on model of CS, no provision for a mass of a community, only to a cit. (governing) class. Both tolerate & defend slavery - reg. leisure as necess. cond. of citizenship. Contrast bet P-A as phil. philo. M. M. thinks A takes view than Pl as to what pol. is really is, & full A covers. See Bk IV, Ch I what is

ideal form of govt? what govt best suited to given condit. (on a certain hypothesis), what form of govt best adapted to variety of diff states? More comprehensive & practical than P. Not only a science but an art, teaches to know & to do. Method diff

1. Pl. mostly a h priori, deductive metaph. theory of ideas, things of sense & things of reason. Things truth to be attained not by looking at but away from things of sense. A app.
- 2 to fact, history, & 150 forms of Govt Inductive not ded; historical. Diff. in concept of char. personal at wh. p. s. can arrive. As sees (what P app. did not) that
- 3 Concl. of p. s. must be relative & not absolute truths.

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4. A sees more truly & sets true limits of state's sphere of action. His theory of distrib. justice, attempts to distrib. any cit. in regard to claims. State shd impose type of educ & moral char. In Rep. (as in A) whole life of cit. is under state control. A doesn't go as far as Pl. - this crit.

of Platonic communism:

Was A altogether fair to Pl? Not what P meant but what A might be meant. Assuming Pl. committed to prin. of communism, a cit. any comm. distrib. of prop. Pl. "goes whole hog". P buys & common of wives & children, destroys private families. A believed in a family, (what are economics?). Pl desires to extend warmth of family feeling over whole state.

State = enlarged family, have & unity
for a family. Unity = Pl. end.

A. thinks P. had wrong end in view
" P's end not to be obt. by means ^{P. prop.}

A " unity proper char of indiv. &
not of state. State = plurality,
diff. of functions. A's arguments:

1. Grievous wrong upon children
2. Will never really get common.
cannot obliterate blood relat. of children
3. Increase of crime but deepening of
anonymity & intensity of crime
4. Destr. " sweetest thing in life " =
friendship. No real friendship
when no nat. affection.

Moral justif. by A.

1. What will gain by abolishing it?
2. An inst. intended & designed for
promote moral growth of children

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3. Man more nat. a husband than a cit.

Slave gives most of all.

" 4 Necessities of state, wh. is an asso.
of families not of indiv. units

Common. of property, goods.

1. Property ^{instrument of production} itself may be in private
hands while product is common

2. Prop. common, produce ÷

3. Both possession & use may be comm.

@ A reg. method & wd be useless bec
form. discord as long as hum.

II. IV nat. is what it is. "Who ever
had a friendship among a for. tour?"

(*) unnecessary, if have good laws.
Law shd. secure priv. property but
friends should have things common.
To make them common by law
destroying priv. of friendship, & of
liberality.

(c) An illusion of you expect to get rid
of litigation & discord (see him vs. Plato)
∴ Even Pl. has in view is to be att.

by other means. Objections partly
1 Econ, discourage industry
2 Polit, intro. discord
3 Moral, do violence to φρόσις

E. vi. A. goes on (leaving Pl) vs. Thales of Chalced.
Wanted community of land to prevent
Stasis. A says vs.

1. Equaliz. of prop. must involve
meas. for restricting population.
2. Useless to provide unless you
know each man's share, i.e.
aggregate production.

A. vii. 3. Must equalize possessions &
means for wh. discontent arises.
Men moved not only by econ.
motives, civil quest. as well.

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Lower class = eq. of prop

Higher = equal. of honor

Case is (1) mod. justice & occup

(2)

(3) philosophy, only pleasure
for wh. det. only on self

Prin. applied to modern state.

How far is A's crit. of Pl comm.

really applic. to mod. world?

Modern socialism, 2 periods

1. To rev. of 1848, mostly Fr. in
origin, Rousseau, St Simon,
Foulier. This schemes are comm.
in form ∴ An. crit. relevant

2. Rev. 1848 marks break:

(a) Fr. Rev. of '48 described social
type

(b) New school, State socialism

Marx

H. George (land)

Tho' not soc. acts largely on theo.
teaching of M-G; no use unless
seed had been sown on preparat
ground. Why so many followers?

1. Trem. increase of wealth among
wealthy
2. Still more, the vulgar ostentation
3. Minds of all who have pity stirred
by sharp & hideous contrasts bet-
wealth & poverty.

Born largely of pity & sense of
wrong which it is not easy to right.

If admit wils, if proposed remedy
will really provide remedy -

Econ aims:

1. Prod. of affy. wealth, too silly
to discuss. prob. of dist. of w. if
ignore prob. of prod. of w.

Must be careful not to strike at

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Very sources of production. Will
not solve social or econ. prob.

" of distrib. of dimin. production.

Apply the proposed remedies of
Marx, Coase.

His theory rests on doct. of surplus
value, all improvements are absorbed
by & sponges of capital, vampire
of capitalism.

His theory that true vampire is
not capit. but landlord.

Whole of quest. discussed by O & A
still insistent upon us. We are
bound to face them & try to solve.

Must consider them with some
tarnish & caution as shown by
A. towards Pl. communism.

North thinks soc. org. of industry
is not impossible, & if not

violently evolved & imposed it
right not be unjust to infer.
Except on one hypothesis any real
soc. reform. not be directed to intellect
& then - moral welfare of mankind
not be lowered down but up, not
peace but a sword, not life but
death.

✓ cont. precedent is this: if next
gen. ev. in world of things is
must be preceded by moral ev.
in heart of man, if loves neigh-
bor as self, then socialism
will be more than possible but
will also have become superfluous.
Comfortable classes are making
what they have seen, too much
alter in externals.

Soc. writers sometimes assume

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That they have a motif of pity
for suffering of man - poor. We
"have same goal in view though
travel by diff. road -

VII. Have been many omissions, most
obv. such that should not be out
if not discussed.

So far internal - State - cit; cit - cit.

Relation now of state w. state -

A complex has 3 neg. Dis aspect
of pub. life. P says legit. nbs:

(1) People (2) Country

But says a right. countries too.

If state is to have true polit. life,
not a state in isolation any more
Now an indiv. com.

A thinks of int. rel. only as a state
of war. State must have milit.
force such as will be serviceable vs.
neighbors. City shd. be formidable
to neighbors for attack - defence.
Pos. of mod. naval force is adv.

VII. 6. 7 to a city. Size rel. to char. of state.

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How big navy lead to undesirable
increase of pop. Sailors need not be
cit.

Why does A regard J. Rel. as state form.
State was to be self-sufficing,
then, commerce & relat. discouraged.
Was inevit. - sometimes ^{justifiable} desirable:

1. Hunter vs. wild animals
 2. Superior races for own good
 3. Acq. of slaves, a species of hunting
 4. Not study war to enclose those
who do not deem to be enclosed.
- (1) But must be defensive
(2) Obj. empire for good of governed
(3) But to be masters only over
those who deserve to be slaves
those adv. it is to be gov. by
superior race
most fall on motives,

v { Peace = end of war
{ Dignity = end of toil

VII. 2. 10 Milit power has not learned how to
live at peace - Sp.

A. most emph. condemns aggression
or dominating foreign policy.

This is a common device for unimp.
ruler who desires to secure posit. at home.

Also among parties anxious to save
const. inst. from destruction.

A. on demagogue, this is supported
by Shaks. (start of nat. philo).

H. II pt II last scene.

Not only kings, H. II, church.

There is philo. of not a hist. of Sh. as of A.

1867-70 strong war party in France,
to save Nat. dynasty.

Still A does not ignore good side of war.

1. School of virtue, value of discipline

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elements of virtue now.

2. Pres. vs. dangers & tempt. of pros-
perity & peace. This pt. made

in last 30-40 years in Germ.

Bun, & Tr. (Schiller). Must

admit elem. of hurt, but also

much unmet. Amputation

is last resort, not normal meth.

of surgery or medicine.

Intern. disputes, relat, trade, law

are prod. of our modern era.

No nations till abt. 400 yrs. ago.

R.E. & par R. see modern pacif.

"This left success glow over ter-

ror of M.A. Fighting in M.A.

In M.A. this H.R.E. & Ch. Europe

manis. a symbol of unity.

Int. wars 16th cent, when H.R.E.

& Ch. were making.

Eng. one except. to non-exist of nat-
in Nld. France in 15-16th
Of same, Holl. later, Oct 9, 19.
Diplomacy began 15th cent, 1st
perm. emb. in London 1467.
15th " Eng. abroad: Spain 1517.

Break up into indiv. nat, men
tried to
devise system for nat. to live
in amity & peace.

Int. Law Grotius 1625,

State must stand to another as

1. Dependent, may be nat. but not ^{a state}
2. Indep.

Simple reason, flashlight at
begin of pres. war. Debt to col.
but gratitude must not obscure
scientific fact that midnight
Aug 4, all Can, Aust. etc
became equally v. every

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Englishman an alien enemy in
Berlin. Has one appearance a
"court insult"? They have nothing
to do with it acc. to court.

Domen. had no means of escape,
Ch. not be neutral & also in BE
until indep. was formally act.
they must enter. to the parts of
v state. Do we apprehend
Comp. of that obvious fact & are
we sup. to face them?

Even since nat. effort for
organizing peace

"Out Design" of XIV

Perhaps Elzy & Sully

Fed. purpose, council for
int. disputes, relig. toleration.

Next peace projects - involved
to this.

Su. P. Eliot - The Road to Peace
no more guilty remembrance
in the or str. adv. of cause
of allis.

Urb. de St Pierre 1713, "Project
of a treaty to under peace / plan."

All mod. peace projects on it.

Sent of Europ. congress -

Treaty of Perpet. Peace, end 18th

Deans of Philosophers. Attempts
to trans. into practical polit.

1815 - Alex of Russia. Holy Alliance.

Not to be derided, a genuine
effort. "Sublime teaching of God
our Saviour."

Id. of all good men that a
cong. of nat. may be called
together - its task will be
humane.

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Refashion world now in
crucible:

"Treaty - ready
nat. aspirant -

Collective course of mankind
will attempt to provide vs.
disaster like this.

Peace must be on foundation
destined to secure.

Points - wh. have app. in final:

1. Modes of inhab. of territory
must be ascertained - their
interests = first concern

This was work for 1815 Cong.

the moment we descend for
pleasing you. to parties

and on go. difficulty.

How ascertain wishes of
people? Plebiscite?

"Impartial interest, commission."

When get it

"Purity" no secret diplomacy
Sir Stratford's defini - "knows -
man sent abroad to lie".

Re GM on Grey vindication,
secret diplom. postponed outbreak
for several years -

Is publ. a democratic device?

How all democ. inst. gone in
for publ? Indust. disputes.

Why did they all fail 1815-?

Not hyp. of authors of paper.

Invention of autographs?

Real reason:

Ed. not perm. secure peace
without their causes that
made for war.

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Can we avoid that rock?

Rock of intervention.

"Truth is no mechan. device
however perf. - machine will
never secure ends wh. all good
men so ard. desire without
moral rev. in hearts of men.
See Flung on Abbe's project -
"minimaries to emperor heart
of princes."

Then - only then may that of
people succ. when that of autocr.
failed.

Emerson in 1862 (Crystal Palace
of peace, whitt.). Still more saw
vision of commerce 'fed of gold'.
Ties of trade not enough -