# Contents

*Preface to the First Edition* xii  
*Preface to the Second Edition* xiv  
*List of 'Thinker' Boxes* xv  

**Introduction**  
- Periodization  
- The focus of the book  
- Western political thinking: a brief overview  
- Themes  

PART I THE ENDS OF POLITICS

1 Politics and Order  19  
- Cooperative order in ancient political theory: Protagoras, Democritus, Plato and Aristotle 20  
- Negative and positive conceptions of order in medieval political theory: St Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas 25  
- Order and sovereignty in early modern political theory: Bodin, Grotius and Hobbes 29  
- Order, authoritarianism and totalitarianism in modern political theory: Carlyle, Maurras, Mussolini and Hitler 38  
- Cooperation and order in modern political theory: Rousseau, Kant and Green 42  
- Order without politics: anarchism and Marxism 46  
- Conclusion 48  

2 Politics and Virtue  50  
- Politics and virtue in ancient political theory: Plato and Aristotle 51  
- Virtue, politics and Christianity: Aquinas, Machiavelli, Luther, Calvin and radical Protestantism 61  
- Virtue, perfection and freedom: Kant and the British idealists 69  
- Conclusion 73
3 Politics and Freedom 75

Freedom and politics in the classical republican tradition: Marsilius, Bartolus and Machiavelli 76
Politics and ‘natural’ liberty: Locke, Paine, J. S. Mill 78
Freedom, sociability and the state: Rousseau, Hegel and Green 85
Social freedom and the critique of state theory: Marx 93
Freedom and anarchy: Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Stirner, Warren and Tucker 95
Conclusion 104

4 Politics, Happiness and Welfare 107

Early utilitarianism: Paley, Saint-Pierre, Hume, Helvetius and Beccaria 109
Benthamite utilitarianism: Bentham, J. S. Mill and Sidgwick 114
The diffusion of utilitarianism: socialism and welfare 123
Conclusion 125

PART II THE LOCATION OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY: WHO SHOULD RULE?

5 Rule by a Single Person 129

Single-person rule in the ancient world: Plato, Aristotle and Cicero 129
Medieval ideas of monarchy and early theories of kingship: Thomas Aquinas and Christine de Pizan 132
Monarchy in early modern political theory: Bodin, Hobbes, Filmer and Bossuet 136
Monarchy in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political thought: Absolutists, Romantics, Maistre and Maurras 140
Presidents and dictators in modern political theory: Weber and Hitler 145
Conclusion 149

6 The Rule of the Few 150

The rule of the few in ancient political theory: Plato and Aristotle 151
Medieval and early modern conceptions of aristocracy: Aquinas, Machiavelli and Harrington 154
Hereditary aristocracy in modern political theory: Burke, Coleridge, Chateaubriand and Constant 157
Non-hereditary elites in modern political theory: J. S. Mill, Nietzsche, Mosca, Pareto, Blanqui and Lenin 161
Conclusion 168
7 The Rule of the Many

‘The many’ in ancient Greek political theory: Protagoras, Democritus and Aristotle

‘The many’ in early modern political theory: classical republicans, radical Protestants and Levellers

Popular government in the age of the American and French Revolutions: Madison, Sièyes, Condorcet, Wollstonecraft, Thompson and Wheeler, Paine

Democracy in nineteenth-century political theory: James Mill, Constant, Tocqueville, J. S. Mill, Taylor, Green and Hobhouse

Socialism and democracy: Babeuf, Owen, Marx, Webb and Bernstein

Non-liberal theories of democracy in the twentieth century: ‘People’s’ and ‘Third World’ democracy

Conclusion

PART III THE EXERCISE OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY

8 The Sanctions of ‘Nature’

The ‘natural’ in ancient political theory: Plato, Aristotle and Cicero

Medieval conceptions of natural law: canon and civil law, and Aquinas

Natural rights and unlimited government in early modern political theory: Suárez, Grotius, Hobbes and Pufendorf

Natural law, natural rights and limited government: Locke

The radical application of natural rights in eighteenth-century political theory: Rousseau, Condorcet, Paine, Wollstonecraft and Thelwall

Conclusion

9 Mixed Government, Balanced Constitutions and the Separation of Powers

Mixed government in ancient political theory: Plato, Aristotle, Polybius and Cicero

Mixed constitutions in early modern political theory: Marsilius, Guicciardini, Machiavelli and Harrington

Separation of powers in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century political theory: Montesquieu, Madison, Sièyes and Constant

Conclusion
## Contents

### 10 Absolute Government

- Monarchical supremacy and the beginnings of absolutism: Seyssel
- Legislative supremacy and absolute government: Bodin
- Absolute sovereignty: Hobbes’ Leviathan
- Natural law, sociability and absolute government: Pufendorf
- Absolute sovereignty and divine right monarchy:
  - Filmer and Bossuet
- Absolute sovereignty and utilitarianism: Saint-Pierre,
  - Bentham and Austin
- Conclusion

### 11 The Rule of Law and Rule-Bound Orders

- The rule of law in ancient political theory: Plato and Aristotle
- The rule of law in medieval and early modern political theory: ‘Bracton’, Aquinas, Marsilius, Seyssel and Hooker
- Hume’s rules of justice
- The rule of law in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century French and German theory: Montesquieu, Constant and the Rechtsstaat
- Hayek’s rules of justice
- Conclusion

### PART IV CHALLENGING POLITICAL AUTHORITY

### 12 Resisting Unjust Rulers

- Resistance in medieval political theory: Aquinas,
  - John of Salisbury, William of Ockham and Marsilius
- Resistance in early Reformation political theory:
  - Luther and Calvin
- Resistance theory in the late sixteenth century: Hotman,
  - Beza and Mornay
- Popular sovereignty and resistance: Locke
- Conclusion

### 13 Revolutionary Political Thought

- Ancient, medieval and early modern theories of revolution: Plato, Aristotle, radical
  - Protestants and Levellers
- Natural rights and revolutionary political theory in late eighteenth-century America and France: Otis, Sièyes
  - and Babeuf
Marxist theories of revolution: Marx and Engels, Kautsky, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Gramsci and Mao Tse-tung 327
Revolutionary anarchism and the critique of Marxism: Bakunin and Kropotkin 342
Decolonization and revolutionary political theory: Fanon 346
Conclusion 351

14 Theories of Civil Disobedience and Non-Violent Resistance to Political Authority 353
Moral integrity and civil disobedience: Thoreau 354
Non-violent resistance and anticolonialism: Gandhi 358
Civil disobedience and just democracy: King 363
Conclusion 367

Conclusion: Some Contemporary Themes 368
Modernism and postmodernism 369
Virtue and politics 370
Moral and political utilitarianism 371
Liberty, individualism and communitarianism 372
Liberal feminism 375
Multiculturalism 378
Democracy, participation and deliberation 380
Revolutionary fundamentalism 382

Further Reading 386
Bibliography 390
Index of Personal Names 407
Index of Subjects 410