

The Good Government: The Function of Form in
Plato's *Republic* and The Federalist Papers

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When reading the Federalist Papers, I became particularly interested in this quote: “Justice ought to hold the balance between [opposed parties]” (Federalist Papers 10). From this question, I revisited a dormant question I retained from Plato’s *Republic* in Freshman Seminar: “What is Justice?” But with the influence of Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Machiavelli¹, and others, the question of Justice’s definition gained further complexity. As I explored the idea of Justice, though, I realized that Justice in each state is defined by each government’s answer to a simple question: how does a group of separate individuals unify themselves toward one common goal? The unity of all people in the state, or City as Socrates calls this group of people, must occur through a common benefit or common mission which overrides an individual’s desire to act in their own interest. I pose as the topic of this paper the inquiry into Plato’s attempt to create a city using forms, specifically the form of the Good, as the basis of order and balance² within the souls of the individual and the City as a whole. Further, we look outside of abstractions into a collection of instances, or historical Truths, which create a possibility for the judgement of Plato’s Good Republic in action. These historical Truths allow Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison to evaluate and implement the necessities for a lasting and functional Republic while retaining the ideals of a Good state, but allow for improvement dependent on changing Truths. Rather than redirecting the soul toward the Good to create balance, the Federalist authors, under the common alias “Publius,” accept worldly imperfections and attempt

¹ In this paper I will add comments on Machiavelli’s view of a forceful government in the footnotes. Socrates denies a benefit to forceful governments, as mentioned later, but the Federalist Papers notes force as a necessity to stabilize government, so the notes on Machiavelli are relevant to the argument for force.

² Throughout this paper it is clear that the idea of the Good comes from an idea of balance, which necessitates a geometric assessment of how each government achieves this balance.

to create a government that accommodates imperfections of the appetites and rationalities of the human soul in order to create a common Good that unites all people.

This paper will begin by looking into the characteristics of Plato's City by inquiring into the origin of the City, the ideals of the City and the functions of the government which support these ideals. Further, this paper will inquire into Plato's plan to implement ideals of Goodness on the soul, that of both the individual and the state, in order to achieve balance. This soul balance as well as harmony between the soul and the City allow the reader to understand the benefit of the *Republic* as opposed to non-balanced governments. Plato argues for Republics as a balanced governments, asserting the lack of balance of other governments, but the Federalist Papers opposes this assertion by citing the historic disunity of Republics. Examining the historical faults of Republics, this paper will focus on the adjustments that The Federalist Papers pose as necessary to create a balanced government. Publius aims at moderation of all parts of the soul rather than restriction of all parts of the soul except the balancing part itself. The paper will inquire into Publius' definition of a Republic, then into the adjustments to truth, balance, and unity in a scientifically reforming³ Republic.

In order to support the development of the individual as primarily Good, Socrates constructs a society that denies any non-Good influences in order to orient the greater will toward the Good. To understand the measures that Socrates takes to orient the soul, individually and communally, toward the Good, it is important to understand Socrates' idea of orientation in

³ I use a present participle "reforming" in order to reference the necessity of the state to actively reform, rather than retain theoretic rules. Some may argue against the American Republic due to insufficient reforms. This paper will inquire into the benefits of the possibility of reformation, but does not expand on the failures of reformation. While I acknowledge the failures of the American Republic, my intent is to call attention to the implementation of balance within government to attain Truthful reformation in the Federalist Papers.

regards to the soul. In Plato's *Theaetetus*, Socrates likens "[likens] the soul to the composite nature of a pair of winged horses and a charioteer" (246a). Each of the two horses pulls in an opposite direction. The light horse, which represents the θυμοειδής⁴, is "a friend of honor joined with temperance and modesty, and a follower of true glory; he needs no whip, but is guided only by the word of command and by reason" (253e). This light horse is obedient to reason, so it participates in the soul's progression toward the Good. The dark horse, or the ἐπιθυμητικόν⁵ part of the soul, is "the friend of insolence and pride... and [is] deaf, hardly obedient to whips and spurs" (254a). This dark horse clearly represents bodily and individualistic desires. The charioteer, the λογιστικόν⁶ of the soul, guides the other parts, or horses, of the soul, and can "[humble the dark horse so he] follows henceforth the wisdom of the charioteer" (254e). Extending this metaphor of the charioteer in *Theaetetus*, Socrates expresses that these horses naturally pull the charioteer, the λογιστικόν, toward each horse's friends, so there is a natural pull of the soul to sensational desires by the dark horse, and a natural drive toward the glorious by the light horse (247d). If the charioteer loses control, then the dark horse leads the whole soul away from heaven and to the ground where the soul loses its wings. When the soul loses its wings, the soul loses its direct connection to the form of the Good. Humans souls, as Socrates notes, have wingless horses (248c). Wingless human souls can have no connection with the

⁴ The LSJ defines θυμοειδής as "passionate, [or] hot-tempered." This passion, or ability to move, is noted as obedient to reason, so it is a passion toward reasoned things.

⁵ The LSJ defines ἐπιθυμητικόν as "that part of the soul which is the seat of the desires and affections," and the *Republic* often translates this as "appetitive."

⁶ The LSJ defines λογιστικόν as "the reasoning faculty," or as "skilled or practised in calculating," and cites the *Republic* as examples of both definitions. This connotes balance and geometry to this faculty of the soul, and allows the reader to understand why balance can be achieved through this faculty.

forms, but the chariot parts retain their nature, i.e. the θυμοειδές for the light horse, the ἐπιθυμητικόν for the dark horse, and the λογιστικόν for the charioteer.

The *Republic* begins with an allegorical conversation referring to the charioteer. The conversation, which is held between Polemarchus, Socrates, and Glaucon, presents Polemarchus' attempt to have Socrates and Glaucon stay in town. Socrates and Glaucon are going to Athens (327c), and Polemarchus suggests that he, Polemarchus, must convince the two men to stay by force. Socrates suggests Polemarchus could convince Socrates and Glaucon to stay without force, but Socrates poses the question: "could [Polemarchus] persuade [himself and Glaucon], if [they] won't listen" (328a)? While Glaucon mentions that Polemarchus cannot make himself and Socrates listen, Socrates and Glaucon do change their plans when dinner is mentioned (328a). The beginning conversation of the *Republic* poses a question: how can Polemarchus convince Socrates and Glaucon to alter their plans in order to fit Polemarchus' desires? When applied to the circumstance the question seems trivial, but the question, when asked universally, is the same question that drives the the *Republic*: how does one alter the will of others in order to unite their will to one common action? Three possibilities are posed. Either Polemarchus can force Socrates and Glaucon to stay, Polemarchus can persuade them to stay for Polemarchus' benefit, or Polemarchus can trade dinner for their presence. This anecdote suggests that either through an appetitive force, a passionate convincing, or through a logical trade, the meeting of separate wills occurs. This introduction allows Socrates to introduce the ideas of the three possible city types: those driven by ἐπιθυμητικόν⁷, those driven by the θυμοειδές, and those driven by λογιστικόν⁸.

⁷ Rather than through an exchange of Goods, Machiavelli adopts Polemarchus' position that power is the most successful way to create a state. Polemarchus is convinced that force, rather than persuasion can unite a group to common action, and Machiavelli suggests that force is necessary in order to conquer a state, as the people and the ruler do not have a shared set of

Just as Polemarchus creates a common desire between the group in order to convince Socrates and Glaucon to stay for dinner, Socrates suggests that a city must have a common purpose which leads to unification. Simply, Socrates defines a city as a group of people who are reliant on one another to suit the needs of all. “People need many things, and because one person calls on a second out of one need and on a third out of a different need, many people gather in a single place to live together as partners and helpers. And such a settlement is called a city” (369b-c). Cities rely on one another to obtain their living necessities. In the simple city, the purpose is to provide food, shelter, clothes (369d), and imports from other cities (370e) in order to meet the needs of each individual in the city. Socrates’ definition of city, which originally lacks the necessary dealings of luxuries and their resulting problems, seems to be an accurate description of any city. People who live near each other rely on one another to meet their own needs, and help others meet their needs implicitly as a trade. People give up their personal needs in order to suit the needs of others in a city because individuals cannot fully provide for themselves; therefore, any help an individual provides to the city is a trade for the city’s support of their own unmet needs.

While Socrates describes a simple city, Glaucon forces Socrates to consider the necessary additions to a city to allow for luxuries. Glaucon suggests that the simple city is non-luxurious

values, so force must arise. The goal of the state is not equivalent to the goal of the people, so the unity of the state and the people comes in the form of force rather than common justice and Good in terms of Socrates’ fitting state. The Good of the state, then is the Good of the Prince’s course, and “above all, a prince must live with his subjects in such a way that no accident of good or evil fortune can deflect him from his course” (Ch. 8 pg. 39). The role of the government is to protect that course; hence, violence is necessary for the principality’s Good.

⁸ It is also important to note that these three types of soul-related governments are present later in the text as the three main and two intermediate types of government are presented (pg. 15-16).

and is a “city for pigs” (372d). This city for pigs, while being the true and healthy city (372e) in Socrates’ view, lacks luxuries. At this point, Socrates must divide cities into two kinds: the so-called city for pigs, and the luxurious city, or the “τροφῶσαν⁹ πόλιν” (372e). While the purpose of a city remains the same, the function of the city must be looked into more fully because of the new desires which come with luxuries.

The luxurious city requires an increase “in size and [requires to be filled] with a multitude of things that go beyond what is necessary for a city—hunters for example, and artists or imitators... And there’ll be poets and their assistants, actors, choral dancers, contractors, and makers of all kinds of devices... And we’ll need more servants... [and] tutors, wet nurses, nannies, beauticians, barbers, chefs, cooks, and swineherds... And we’ll also need more cattle... if the people are going to eat meat” (373b-c).

Desires complicate a city, as the excess of materials creates an imbalance. While some people are entertained, there are also entertainers. Because there are masters, there will also be slaves. The City now also has the task of satisfying the wants of the people, while the City of Pigs simply had to meet every person’s needs. The wants of the people implicitly creates inequality. Some peoples’ wants require some people to give more than others. When want is introduced into a city, Socrates believes that “the land... that used to be adequate to feed the population... will cease to be adequate and become too small... Then we’ll have to seize some of our neighbors’ land... Then [the city’s] next step will be war” (373d). With war, inequalities may impair a city’s ability to fulfill its basic function of satisfying the needs of each individual. With war and inequality, the city has a great likelihood of failing its most basic functions. In order to succeed at allowing for luxury as well as retain the success of a city as a need-satisfier, a city must restrict the actions of its people. As Socrates looks into the luxurious City, Socrates

⁹The LSJ defines τροφῶσαν as “liv[ing] softly, luxuriously, [or] far[ing] sumptuously.” This new city is one which allows for luxury.

attempts to define Justice in the luxurious City and identify the new necessary functions which Justice must protect.

For Socrates, Justice must always align with the Good, as Socrates categorizes Justice as a Good categorically. Socrates first explains that there are three kinds of Goods: 1. A Good for its own sake. 2. A Good for its own sake and for the sake of what comes from it. 3. Onerous Goods that are beneficial to us (357b-c). Socrates categorizes Justice “among the finest goods, as something to be valued... both because of itself and because of what comes from it” (358a). By adding to the reader’s understanding of Justice by categorizing it as a Good, Socrates makes it clear that the goal of the Just state must be to support the Good in order to support the needs of all in the state. By following the idea of the Good, and the Good for all, Socrates expects to also find the Just. As Socrates creates his ideal state, he justifies each stately decision as a movement toward the Good. The common desire which pulls all individuals away from their own individual desires, then must be the Good, as the Good provides Justice implicitly. If the City obtains the Good, then the City has also obtained the Just.

It is clear, then, that the Good City would attempt to aim the wills of the people at the Good through the λογιστικόν, or the charioteer’s reason. Reason, then, is aided by the θυμοειδής part of the soul because it is governed by the mind and desires glory through this reason. These Goods governed by the mind are the Justice of the soul. In the *Republic*, Socrates explains that “justice is a soul’s virtue, and injustice its vice” (353e); hence, Justice is necessarily the logically driven desires of the soul. Further, Socrates posing Justice as the opposite of vice seems to pose Justice as the opposite of the appetitive part of the soul, the ἐπιθυμητικόν. The way to relate our

souls to virtue, or to act justly, is by guiding our souls by the Good through reason. In other words, the charioteer must tame the ἐπιθυμητικόν and direct it toward the Good.

While the need to achieve virtue in the soul to acquire Justice is now plain, Socrates also explains that “there is justice of a single man and also the justice of a whole city” (368e). In order to have a Good state, the united goal must be the Good¹⁰; hence, both the individual and the state must simultaneously be directed toward the Good. In order to allow for Socrates’ Justice for the state, both the individual and the state must aim for logical progressions and choices that direct the soul to the Good. To achieve Justice in the individual, then, is to direct individual actions toward the Good, and the function of the state should be to necessitate the Good¹¹. Further, Socrates explains that living “is... some function of a soul that you couldn’t perform with anything else” (353d), which makes living the essential work of the soul but the “virtue of a soul” allows the soul to “perform its function well” (353d-e), or to be related to the Good. The soul, then, is only a Good soul if it aims at Justice, which is the virtue, or the relation to Good, of the soul. By arguing that a state can not function well without virtue, Socrates has also made the argument that any state must aim to have virtue if it is aiming to be a Good state.

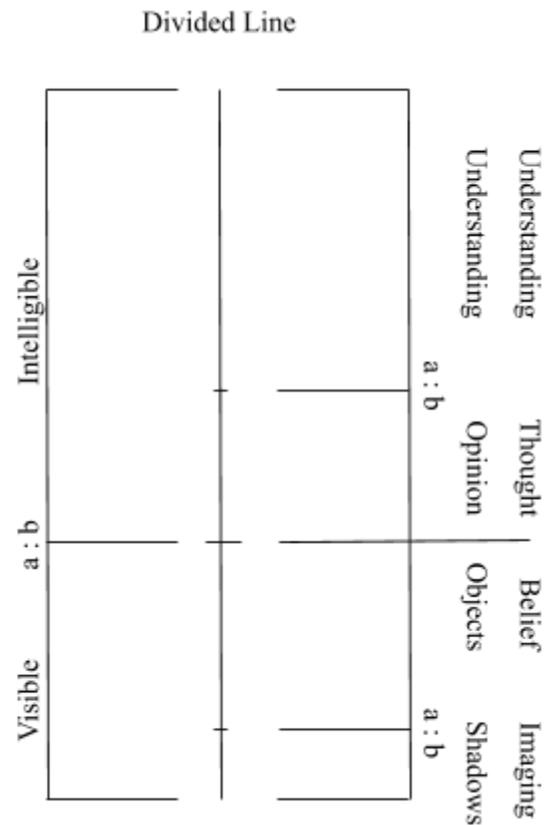
¹⁰ Seemingly as a direct response to Socrates’ notion of a Good state, Machiavelli explains that Goodness will not always result in the Good because of power differentials. Machiavelli explains that “a man who wishes to make a profession of Goodness in everything must necessarily come to grief among so many who are not Good. Therefore it is necessary for a prince, who wishes to maintain himself, to learn how not to be Good, and to use this knowledge and not use it, according to the necessity of the case” (Ch. 15 pg. 63). Machiavelli suggests a Prince-driven purpose for the state, and suggests that all stately matters, good or bad, should then be directed at the purpose.

¹¹ The Federalist Papers provides a definition of a Good Government which draws from this conclusion. The Good government is identified by two qualities: “first, fidelity to the object of the government, which is the happiness of the people; secondly, a knowledge of the means by which that object can be best attained” (*Federalist* 62, pg. 378)

Since Socrates has justified the goal of Goodness by defining the Goodness for the soul as functionality, it is clear that Socrates aims to orient the will of the people and the will of the state both at the Good in order to pull each from the immediate desires for personal benefit toward this Good. In order to orient the people toward the Good, Socrates suggests drastic measures to deny all things that deteriorate virtue in the soul, as those things will then deteriorate the function, ie. intended purpose, of the soul. Socrates asserts through his governmental example that part of the job of the state is to foster Goodness by requiring a Good education, an education for the orientation of the soul, for all individuals¹².

In order to understand the education within Plato’s City, it is necessary to understand the process by which Socrates suggests one may

gain knowledge. In order to explain the education system, Socrates likens the soul’s understanding to the eye’s sight. Socrates explains that “the one whose light causes our sight... is the sun” (508a-b), and “[w]hat the good itself is in the intelligible realm, in the understanding and intelligible things, the sun is in the visible realm, in relation to sight and visible things” (508b). Here Socrates proposes a proportion which Socrates expresses through the geometric image of the divided line. In



¹² It is notable that Socrates educates the individual by decreasing individuality. This is a controversial notion that the Federalist Papers addresses.

order to understand the divided line, it is important to note that Socrates likens the obscurity of opinioned intelligible knowledge to the shadow of an object in the visible realm (508d). Now, from these divisions, Socrates solidifies his ratios into a direct geometric image of a line.

“There are these two things, one sovereign of the intelligible kind and place, the other of the visible... It is like a line divided into two unequal sections. Then divide each section... in the same ratio as the line. In terms now of relative clarity and opacity, one subsection of the visible consists of images... in the other subsection of the visible, put the originals of these images...as regards to truth and untruth, the division is in this proportion: As the opinable is to the knowable, so the likeness is to the thing that it is like” (509d-510a).

Using this divided line, Socrates expresses “four such conditions in the soul, corresponding to the four subsections of our line” (511d-e) ie. understanding, thought, belief, and imaging. Thus, Socrates is able to express the education of the soul’s coming to Understanding from imaging through the analogy of the cave.

Simply the analogy of the cave acts as a suggestion as to how to educate the soul.

Socrates describes the

“cavelike dwelling, with an entrance a long way up, which is both open to the light and as wide as the cave itself... [The people are] able to see only in front of them, because their bonds prevent them from turning their heads around. Light is provided by a fire burning far above stretching between them and the fire. Imagine that along this path a low wall has been built, like the screen in front of puppeteers above which they show their puppets... also imagine that there are people along the wall, carrying all kinds of artifacts... some of the carriers are talking, and some are silent... when one of them [is] freed and suddenly compelled to stand up, turn on his head, walk, and look up toward the light” (514a-515d)

After being released, the individual is able to travel the path to the outside world and come out of the cave, the visible realm, and into the intelligible realm outside which is in contact with the sun. Socrates creates an image of those souls reliant only on imaging which are then gradually transitioned between a prison-like restraint to the freedom of Truth. From this analogy, Socrates explains that “[t]he visible realm should be likened to the prison dwelling, and the light of the

fire inside it to the power of the sun... [T]he upward journey and the study of things above [are meant to be interpreted] as the upward journey of the soul to the intelligible realm” (517a-b). In the City, then, the education of the people must analogously cater to the soul’s comprehension of Truth and attempt to advance their soul gradually from imaging toward Truth¹³. Thus, as Socrates notes, his Republic “[does not] allow [citizens] to be free until [they] establish a constitution in them” (590d). Citizens are only provided with Good images so the soul’s strength against vice is established before there is interaction with objects of potential vice. Socrates believes that the Good individual must experience the Good before the bad so the soul is strengthened.

Socrates poses censorship as a way to begin to deny bad values in the City’s individuals by restricting the possibility for bad qualities to be imitated, so all the people of the state, but specifically the Guardians, must have examples of Good to imitate. Socrates believes that “what poets and prose-writers tell us about the most important matters concerning human beings is bad” so his Good City will “prohibit these stories and order the poets to compose the opposite kind of poetry and tell the opposite kind of tales” (392a-b). Bad examples create bad imitations, so all things that could be imitated¹⁴ must provide the necessary aim of Goodness. Most importantly, though, Socrates believes that Guardians, who are citizens focused on defending the City and its functions (374a), must be specifically educated only in the Good.

“Guardians must be kept away from all other crafts so as to be the craftsmen of the city’s freedom, and do nothing at all except what contributes to it, they must neither do nor

¹³ It is necessary to note that this education is not corrupt. The education of the soul comes from those who have engaged in truth and are attempting to “[put] sight into blind eyes” (518b). The common interpretation of the cave as a depiction of corruption becomes relevant only when the true Republic expires and philosopher Kings lose control.

¹⁴ Imitation: “to make oneself like someone else in voice or appearance is to imitate the person one makes oneself like” (393c).

imitate anything else. If they do imitate, they must imitate from childhood what is appropriate for them, namely, people who are courageous, self controlled, pious, and free, and their actions. They musn't be clever at doing or imitating slavish or shameful actions, lest from enjoying the imitation, they come to enjoy the reality" (395b-c).

These Guardians, who are the most purely Good citizens because they are trained solely in the craft of Goodness and Good stately matters (397d), therefore hold the highest societal rank as keepers of the state and its virtue. These Guardians are the most fit for this Good work, but all people are educated with the Good, but the Guardians are specifically restricted to the knowledge of the Good. Because a luxurious City implies rank, it is important that those at the highest rank retain the virtue of the state rather than deteriorating the state by retaining corrupt values, so all people have Good education, but the Guardians must be specifically taught the Good and only the Good. Further, Guardians must not be in contact with things that create strong appetites. They must not hold property, allow all access to their wealth, have enough money to sustain themselves, all live with other Guardians, and must not touch the gold or silver (416d-417b). By excluding the Guardians from vice-causing objects and focusing them toward a Good education, Guardians develop and exercise their rationality and deny appetitive problems. Essentially, these Guardian groups are cultivated in the spirit of the Good and are denied experience with anything else in order to keep that Good within the City. This City, starting at the highest rank, must not be corrupt but Good and wholly Good in order to obtain the stately goal of Goodness.

Socrates' ultimate goal in creating a Good state is to orient the people toward the Good to the extent that the law is not in place to restrict selfishness, but solely to retain the Good upbringing and tradition. If those in the City make fair and unselfish decisions, then the Good City does not have to step in to enforce compromise, because fair compromise comes easily to the Good person. "It isn't appropriate to dictate men who are fine and good. They'll easily find

out for themselves whatever needs to be legislated about [market business]” (426d-e). Further, elaborate established constitutional laws become unnecessary because the traditions that come from a Good education must imitate the good (427a) and create good people. The purpose of a law is to retain the Goodness of a state and keep the stately order, but if the people in the state are already oriented toward Good order, then Socrates argues that no laws are necessary.

Obviously, if the people are Good, then the people are already Just, as Justice is a Good, so in relation to the state, a Good person will be Just.

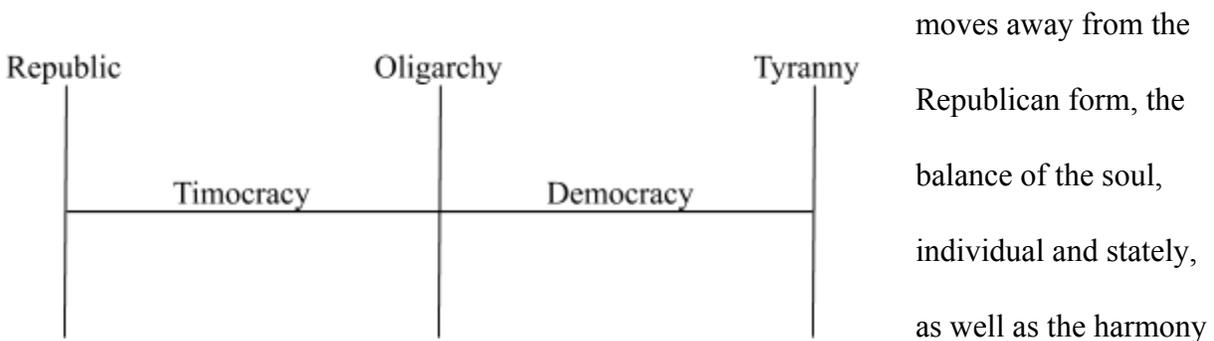
Further, Socrates argues that Justice is the order of the City, so if a person is Good, then the person is Just, and if a state aims at the Good, then the state aims at Justice. By creating a City that instils Good judgement in the people, Socrates allows for Goodness and Good order. Socrates defines Justice in the City as “everyone [practicing] one of the occupations in the city for which he is naturally best suited” (433a). The employment of people to their most suited craft returns the order and purpose of the city of pigs, but also allows for luxury as desired. Further, now it is clear again that the city of pigs encourages individuals to cultivate the λογιστικόν part of their soul, so the reorientation of their soul is unnecessary as they are already oriented at the fine and Good, their work reflects that Good. Justice, as well as Good, come from the same part of the soul, so individually as well as communally, the goal must then be to cultivate the Good part of the soul. Socrates’ return to the basic city defines Justice as an extremely basic need for all people to find their best fit in society, their own Good and functionality, and to successfully live by their best, non-selfish nature. If you are Good individually, then your relation to the Good state is also naturally Good.

The Good City, then, is a state where all people aim to be Good generally and to be Good in terms of placing themselves where they are best suited, which comes from Good laws. The state must support a Good, rather than Corrupt, system and cultivation of people in order to create harmony. Harmony¹⁵ for Plato specifically comes through the moderation of the soul as the “ruler and the ruled share the same belief about who should rule... [and] moderation spreads throughout the whole. It makes the weakest, the strongest, and those in between... all sing the same song together” (431e-432a). The unity of the whole and the part, then, is harmony. As all are united around the same goal in Socrates’ City, there is harmony. When Socrates uses the term harmony, he truly is referring to an abstract and perfect unity created by the united goal of abstract Good and Truth. This unity occurs through the accordance of his City’s traditions with nature. Socrates explains that the muses themselves promote a harmonious creation of a ruler as one that is born through the “cycle comprehended by a perfect number... the first number in which are found root and square increases, comprehending three lengths and four terms, of elements that make things all mutually agreeable and rational in their relations to one another” (546a-c). Even the creation of rulers, then, must be rational and harmonious with natural cycles. In the same passage, Socrates explains that the muses suggest that the soul and body along with plants and animals “complete circumferences of their circles [which are] short lived, and the opposite for their opposites”. The City’s constitution, like the soul and body, will also bear fruit and decay (546a). Socrates supports the accordance, or harmony, of natural cycles and human government, so the City must end, just like a human life. Clearly, Socrates is promoting a

¹⁵The LSJ defines συμφωνέω as “sound[ing] together, be in harmony or unison” primarily, but also defines συμφωνέω as to “hold or express the same opinions.” Having the same opinion decreases individuality. Socrates does indeed express a priority for unison over individuality in the City and Socrates’ use the word συμφωνέω adds to this idea.

balance of the state and the individual according to the geometric and harmonious intelligible Truths. Not only does Socrates pose harmony between humans and government, but between government and natural order. Now Socrates has expressed three important balances: the balance of the realm of truth with the state and the individual, the balance of the soul itself, and the balance of the state with natural laws¹⁶.

According to the three parts of the soul, Socrates proposes that there are three primary kinds of people, and five kinds of government that represent the soul and the intermediate between each soul type. There are “three primary kinds of people: philosophic, victory loving, and profit-loving” (581c), which match the three kinds of the souls. The soul parts, viz., Λογιστικόν, Θυμοειδές, and Ἐπιθυμητικόν, cause three types of people: φιλόσοφον or philosophic, φιλόνηκον or victory loving, and φιλοκερδές or those profit loving respectively. Further, there is “an up, a down, and a middle in nature” (584d), so accompanying the “three pleasures, one genuine and two illegitimate, a tyrant is at the extreme end of the illegitimate ones... A tyrant is third from an oligarch, for a democrat was between them.. [and] an oligarch, in turn, is third from a king, if we identify a king and an aristocrat” (587b-c). As government



moves away from the Republican form, the balance of the soul, individual and stately, as well as the harmony

¹⁶ Following Euclid’s geometric laws, if A=B, and B=C, then A=C (Euclid, Common Notion 1), so with government as the middle term, Socrates aims to equate the human soul with natural order through the three posed harmonies.

of the state as a whole, will decrease. Tyranny is characterized by “[a] nature or [a] way of life or both [making a tyrant] drunk, filled with erotic desire, and mad” (573c). Clearly Tyranny represents the ἐπιθυμητικόν part of the soul, as this appetitive soul is marked by drunkenness, eroticism, and lack of reason. The Republic, ruled by lovers of wisdom, clearly matches the λογιστικόν part of the soul. The oligarchy “proceed[s] further into money-making, and the more they value it, the less they value virtue” (550e), so the oligarchic city represents the θυμοειδές part of the soul, as this city lacks the love of Truth is inclined upward toward false values. As problems occur and generations pass, Socrates explains that the government loses balance and moves along the scale of governmental balance toward appetitive rule. Socrates here presents a belief, one which is directly opposed by the Federalist Papers, that only one facet of the soul can be the ruling faculty. Socrates believes that there are three kinds of people, and likewise three kinds of cities as well as intermediates. As Socrates seeks balance by creating a soul akin to moderation, the alternative possibility of moderation through the presence and control of all parts of the soul at once seems to arise.

The Federalist Papers then takes the opposite approach. While balance, moderation, and Truth are the foundations of the American Republic, similarly to Plato’s *Republic*, the Truths, balance, and moderation that the Federalists seek comes from experience and a moderation through faction and diversity rather than through the forced likeness of all souls toward one ideal. Plato, through Socrates, explains that a Democracy allows desire, lack of reason, a lack of moderation and ultimately an individual freedom to overindulge the appetite (559b-c) creates

problems in democracies¹⁷. While the Federalist Papers aim to use factions of free thought in order to restrict this appetite and create moderation. The next section of this paper will address the historical Truths of Republics, the Platonic Truths of Republics, how they coincide, and the compromise between the two that the Constitution poses.

The Federalist Papers assert that in order to have a stable, lasting government, you must account for the flaws in human beings¹⁸. Publius recognizes that in the past, human nature has been the cause of government deterioration, and Publius attempts to render a solution. One significant problem of the Platonic Republic is the inability to change when the soul of the City inevitably loses balance (546a-547c). Along with the lack of change, a lack of protection (*Federalist* 18, pg. 120), and faction-caused anarchy (*Federalist* 19, pg. 129) have historically ended Republics¹⁹. These historical endings of Republics led Publius to use these Truths to conclude that imbalances in the government will happen, and must be accounted for. Publius recognizes the common instance of imbalance in the soul, and attempts to create a government that encompasses the faults of humanity into the balances of the government. Rather than seeing problems arising from differences in each individual soul, Publius recognizes these differences as diversities which add to the soul of the state. By including the opinions and differences of individuals into the government itself, the State is able to change to fit changing opinions, which allows for preservation of the state. In order to create a Good government accounting for

¹⁷While the Federalist Papers pose a Republic, they derive the power of the government from the individuals, which denotes this government as a democracy as it incorporates the wills of all factions into the moderately composed law.

¹⁸ One flaw of humans is particularly present in the Federalist Papers: the flaw of humans fighting with their neighbor (*Federalist* 6). This flaw is used to argue against confederation. The Federalist Papers address the change from Confederation to Federation; however, this paper will not delve into that particular aspect of the Federalist Papers.

¹⁹ Thus, in order to preserve the Republic, force is necessary.

imperfect humans, Publius uses experiential truths, a potential for change, and a compounded system.

Publius explains the attempt of the Constitution to obtain the title of Good government by redirecting the source of Goodness to the individual rather than the universal. Publius identifies two implications of a Good government: “first, fidelity to the object of the government, which is the happiness of the people; secondly, a knowledge of the means by which that object can be best attained” (*Federalist* 62, pg. 378). The happiness of the people is a common goal between the *Republic* and the *Federalist Papers*, but the means of attaining the happiness of the people comes from experiential Truths and experiential based Goods. Experiences differ and change, so the government must reflect these differences and change with them. Rather than attempting to orient each individual toward Goodness, the *Federalist Papers* find fallacy in the idea of perfect humans and uses experiential realities in order to inquire into Human Nature.

While Socrates believes in the orientation of the human soul toward the Good, Publius does not attempt to perfect humans, but attempts to perfect the system. Publius recognizes that “passion never fails to wrest the scepter from reason. Had every Athenian citizen been a Socrates, every Athenian assembly would still have been a mob” (*Federalist* 55, pg. 340). Clearly, Publius has a similar conception of the soul as Socrates. As Publius asserts that passion will always overcome reason at some point, the necessity of acknowledging passion into the system becomes clear. Publius explains that instead of attempting to cure faction²⁰ by “giving to

²⁰ Faction is defined as “a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent aggregate interests of the community” (*Federalist* 10 pg. 72). The use of the word “passion” reminds the reader of Socrates’ charioteer analogy of the soul, specifically the ἐπιθυμητικόν part of the soul.

every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests,” a government can control the effects of factions (*Federalist* 10 pg. 72-73). In fact, it is evident that controlling the identities of an individual does not ultimately repress their passions, but only temporarily directs away from them. Publius, then, allows for factions, which allows for individuality, too. In order to control the effects of inevitable factions, Publius poses the inclusion of “the spirit of party or faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government” (*Federalist* 10 pg. 74) Here, Madison explains that passions can be part of society without deterring from ordinary operations. A person does not need to be wholly Good to participate in this system.

Further, because of the Truth that no human has obtained a perfect orientation toward Goodness, Publius seeks perfection through means of accepting experiential Truths and altering the system to account for these Truths and overcome them in the system. Publius, in reference to the values in the Constitution, expresses a desire for the American system to preserve an energetic²¹ government that aims at “the true principles of republican government” through analogous Federal and local governments (*Federalist* 1, pg. 30). This Federal government with “distributions of powers into distinct departments; the introduction of legislative balances and checks; the institution of courts composed of judges holding their offices during good behavior; the representation of the people in the legislature by deputies of their own election” though, are new additions to the “science of politics” (*Federalist* 9, pg. 67). The Truths of the science of government create axioms that allow for scientific alterations to government; constantly improving Truths are the foundations of the American government. All of these additions, which

²¹ The term “energetic” is used throughout the Federalist Papers to describe the Federal parts of the government. The terms “energetic” should be taken as signifying strength in the Federal government.

aim at creating balance without necessary individual perfection, aim at attaining perfection, or an aim at the happiness of the people through the means of continuously improving governmental policies. This happiness, then, is the Good of society. The science of politics is the identification of the faults in governments that can be altered in order to create a better government. As opposed to the rigid laws of the *Republic*, this government is constantly changing because of the change allowed by factions, so the Good of the state is constantly changing to include the individual desires of the factions

Through change²², a government can preserve itself despite imperfections, which Publius has established as inevitable for humans. Publius poses the question of “whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing Good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force” (*Federalist* 1, pg. 27). Referring back to the idea of Good government, it is evident that in order to have a Good government, it is necessary to balance the government itself, as the happiness of people is dependent on their relationship to the Good. Rather than balancing the souls of individuals, Publius poses changes to the system of government that can be altered without the loss of the entire system. Publius, as a conclusion, cites Hume, who explains that

To balance a large state or society... whether monarchical or republican, on general laws, is a work of so great a difficulty that no human genius, however comprehensible, is able, by the mere dint of reason and reflection, to effect it. The judgements of many must unite in the work; experience must guide their labor; time must bring it to perfection, and the feeling of inconveniences must correct the mistakes which they inevitably fall into in their first trials and experiments (*Federalist* 85, pg, 526).

²² It is important to note that the change of the government is meant to be slow, so as to allow for time and experience to guide this change (9).

Clearly, the balance of society is flawed and time, experience, and change must come from a combination of the reason of many people. Publius incorporates this notion of change and imperfection directly into the policy of Americanism, using the flaws of prior systems in order to move toward perfection, while still allowing for greater change to come.

The goal of balancing government is a large task, and Publius has shown this balancing is only possible after the distance and prior representative balancing of human vice and flawed reason. In order to move away from passions and toward balance, the government uses the balanced appetites of the people, a compound government, and balances within governmental branches themselves in order to separate governmental rulings from passions while still allowing for changes. The goal of removing passions, of course, is to focus on reason. Publius notes that the balance of government comes from the balance of the system. “[A]ll observations founded upon the danger of usurpation ought to be referred to the composition and structure of the government” (*Federalist* 31, pg. 192). In order to understand the structure of government we must address the balances beginning at the source of the American Republic’s power: the people.

Each person has been noted to have personal interests, and these interests, combined with similar and dissimilar arguments, must be balanced. In order to be part of the government, each person “must cede to it some of their natural rights” (*Federalist* 2, pg. 31). This surrendering of freedoms is an exchange for protections from the government (*Federalist* 28), but part of the exchange of self for government comes from the loss of immediate choice. “Men... ought not to assume an infallibility in rejudging the fallible opinions of others” (*Federalist* 37, pg. 222). All people must assume, according to the principles of the American government, that an aggregate of opinions leads to a greater balance. Americans must assume that “the public voice,

pronounced by representatives of the people, will be more consonant to the public good than if pronounced by the people themselves” (*Federalist* 10, pg. 77). The government, then, relies on the axiom that “Justice ought to hold the balance between [parties]” (*Federalist* 10, pg. 74). Thus, the American government compounds the opinions of many into representatives. These opinions are received and judged by the government, the Good government, by Justice. Justice in the changing Good Republic is the act of balancing and promoting happiness. Through local representatives, the government aggregates the opinions of the people into the opinions of the greater government.

The state itself, according to this aggregation of people into a greater whole, has a will (*Federalist* 51, pg. 318) that is compounded again against other states in order to create compounded, just²³ opinions, which combat other compounded just opinions in order to create laws. The government, through the representatives, is capable of embodying “a national spirit” (*Federalist* 46, pg. 293). This spirit is composed of local problems, but detached from them as an aggregation of many opinions. States will “fight for public liberty by national authority” (*Federalist* 28, pg.177) by being a representative of many opinions as one voice of the public, which allows all voices to be heard because of the encompassing of each person, but the greater balance to improve as it increases toward the Federal. This legislative voice of the people allows for the liberty of each person to be expressed. This balance of will helps to create the government, but the government itself is detached from the individual without a reciprocal reach toward the individual from government.

²³ The word “just” refers to the balance between opinions. The more opinions combatting, the more just, or balanced, the opinion.

As the voice of the people reaches the Federal, the voice of the Federal government also reaches toward the people through the Judicial branch.

There is one transcendent advantage belonging to the province of the State governments, which alone suffices to place the matter in a clear and satisfactory light... [i.e.] the ordinary administration of criminal and civil justice. This, of all others, is the most powerful, most universal, and most attractive source of popular obedience and attachment. It is this which, being the immediate and visible guardian of life and property... contributes more than any other circumstance to impressing upon the minds of the people affection, esteem, and reverence toward the government (*Federalist* 17, pg. 115).

Now, the will of the people is communicated to the greater system, and the will of the greater system is communicated to the people through the legislative and judicial branches respectively.

Both Judicial and Legislative branches serve as Guardians for the state and the people (*Federalist* 17 pg. 115, 49 pg. 313). In the *Republic*, Guardians are those that are most aligned with the Good, or the values of the City, and are tasked with enforcing these values. The judges and representatives also are the voice of the spirit of the nation, one which originates in the people and one which originates in the state.

Having explicated both the judicial and legislative branch, the exploration of the purpose of the executive branch will allow for the clarification of the balance between this greater set of three branches.

The president “is to have power with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties...of peace, commerce, alliance, and of every other description... The president is also to be authorized to receive ambassadors and other public ministers... The president is to nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers, judges of the Supreme Court, and in general all officers of the United States established by law, and whose appointments are not otherwise provided for by the Constitution” (*Federalist* 69, pg. 418-419).

The President, with the approval of other branches²⁴, acts for the whole government. The President, the House and Senate, and the Supreme Court act as the heads, or the representatives of the government. Further, all three of these compounded sources of will, as each department has its own will (*Federalist* 51, pg. 318), creates the greater government. The compound of the separate branches, then, creates the whole union of the United States. With time, and perfecting adjustments to these balances, the ultimate goal of the Federal government is to “mature and perfect so compound a system, [in order to] liquidate the meaning of all the parts, and... adjust them to each other in a harmonious and consistent whole” (*Federalist* 82, pg. 490). Through the balances of each system individually, starting with the will of the people on one side and the axioms of historical Truths on the other, Publius poses a system that they believe will create a harmonious whole- the balances will create a Good government.

The United States Constitution, through the balanced imperfections of man, aims at perfection of government. The government does not rely on perfect reason, it insists on force²⁵, and it includes the passions of all factions in the ordinary functions of government. The presence of all parts of the soul, and their balance, is aimed at creating a truly proportionate government.

²⁴ The legislative branch, having most power as its power comes from the people, is balanced by the separation into the Senate and the House of Representatives in order to balance the great power of the legislature by the voice of the majority and also by the voice of the equal Republics (*Federalist* 51, pg. 319). The deep inquiry into the various balances of the government is possible, but this paper intends to inquire into the greater balances of the system rather than the specific balances of each branch. While it is possible to look deeply into the balances of each branch, this paper does not expand on those exact balances.

²⁵ Force was mentioned through the Judicial branch, but the Federalist Papers believes, like Machiavelli, that force is necessary for the preservation of the government internally and externally, but force must be used justly, ie. in proportion to need (*Federalist* 28, pg. 174). In chapter 26 of Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Machiavelli suggests that “war is just which is necessary,” (pg. 110) which indicates the adoption of some aspects of Machiavelli's forceful government.

The Federalist Papers, through balance, redefines the Republic. The Federalist Papers, at one point defines

a republic to be... a government which derives all its power directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure for a limited period, or during good behavior. It is *essential* to such a government that it be derived from the great body of society, not from an inconsiderable proportion or a favored class of it (*Federalist 39*, pg. 327).

By looking to the equality of the body of the government, the essential balance of all people is present. This balance, which sounds like a direct Democracy, is also defined by its differences from this direct Democracy. The differences drawn between a republic and a direct democracy are that “the delegation of the government [in the republic] to a small number of citizens elected by the rest [and] the greater number of citizens, and the greater sphere of country over which the latter may be extended” (*Federalist 10*, pg.76). The extension of the greater sphere of country is the aspect of government that is new and comes from experiential, time perfected notions. Truth of the necessity for greater harmony of individuals with the government leads the Federalists to create a compounded government. This compounded nature of government allows for geometric and harmonious unity when perfected²⁶.

While the Federalist Papers look to historical and experience driven Truths as the basis of society, the goal of the Federalist Papers and Plato’s *Republic* is to create a Good government. Both texts look for the Good through balance; however, balance in the *Republic* conforms to abstract notions of balance and the Federalist Papers supports balance through scientific political

²⁶ It is also interesting to note that form of the Federalist Papers matches the idea of a geometric proof. Each assertion of government acknowledges opponents to each idea, then provides facts to answer whether each “doctrine [is] warranted by facts” or “supported by reason” (*Federalist 57*, pg. 350-351) by explicating the reason that leads to each assertion. Occasionally, a reader may notice enunciations as well. Further, a common reference to spheres and extended and compound ratios furthers the geometric connection in the Federalist Papers.

Truths. The purpose of Plato's *Republic* is to orient the soul toward the Good to create a temporarily perfected government while the orientation of the soul is maintained. The purpose of the Federalist Papers is to express the ability of a government to have a sustainable, functional government with a goal of achieving perfection by compound reason over time. The principles of Truth, Justice, and Good are retained despite a movement from abstract understandings of The Good to scientific functionality toward perfection of a Good government. Truth is still the basis of society, Justice comes from the balanced wills and individual assimilation with the balanced principles of government, and the Good still arises from the balance of all souls. Through the creation of Good government, one finds Justice. The inquiry into Justice, which led me to this topic, is found in both Republics through this Good. In Socrates' City, Justice is achieved from assimilation of the soul, City and individual, to the Good using Truth by accounting for Justice as a Good; therefore, since the Just is the Good, and a Good City is a Just City, Socrates' Good City achieves Justice. Publius follows also finds Justice by using Truth in order to create Good government, but the Truths used are experiential, so the Good changes with society; therefore, Truth, Justice, and Good are all relative to the experiences and opinions of the public body rather than the public body assimilating to one abstract Good. The *Republic* and the Federalist Papers both aim at creating a Good government: the *Republic* appeals to quick bursts of abstract Goodness; the Federalist Papers appeals to long lasting, scientifically driven pursuits of Goodness.

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