

stock arguments that pacifism is impractical are laid to rest and the genuine issue is drawn: are you willing to examine for use a theory of social action which assumes a close relation between the means of justice and the objects of justice?

The theoretical section includes writings of religious prophets, Etienne de la Boétie, Godwin, Shelley, Thoreau, Gandhi, Coe, Page, Case and Gregg. The last four readings deserve particular attention as they are the most careful statements, and at the same time these men are most often ignored when students of conflict (politics) come to deal with conflict. These readings address themselves to the double question of whether there is an effective and moral alternative to violence, and in providing an affirmative answer they lay out a theory of non-violence. Attention is directed particularly to the practical assumptions. Non-violence assumes that the basis of any social system including war is the voluntary cooperation of members. It assumes also that by withdrawal of that cooperation other members of the system can be forced to examine their relation to it and they may be persuaded to change their ways. It recognizes many affinities between non-violence and war such as the proper relation between attack and defense, the importance of discipline, courage, and strategy, and the willingness to suffer losses; but it differs at the point of inflicting physical harm on the opposition. It seeks conversion instead of subjection.

Often those who wander thus far into the literature feel a powerful emotional tug and they exclaim "How beautiful, but unrealistic. Certainly this is an admirable way for dealing with civilized English gentlemen, but it is no way to deal with the rampant evil of totalitarianism." Case studies are provided by Professor Sibley which suggest that non-violence may be an effective weapon in combating totalitarianism. Readers should especially study A. K. Jameson and Gene Sharp, "Non-violent Resistance and the Nazis: The Case of Norway," and Joseph Scholmer's "Vorkuta: Strike in a Concentration Camp." These acts of resistance were without the benefit of careful theory but they are quite suggestive. They should also examine the record of Pennsylvania under the Quakers, the use of non-violence in India in a selection from Shridharani's *War Without Violence*, and Lincoln's and King's studies of non-violent action by the U. S. Negro. These and other selections suggest two important facts. Pacifism presupposes the capacity of all men to respond to rational appeals when people are willing to suffer for their rational convictions, and non-violence has a record of partial success in even the most unlikely circumstances.

Brief statements introduce each reading to explain its relation to the book's purpose. Professor

Sibley should be commended for these concise introductions and the "Concluding Reflections: The Relevance of Non-Violence in our Day." In this last he examines the ideal non-violent society and the relation of this philosophy of action to the reconstruction of society. According to the author "the major crisis may have to do with the question of whether civilization, which produced the ideals of non-violence, can in fact discard the means of violence before those means destroy it."—RICHARD W. TAYLOR, *Coe College*.

The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages. BY MICHAEL J. WILKS. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1963. Pp. xiii, 619. \$12.50.)

We know immensely more about the Middle Ages than in the recent past. Stirring and notable books on this vast period come with regularity from the press. The discovery of new documents and their interpretation has made Latin a vital and living language among scholars, as well as among those training as Roman Catholic clergy. Yet newer scholarship has destroyed older certainties, and we are far, indeed, from the simplicities in political theory of a nineteenth century writer like Paul Janet. For the medieval Papacy is our modern one and the modern Papacy is medieval, so great is the continuity of idea and institution in Western history. One is reminded of Macaulay's description of the Papacy as the oldest and most venerable of institutions among men.

This book has its origin in a study by Professor Wilks of Augustinus Triumphus who completed his enormous *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* in 1326. It was a time of political disturbance and of intellectual creativeness. The effort of scholars was to integrate the philosophy of St. Thomas in the discussion of the issues of Empire, Church, law, and society in the fourteenth century. Wilks builds his work around Augustinus Triumphus, and this leads him to discuss the hierocratic interpreters of papal *plenitudo potestatis*, as well as the defenders of imperial power, and of royal authority in the independent kingdoms of the time. In a volume of such length, the author has space to investigate the many variations of theme on the problem of the authority of the Church, or the Pope, or the Cardinals, or just the Bishops in their dioceses. If the late John XXIII spoke to all men of good will in *Pacem in Terris*, the authority to speak in such a manner would arise from some conception of the *plenitudo potestatis*, the supreme spiritual authority which would have indirect temporal consequences. But today perhaps none would assert, as say Aegidius Romanus, that society is a universal Church, with two aspects, the spiritual and the temporal. For he said (*De ecclesiastica potestate*, L. II, c. xiv): "Quod cum

duo gladii sint in ecclesia, quinque de causis gladius inferior non superfluit propter superiorem, sed hii duo gladii decorant et ornant ecclesiam militantem."

Wilks speaks of three main schools. There were those who continued in the fourteenth century to wish for the omnipotence of a divinely constituted ruler, the Pope, who is the *verus imperator* of a society that is a Church, *i.e.*, both state and Christian order. Alternatively, there were those who sought power in the community in all things, including the faith that lay in the custody of the *congregatio fidelium*. But between them in increasing numbers were Aquinas and his followers, who sought to formulate the ideal of a ruler who is both absolute and limited at the same time. "By the second quarter of the fourteenth century this latter but inadequate theory has gained the field, and writers like Augustinus Triumphus and Marsilius of Padua, the exponents of sovereignty papal and popular, are left as lonely and isolated giants on the fringes of the main body of late medieval political thinkers" (p. 16). Or, one might say "divine realities need not be questioned, but it was unnecessary to make the political community into a Church and nothing else" (p. 527).

While the notable contribution of this volume is the sustained analysis of those who supported a hierocratic or papal *summa potestas*, the tracing of the impact of Thomistic argument is of hardly less significance. It was Thomas who proposed the way to the modern world. For Thomas' *via media*

may be called a return to the principle of Gelasian Dualism, which stated the Christian Order in part in terms of the Classical Order of the state. Moreover, the treatment of the Thomistic theory of law is of singular value, because of the examination of casual or emergency jurisdiction, in which there is an exception to the enforcement of the law or to certain of its provisions. (Wilks' index notes the numerous discussions of this issue, but see especially pp. 209ff.)

It has been said that arguments are never won (though they should be won or lost), but prudentially issues simply cease to be of interest. Thus, in one sense the questions of power raised in the later Middle Ages were never answered. They simply became irrelevant in a newer age. As the dialectic of Reformation and Counter-Reformation were one thing, so the issues of today are different. The present Vatican Council is not merely a continuation of the debates of the Council of Trent. And curiously the *magisterium* of the Bishop of Rome has sponsored statements that are listened to with the respect that might be accorded an Innocent III more than a John XXII, or a Paul V in his battle with James I over his degrading oath of allegiance.

We are indebted to Professor Wilks for his notable contribution to our modern knowledge of the Middle Ages. His bibliographical and biographical materials are invaluable to the specialist in political theory.—FRANCIS G. WILSON, *University of Illinois*.

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