Commemorating Sixty Years

of preserving, restoring, and developing individual liberty through investigation, research, and educational activity.
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About Liberty Fund

Liberty Fund, Inc., is a private educational foundation established to encourage the study of the ideal of a society of free and responsible individuals.

Liberty Fund develops, supervises, and finances its own educational activities to foster thought and encourage discourse on enduring issues pertaining to liberty.

These programs focus on the place individual liberty has in an intellectual heritage evident from ancient times and continuing through our own times. The programs are intended to enrich understanding and appreciation of the complex nature of a society of free and responsible individuals and to contribute to its preservation.

As a tax-exempt, private operating foundation, Liberty Fund’s purposes are educational and intellectual. Liberty Fund does not, therefore, engage in politics or political action of any kind. Liberty Fund fulfills its mission by conducting programs, not by awarding grants to outside organizations or individuals.

Liberty Fund activities are concentrated in three areas:

BOOKS Liberty Fund has published over 400 titles for scholars, students, and general readers since its first publication, *Education in a Free Society*, appeared in 1973. Most titles explore some aspect of the interrelationship of liberty and responsibility in individual life, society, and governance.

Our print and ebooks are edited and translated by world-renowned scholars who bring to the task the expertise these works deserve. Introductions and forewords provide noninterpretive context, annotations, bibliographies, and other supplementary apparatus that further support the text. Printed books are designed and manufactured according to the highest standards of book production—all Liberty Fund books, both hardcover and paperback, are printed on acid-free paper and are bound with sewn signatures, making them invaluable, lasting additions to any library.

CONFERENCES Each year, Liberty Fund conducts over 150 conferences throughout the United States, Canada, Latin America, and Europe.

WEB Liberty Fund’s online educational resources offer libraries, blogs, podcasts, forums, discussions, and a variety of content to encourage a dialogue of ideas pertaining to liberty.

- Online Library of Liberty (OLL) (oll.libertyfund.org)
- Econlib (econlib.org)
- Law & Liberty (lawliberty.org)
- AdamSmithWorks (adamsmithworks.org)

Cover art: The year 2020 marks Liberty Fund’s 60th anniversary since its founding in 1960, and our catalog cover features a few of the more than 400 titles we publish. Great books are the repository of knowledge and experience, and Liberty Fund seeks to preserve the wisdom and learning of the ages by publishing books of enduring value.

The cuneiform inscription that serves as Liberty Fund’s logo and as a design element in our books is the earliest-known written appearance of the word “freedom” (amagi), or “liberty.” It is taken from a clay document written about 2300 B.C. in the Sumerian city-state of Lagash.
On Executive Power in Great States
By Jacques Necker
Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Aurelian Craiutu

Jacques Necker (1732–1804) was a Swiss statesman and financier who played a crucial role in French political life from 1776 to 1789. Born in Geneva, he was a devout Protestant who amassed considerable wealth as a successful banker. In October 1776, he was appointed as director of the Royal Treasury and, later, in June 1777, as director general of finances of France under Louis XVI. While in charge of the finances of the kingdom, his most famous decision, in 1781, was to make public the budget of France for the first time, a novel practice in an absolute monarchy.

His work On Executive Power in Great States (1792) is arguably one of the most important texts ever written on the issue of executive power in modern society. It includes memorable formulations regarding liberty and public spirit among the English and the Americans, the relation between economic prosperity and political freedom, and the seminal influence of religion and morals on liberty. Necker provides a defense of representative government and offers an examination of the French political system, which he compares on several occasions with England and America. Before Tocqueville, Necker understood the importance of America for the Old World as the first successful example of popular self-government and free institutions.

In his book, Necker called upon French legislators to study the principles of the U.S. Constitution. His bold innovation was to replace the theory of the functional separation of powers with the “intertwining of powers” that were dependent upon the existence of effective links between the executive and the legislative. In the absence of such links, Necker maintained, “all would be contest and confusion.” Necker’s fundamental premise was that it would be impossible to establish effective cooperation between different powers solely through the exercise of constant watchfulness and mutual distrust.

Although Necker was one of the most important politicians in France before and during the French Revolution, he has been largely ignored as a political thinker. This is the first modern edition of Necker’s important work, shedding fresh light on the timely topics of executive power, constitutionalism and the rule of law, federalism, balance of power, and the dependence of liberty on morality and religion. Professor Aurelian Craiutu significantly revised and corrected the 1792 English translation and added explanatory notes, an introduction, and a select bibliography.

Aurelian Craiutu is Professor of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington. An expert on French political thought, he is the author of Faces of Moderation: The Art of Balance in an Age of Extremes and the editor of several works, including Germaine de Staël’s Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution, also published by Liberty Fund.

Arguably one of the most important texts ever written on the issue of executive power in modern society.
Writings on Standing Armies
Edited, Selected, and with an Introduction by David Womersley

The questions of where to locate, in whose hands to place, and how to exercise the state’s powers of deadly military force inform a perennial topic in political theory and coalesce into a recurrent problem in political practice. Liberty Fund presents Writings on Standing Armies, a newly collected, authoritative edition of the most important pamphlets on the “standing armies” controversy of 1697–98. In addition, these writings express a subtext that is of equal and enduring importance: the transforming effects exerted by the prolonged possession of power on individuals and administrations.

Whether arms should be entrusted to a standing army or reserved to a citizen militia is a central theme in a political tradition that descends from Machiavelli. Part of the popular grievance against James II in the years leading up to the Glorious Revolution had been suspicion of his maintenance of troops in time of peace, because it was feared this might be used as an instrument of absolutism. Therefore, when the Bill of Rights was drawn up in 1689, one of the articles explicitly addressed this concern, specifying “the raising and keeping a Standing Army, within this Kingdom, in time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament” as one of James II’s transgressions against his people, and consequently declared that “the raising or keeping a Standing Army within this Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.” However, in the 1690s, William III had steadily increased the number of his troops until, by 1696, it exceeded the number maintained by James II. The crisis split the Whigs into those determined to stand by the principle of opposition to standing armies versus those content to modify principles for the practical exigencies of government.

David Womersley’s introduction situates these texts in the European debate about standing armies and places them in the narrower context of the specifically English altercations on the subject during the reigns of William III, George I, and George II.

David Womersley is the Thomas Warton Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford. He has published widely on English literature from the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. He is the editor of Jonathan Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels (2012) for Cambridge University Press.

Should arms be entrusted to a standing army or reserved to a citizen militia?
The Isle of Pines and Plato Redivivus
By Henry Neville
Edited and with an Introduction by David Womersley

Henry Neville (1620–1694), writes David Womersley in his Introduction, was “an experienced political actor who united a practitioner’s sense of possibility with literary flair and imagination as he struggled to achieve headway for his republican commitments in the deceptive waters of late Stuart monarchy.”

Educated at Oxford, Neville made an extended visit to Italy in 1643–44, where he formed long-standing connections in Florence and studied the institutions of republican Venice. In 1649 he entered the House of Commons with the support of Algernon Sidney (who was his second cousin). Over the next few years, Neville wrote pamphlets against the usurpation of the army and the threat of Cromwellian dictatorship, and as the Restoration approached, he was a leading member of James Harrington’s Rota Club.

In late 1667 or early 1668, after he had returned to England from a second trip to Italy, Neville wrote the two works on which his reputation now rests. The Isle of Pines (1668) is at initial glance a slight, even salacious, shipwreck fantasy in which a fictional Elizabethan castaway, George Pines, and four female co-survivors populate a luxuriant tropical island with a thriving community that numbers, after two generations, almost two thousand. Like Harrington before him, Neville plays with the island trope and flirts with political implication, although it is unclear quite how serious and profound these implications are intended to be.

Neville pursues similar republican themes more fully and directly in his major work of 1680, Plato Redivivus. Often read as a moderate adaptation of Harringtonian principles to the realities of a monarchical system that was now again entrenched, the treatise is notable for its insistence on kingship as a trust from the people, on the duty of kings to relegate their own interests beneath those of their subjects, and on constitutional sanctions such as annual parliaments as necessary checks on royal power. “Mixed monarchy” and “limited monarchy” are emphatic terms throughout the work. However, Neville’s critique of late Stuart monarchy relies more on the kind of cosmopolitan republicanism to which he had been exposed in his Italian travels than it does on more familiar home-grown concepts such as ancient constitutionalism.

The only scholarly edition of Henry Neville’s most important writings, the Liberty Fund edition is constructed on a solid textual foundation, offering for the first time a thorough annotation of both texts.

David Womersley is the Thomas Warton Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford. He has published widely on English literature from the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. He is the editor of Jonathan Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels (2012) for Cambridge University Press.
The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith
By Adam Smith

Now complete in seven titles/eight volumes, this series is the first uniform collection of Adam Smith’s writings. The Glasgow edition is published in hardcover by Oxford University Press. The paperback edition is published by Liberty Fund.

The Wealth of Nations
The Theory of Moral Sentiments
Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres
Lectures on Jurisprudence
Essays on Philosophical Subjects
Correspondence of Adam Smith
Index to the Works of Adam Smith

Adam Smith (1723–1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of The Wealth of Nations.

He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment and is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought.

An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations
By Adam Smith
Edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner
William B. Todd, Textual Editor

First published in 1776, the year in which the American Revolution officially began, Smith’s Wealth of Nations sparked a revolution of its own. In it Smith analyzes the major elements of political economy, from market pricing and the division of labor to monetary, tax, trade, and other government policies that affect economic behavior. Throughout he offers seminal arguments for free trade, free markets, and limited government.

Criticizing mercantilists who sought to use the state to increase their nations’ supply of precious metals, Smith points out that a nation’s wealth should be measured by the well-being of its people. Prosperity in turn requires voluntary exchange of goods in a peaceful, well-ordered market. How to establish and maintain such markets? For Smith the answer lay in man’s social instincts, which government may encourage by upholding social standards of decency, honesty, and virtue, but which government undermines when it unduly interferes with the intrinsically private functions of production and exchange.
The Theory of Moral Sentiments
By Adam Smith
Edited by D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie

The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Smith’s first and in his own mind most important work, outlines his view of proper conduct and the institutions and sentiments that make men virtuous. Here he develops his doctrine of the impartial spectator, whose hypothetical disinterested judgment we must use to distinguish right from wrong in any given situation. We by nature pursue our self-interest, according to Smith. This makes independence or self-command an instinctive good, and neutral rules as difficult to craft as they are necessary. But society is not held together merely by neutral rules; it is held together by sympathy. Smith argues that we naturally share the emotions and to a certain extent the physical sensations we witness in others. Sharing the sensations of our fellows, we seek to maximize their pleasures and minimize their pains so that we may share in their joys and enjoy their expressions of affection and approval.

Essays on Philosophical Subjects
By Adam Smith
Edited by W. P. D. Wightman and J. C. Bryce

Reflecting Adam Smith’s wide learning and varied interests, these essays shed considerable light on his place in the Scottish Enlightenment. Included are histories of astronomy, ancient logic, and ancient physics; essays on the “imitative” arts and the affinity between music, dancing, and poetry; and a critical review of Samuel Johnson’s famous Dictionary, which Smith originally published in the Edinburgh Review (1755–1756).

Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres
By Adam Smith
Edited by J. C. Bryce

The “Notes of Dr. Smith’s Rhetorick Lectures,” discovered in 1958 by a University of Aberdeen professor, consists of lecture notes taken by two of Smith’s students at the University of Glasgow in 1762–1763. There are thirty lectures in the collection, all on rhetoric and the different kinds or characteristics of style.

The book is divided into “an examination of the several ways of communicating our thoughts by speech” and “an attention to the principles of those literary compositions which contribute to persuasion or entertainment.” The species of communication discussed include descriptive and narrative (or historical) composition, poetry, demonstrative oratory, panegyric, didactic or scientific language, deliberative oratory, and judicial or forensic oratory.

The subjects addressed in his teachings include the style and genius of some of the best of the ancient writers and poets, especially the historians and the English classics.
Lectures on Jurisprudence
By Adam Smith
Edited by R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael, and P. G. Stein

Smith's Lectures on Jurisprudence, originally delivered at the University of Glasgow in 1762–1763, presents his “theory of the rules by which civil government ought to be directed.” The chief purpose of government, according to Smith, is to preserve justice; and “the object of justice is security from injury.” The state must protect the individual’s right to his person, property, reputation, and social relations.

Building on his Theory of Moral Sentiments, Smith argues that the state must act as an impartial spectator, judging when an individual has been injured. The state must then design and apply civil and criminal laws to prevent further injuries and punish transgressors. Laws are also the means by which the state promotes public prosperity. Thus, regulations concerning trade, commerce, and production must be crafted so as to encourage rather than interfere with our productive capacities.

Correspondence of Adam Smith
By Adam Smith
Edited by E. C. Mossner and I. S. Ross

This volume offers an engaging portrait of Smith through more than four hundred letters; also included are appendixes with Smith’s thoughts on the “Contest with America” and a collection of letters from Jeremy Bentham.

Index to the Works of Adam Smith
Compiled by Knud Haakonssen and Andrew S. Skinner

This comprehensive Index to the Works of Adam Smith gives students and researchers in all fields a single, unified source for locating Adam Smith’s many contributions to such diverse fields as economics, morality, philosophy, and law.

The easy-to-use index helps students, readers, and researchers trace their topics of interest through all of Adam Smith’s work. The index covers The Wealth of Nations, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Essays on Philosophical Subjects, Lectures on Jurisprudence, and Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.
Early Economic Thought in Spain, 1177–1740
By Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, clerics gave lectures at the University of Salamanca on such topics as the varying purchasing power of money, the morality of money, and how price is determined. While she was teaching at the London School of Economics, Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson was urged to investigate early records of these lectures. Her study of the manuscript notes of these then-obscure lectures led to her interest in the development of economic ideas in early Spain and their subsequent influence on the rest of Western Europe.

In the first part of the book, “The Middle Ages,” Grice-Hutchinson shows how the primary documents illuminate how the Christian, Jewish, and Islamic cultures that coexisted in the Spain of the time contributed to the making of modern Spain, especially with their doctrines about usury and business practices. She explores how scholars from all three of these cultures helped disseminate the economic teachings of Plato and Aristotle throughout Europe.

In “The Age of Mercantilism,” the second part of Early Economic Thought in Spain, Grice-Hutchinson examines the reasons and intellectual precedents for the economic decline of Spain from the middle of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Among other contributing factors, she cites government overexpenditure, wage and price controls, high taxation, and currency debasement. In the chapter on the School of Salamanca, she documents the influence the early Spanish writers had on later political economic theory, particularly in regard to the utility theory of value, a medieval concept successfully applied to contemporary events. The ideas of the Spanish scholastics influenced the work of Pufendorf, Locke, and Hutcheson, and the economic thinking of Condillac, Turgot, and Say. Nor are these ideas without relevance to our own times, for, as Grice-Hutchinson says in the Foreword, “Before we form our own opinion we should do well to listen to the old Spanish economists, who were often shrewd observers and who felt the effects of the inflation at first hand.”

Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson taught Spanish at King’s College, London, was head of the Spanish department and lecturer in Spanish at Birkbeck College, London University, and taught at the London School of Economics, where she received her Ph.D. on the monetary theory of the School of Salamanca under the supervision of F. A. Hayek.

“Before we form our own opinion we should do well to listen to the old Spanish economists, who were often shrewd observers and who felt the effects of the inflation at first hand.”
—Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson
Socialism and War

**Essays, Documents, Reviews**

By F. A. Hayek

Edited by Bruce Caldwell

In the essays in this volume Hayek contributed to economic knowledge in the context of socialism and war, while providing an intellectual defense of a free society. The connection between the two topics is illuminated through essays containing some of Hayek’s contributions to the socialist-calculation debate, writings pertaining to war, and the cult of scientific economic planning from the late 1930s and 1940s.

**F. A. Hayek** (1899–1992), recipient of the Medal of Freedom in 1991 and co-winner of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1974, was a pioneer in monetary theory and one of the principal proponents of classical liberal thought in the twentieth century. He taught at the London School of Economics, the University of Chicago, and the University of Freiburg.

**Bruce Caldwell** is Research Professor of Economics and the Director of the Center for the History of Political Economy at Duke University. He is the current general editor of The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek.

The Pure Theory of Capital

By F. A. Hayek

Edited by Lawrence H. White

First published in 1941, *The Pure Theory of Capital* has long been overlooked. This volume offers a detailed account of the equilibrium relationships between inputs and outputs in a time-filled economy. Hayek’s stated objective was to make capital theory—which had previously been devoted almost entirely to the explanation of interest rates—“useful for the analysis of the monetary phenomena of the real world.” His ambitious goal was nothing less than to develop a capital theory that could be fully integrated into business cycle theory. Hayek’s manifesto of capital theory is now available again for today’s students and economists to discover.

**Lawrence H. White** is Professor of Economics at George Mason University.
Contra Keynes and Cambridge

*Essays, Correspondence*

By F. A. Hayek
Edited by Bruce Caldwell

*Contra Keynes and Cambridge* is composed of three parts: Part I consists of two essays, the first being a recollection by Hayek of his time at the London School of Economics in the 1930s, followed by his contribution to an early debate about the paradox of saving; Part II reprints the full debates between Hayek and Keynes in *Economica* in the early 1930s, and Hayek’s exchanges with Sraffa that followed; Part III includes some of Hayek’s reminiscences on Keynes. F. A. Hayek challenged one of the world’s leading economists, John Maynard Keynes, and his economic theories, which sparked a spirited debate that has influenced economic policy in democratic countries for decades.

F. A. Hayek (1899–1992), recipient of the Medal of Freedom in 1991 and co-winner of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1974, was a pioneer in monetary theory and one of the principal proponents of classical liberal thought in the twentieth century.

The Fortunes of Liberalism

*Essays on Austrian Economics and the Ideal of Freedom*

By F. A. Hayek
Edited by Peter G. Klein

In this collection of essays, some of which appear here in English for the first time, F. A. Hayek traces his intellectual roots to the Austrian School. *The Fortunes of Liberalism: Essays on Austrian Economics and the Ideal of Freedom* also links the Austrian School to the modern rebirth of classical liberal thought.

Peter G. Klein is Associate Professor in the Division of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Missouri and Associate Director of the Contracting and Organizations Research Institute. He is also Adjunct Professor at the Olin School of Business.

Hayek on Hayek

*An Autobiographical Dialogue*

By F. A. Hayek
Edited by Stephen Kresge and Leif Wenar

This volume gives readers insight into F. A. Hayek’s life and ideas. This detailed chronology depicts Hayek’s early life and education, his intellectual progress, and the academic and public reception of his ideas through a series of oral history interviews. Hayek’s own autobiographical notes are included.

Stephen Kresge was the general editor of The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek until his retirement in 2002.

Leif Wenar is Chair of Ethics at King’s College London.
Business Cycles, Part I and Business Cycles, Part II

By F. A. Hayek
Edited by Hansjoerg Klausinger

In the years following its publication, F. A. Hayek’s pioneering work on business cycles was regarded as an important challenge to what later became known as Keynesian macroeconomics. Today, as debates rage on over the monetary origins of the current economic and financial crisis, economists are once again paying heed to Hayek’s thoughts on the repercussions of excessive central bank interventions.

Business Cycles, Part I and Business Cycles, Part II bring together Hayek’s work on what causes periods of boom and bust in the economy. Moving away from the classical emphasis on equilibrium, Hayek demonstrates that business cycles are generated by the adaptation of the structure of production to changes in relative demand. Thus, when central banks artificially lower interest rates, the result is a misallocation of capital and the creation of asset bubbles and additional instability. Part I contains his two major monographs on the topic: Monetary Theory and the Trade Cycle and Prices and Production. Part II assembles twelve of his shorter papers on the topic, covering a period from the 1920s to 1981 and revealing the evolution of Hayek’s thought.

In addition to bringing together Hayek’s work on business cycles, these two volumes also include extensive introductions by Hansjoerg Klausinger, placing the writings in intellectual context, including their reception and the theoretical debates to which they contributed.

Good Money, Part I

The New World

By F. A. Hayek
Edited by Stephen Kresge

Hayek’s deep interest in the concept of money and its role within the economy is developed in Good Money, Part I. Consisting of seven of Hayek’s most significant monetary writings from the 1920s, this collection focuses on his critique of the idea that price stabilization is consistent with the stabilization of foreign exchange.

Stephen Kresge was the general editor of The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek until his retirement in 2002.

Good Money, Part II

The Standard

By F. A. Hayek
Edited by Stephen Kresge

This complementary volume provides five additional essays to expand our understanding of Hayek’s ideas about money and monetary policy. Good Money, Part II: The Standard investigates the consequences of the “predicament of composition” which led to one of Hayek’s most controversial proposals: that governments should be denied a monopoly on the coining of money.

F. A. Hayek (1899–1992), recipient of the Medal of Freedom in 1991 and co-winner of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1974, was a pioneer in monetary theory and one of the principal proponents of classical liberal thought in the twentieth century.

Hansjoerg Klausinger is Associate Professor in the Department of Economics at WU, Vienna University of Economics and Business.
The Anti-capitalistic Mentality
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

In The Anti-capitalistic Mentality, the respected economist Ludwig von Mises plainly explains the causes of the irrational fear and hatred many intellectuals and others feel for capitalism. In five concise chapters, he traces the causation of the misunderstandings and resultant fears that cause resistance to economic development and social change. He enumerates and rebuts the economic arguments against and the psychological and social objections to economic freedom in the form of capitalism. Written during the heyday of twentieth-century socialism, this work provides the reader with lucid and compelling insights into human reactions to capitalism.

Ludwig von Mises (1881–1973) was the leading spokesman of the Austrian School of economics throughout most of the twentieth century.

Bettina Bien Greaves is a former resident scholar and trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and was a senior staff member at FEE from 1951 to 1999.

Economic Freedom and Interventionism
An Anthology of Articles and Essays
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

Economic Freedom and Interventionism is both a primer of the fundamental thought of Ludwig von Mises and an anthology of the writings of perhaps the best-known exponent of what is now known as the Austrian School of economics. This volume contains forty-seven articles edited by Mises scholar Bettina Bien Greaves. Among them are Mises’s expositions of the role of government, his discussion of inequality of wealth, inflation, socialism, welfare, and economic education, as well as his exploration of the “deeper” significance of economics as it affects seemingly noneconomic relations between human beings. These papers are valuable reading for students of economic freedom and the science of human action.

Bureaucracy
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

Bureaucracy contrasts the two forms of economic management—that of a free-market economy and that of a bureaucracy. In the market economy entrepreneurs are driven to serve consumers by their desire to earn profits and to avoid losses. In a bureaucracy, the managers must comply with orders issued by the legislative body under which they operate; they may not spend without authorization, and they may not deviate from the path prescribed by law.

Economic Policy
Thoughts for Today and Tomorrow
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

Economic Policy contains six lectures Ludwig von Mises delivered in 1959 for the Centro de Estudios sobre la Libertad in Argentina. The lectures were posthumously edited by Mises’s wife, Margit, and George Koether, a student and long-time friend of Mises. This volume serves as an excellent introduction to what Mises sees as the simple truths of history in terms of economic principles. In straightforward language, Mises explains topics such as capitalism, socialism, interventionism, inflation, foreign investment, and economic policies and ideas.
Epistemological Problems of Economics

By Ludwig von Mises
Translated by George Reisman
Edited and with a Foreword by Bettina Bien Greaves

First published in German in 1933 and in English in 1960, *Epistemological Problems of Economics* presents Ludwig von Mises’s views on the logical and epistemological features of social interpretation as well as his argument that the Austrian theory of value is the core element of a general theory of human behavior that transcends traditional limitations of economic science.

This volume is unique among Mises’s works in that it contains a collection of essays in which he contested the theories of intellectuals he respected such as Carl Menger, Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, and Max Weber. Mises describes how value theory applies to human action at all times and places as opposed to economic theory, which applies only to a human action guided by economic calculation.

In a review of *Epistemological Problems of Economics* that was published in *Teacher’s College Record* in 1965, F. A. Hayek stated, “If Professor Mises’s *Human Action* . . . must be regarded as the definitive statement of his views, the distinctive features of his notions of the nature of social science have found their freshest expression in the present series of essays, dating from 1928 to 1933.”

**Ludwig von Mises** (1881–1973) was the leading spokesman of the Austrian School of economics throughout most of the twentieth century.

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Human Action

A Treatise on Economics

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

In *Human Action*, Mises starts from the ideas set forth in his *Theory and History* that all actions and decisions are based on human needs, wants, and desires and continues deeper and further to explain how studying this human action is not only a legitimate science (praxeology) but how that science is based on the foundation of free-market economics.

Mises presents and discusses all existing economic theories and then proceeds to explain how the only sensible, realistic, and feasible theory of economics is one based on how the needs and desires of human beings dictate trends, affect profits and losses, adjust supply and demand, set prices, and otherwise maintain, regulate, and control economic forces.

Interventionism

An Economic Analysis

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

*Interventionism* provides Mises’s analysis of the problems of government interference in business from the Austrian School perspective. Written in 1940, before the United States was officially involved in World War II, this book offers a rare insight into the war economies of Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy. Mises criticizes the pre–World War II democratic governments for favoring socialism and interventionism over capitalist methods of production. Mises contends that government’s economic role should be limited because of the negative political and social consequences of the economic policy of interventionism.
Liberalism

The Classical Tradition

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

This book presents the theoretical and practical arguments for liberalism in the classical tradition as defined by Mises as “the liberal doctrine of the harmony of the rightly understood interests of all members of a free society founded on the principle of private ownership of the means of production.” The foundation of liberalism, Mises says, rests on an understanding and appreciation of private property, social cooperation, the freedom idea, ethics and morality, democracy, and the legitimate role of government. Also in this book, Mises contrasts liberalism with other conceivable systems of social organization such as socialism, communism, and fascism.

Money, Method, and the Market Process

Essays by Ludwig von Mises

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves


In his introduction to the book, Richard Ebeling describes it as a “convenient composite of ‘Misesian economics.’” He says that the essays here touch on “almost every aspect of economic and social theory that Mises considered of paramount importance.

The essays were written from the 1930s to the 1960s, so they serve as a wide sampling of Mises’s thought on a range of subjects, and they are arranged thematically.

Nation, State, and Economy

Contributions to the Politics and History of Our Time

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

Essential to Mises’s concept of a classical liberal economy is the absence of interference by the state. In World War I, Germany and its allies were overpowered by the Allied Powers in population, economic production, and military might, and its defeat was inevitable.

Mises believed that Germany should not seek revenge for the peace of Versailles; rather it should adopt liberal ideas and a free-market economy by expanding the international division of labor, which would help all parties. “For us and for humanity,” Mises wrote, “there is only one salvation: return to rationalistic liberalism.”

Ludwig von Mises (1881–1973) was the leading spokesman of the Austrian School of economics throughout most of the twentieth century.

Bettina Bien Greaves is a former resident scholar and trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and was a senior staff member at FEE from 1951 to 1999.
Notes and Recollections

With The Historical Setting of the Austrian School of Economics

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited and with a Preface by Bettina Bien Greaves

Published for the first time together in one volume is Ludwig von Mises’s Notes and Recollections with The Historical Setting of the Austrian School of Economics.

Written between 1940 and 1941, shortly after he arrived in the United States, Notes and Recollections is in effect Mises’s pre-1940 intellectual autobiography. This work reveals how Mises developed his theories, wrote his books, lectured, and taught; it describes his life in Vienna and the people with whom he worked. He also discusses his activities as an adviser to Austrian government officials and his frustrations in attempting to keep inflation and communist and Nazi ideas from destroying the Austrian economy.

Omnipotent Government

The Rise of the Total State and Total War

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

Published in 1944, during World War II, Omnipotent Government was Mises’s first book written and published after he arrived in the United States. In this volume Mises provides in economic terms an explanation of the international conflicts that caused both world wars. Although written more than half a century ago, Mises’s main theme still stands: government interference in the economy leads to conflicts and wars. According to Mises, the last and best hope for peace is liberalism—the philosophy of liberty, free markets, limited government, and democracy.

On the Manipulation of Money and Credit

Three Treatises on Trade-Cycle Theory

By Ludwig von Mises
Translated and with a Foreword by Bettina Bien Greaves
Edited by Percy L. Greaves, Jr.

The three treatises in On the Manipulation of Money and Credit were written in German between 1923 and 1931. Together they include some of Mises’s most important contributions to monetary and trade-cycle theories and constitute a precursor to Mises’s major work, Human Action.
Planning for Freedom

*Let the Market System Work: A Collection of Essays and Addresses*

By Ludwig von Mises  
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

In this anthology, Mises offers an articulate and accessible introduction to and critique of two topics he considers especially important: inflation and government interventionism. Mises believes inflation, that is monetary expansion, is destructive; it destroys savings and investment, which are the basis for production and prosperity. Government controls and economic planning never accomplish what their proponents intend. Mises consistently argues that the solution to government intervention is free markets and free enterprise, which call for reforming government. For that, ideas must be changed to "let the market system work." There is no better "planning for freedom" than this.

The seventeen essays in *Planning for Freedom: Let the Market System Work* are tied together by one overarching idea, best expressed by Mises in the capstone essay "Profit and Loss." The essays in the final section of the book summarize Mises's contributions to economic thought and emphasize his firm belief in the power of ideas.

Ludwig von Mises (1881–1973) was the leading spokesman of the Austrian School of economics throughout most of the twentieth century.

Bettina Bien Greaves is a former resident scholar and trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and was a senior staff member at FEE from 1951 to 1999.

Socialism

*An Economic and Sociological Analysis*

By Ludwig von Mises  
Translated by J. Kahane  
Foreword by F. A. Hayek

More than thirty years ago F. A. Hayek said of *Socialism*: "It was a work on political economy in the tradition of the great moral philosophers, a Montesquieu or Adam Smith, containing both acute knowledge and profound wisdom. . . . To none of us young men who read the book when it appeared was the world ever the same again." This is a newly annotated edition of the classic first published in German in 1922. It is the definitive refutation of nearly every type of socialism ever devised. Mises presents a wide-ranging analysis of society, comparing the results of socialist planning with those of free-market capitalism in all areas of life.

This title is available as an ebook for purchase on Amazon and Barnes and Noble.
**Theory and History**

*An Interpretation of Social and Economic Evolution*

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

*Theory and History* is primarily a critique of Karl Marx, his materialism, and his prediction of the inevitability of socialism. Marx attributes the creation of tools and machines, as well as the economic structure of society, to undefined “material productive forces.” Mises rejects this materialistic view; he points out that tools and machines are actually created by individuals acting on the basis of non-materialistic ideas.

This book discusses the theory of economics, i.e., the study of purposive human action, and history, the record of the past actions of individuals.

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**The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science**

*An Essay on Method*

By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

In this volume, Mises argued that economics is a science because human action is a natural order of life and that it is the actions of humans that determine markets and capital decisions. Since Mises believed these links could be proven scientifically, he concluded that economics, with its basis on that human action, is indeed a science in its own right and not an ideology or a metaphysical doctrine.

Ludwig von Mises (1881–1973) was the leading spokesman of the Austrian School of economics throughout most of the twentieth century.

Bettina Bien Greaves is a former resident scholar and trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and was a senior staff member at FEE from 1951 to 1999.

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**The Theory of Money and Credit**

By Ludwig von Mises

Introduction by Lionel Robbins

Foreword by Murray N. Rothbard

*The Theory of Money and Credit* integrated monetary theory into the main body of economic analysis for the first time, providing fresh, new insights into the nature of money and its role in the economy and bringing Mises into the front rank of European economists.

*The Theory of Money and Credit* also presented a new monetary theory of the trade cycle, which, under further development by Mises’s student Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek, came to challenge all previous trade-cycle theories.
Monetary and Economic Policy Problems Before, During, and After the Great War
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Richard Ebeling

The present volume is devoted to some of Mises’s earliest writings. As with the second volume in the series, the articles that compose this book include Mises’s policy memoranda, essays, and speeches that were found in a formerly secret KGB archive in Moscow. The articles have two primary focuses: First, they reveal Mises’s thoughts on the monetary, fiscal, and general economic policy problems of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before and during World War I; and second, they focus on his thoughts on the new postwar Austrian Republic after the dismantling of the Habsburg monarchy.

An appendix to the volume includes a curriculum vitae that Mises’s great-grandfather prepared for the Habsburg emperor in 1881 as part of his ennoblement, which gave him and his heirs the hereditary title of “Edler von.” Also included is a talk that Mises delivered at his private seminar in his office at the Vienna Chamber of Commerce in the spring of 1934 on the topic of the methodology of the social sciences.

Ludwig von Mises (1881–1973) was the leading spokesman of the Austrian School of economics throughout most of the twentieth century.

Richard Ebeling is Professor of Economics at Northwood University.

Between the Two World Wars
Monetary Disorder, Interventionism, Socialism, and the Great Depression
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Richard Ebeling

In 1934, Ludwig von Mises left his native Austria in fear of the Nazis, who seized all his papers in 1938 in Vienna and, Mises thought, destroyed them, but the papers were not destroyed. In 1996, Richard and Anna Ebeling discovered the papers in an archive in Moscow. This volume from Liberty Fund represents a treasure trove of important essays.

The Political Economy of International Reform and Reconstruction
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Richard Ebeling

After he fled Austria, Ludwig von Mises arrived in the United States and continued to write essays on economics. Among those included in this volume are:

- Guiding Principles for the Reconstruction of Austria (1940)
- An Eastern Democratic Union: A Proposal for the Establishment of a Durable Peace in Eastern Europe (1943)
- Aspects of American Foreign Trade Policy (1943)
- Mexico’s Economic Problems (1943)
- The Main Issues in Present-Day Monetary Controversies (1944)
- A Noninflationary Proposal for Post-War Monetary Reconstruction (1944)
The Economic Point of View

By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

The inaugural volume in Liberty Fund’s new Collected Works of Israel M. Kirzner series established Kirzner as a careful and meticulous scholar of economics. No other living economist is so closely associated with the Austrian School of economics as Israel M. Kirzner, professor emeritus of Economics at New York University. He has been a leader of the generation of Austrian School economists following Ludwig von Mises and F. A. Hayek.

In this work, Kirzner explains how the “economic point of view” emerged in the development of economic science since the eighteenth century and through it, the concepts of purpose, subjectivism, and rationality. Kirzner’s incomparable ability to navigate through the core ideas of economics helps the reader become progressively familiar with the history of the discipline and its definition.

Within the seven chapters, Kirzner discusses such subjects as the science of wealth and welfare; the nature of economic science and the significance of macroeconomics; and the sciences as human action.

Israel M. Kirzner is a leading economist in the Austrian School and Emeritus Professor of economics at New York University.

Peter J. Boettke is University Professor of Economics and Philosophy at George Mason University and the BB&T Professor for the Study of Capitalism at the Mercatus Center.

Frédéric Sautet is a visiting associate professor of economics at the Catholic University of America. Previously, he has taught at George Mason University, New York University, and the University of Paris Dauphine.

Market Theory and the Price System

By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

The second volume in Liberty Fund’s Collected Works of Israel M. Kirzner series, Market Theory and the Price System was published in 1963 as Kirzner’s first (and only) textbook. This volume presents an integrated view of Austrian price theory. The basic aim of Market Theory is to utilize the tools of economic reasoning to explain the market process. The unique framework Kirzner develops for microeconomic analysis, following Mises and Hayek, examines errors in decision-making, entrepreneurial profit, and competition as a process of discovery and learning.

Essays on Capital and Interest

An Austrian Perspective

By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

Essays on Capital and Interest presents a collection of writings on capital theory that serve both as a discourse in the history of economic thought and as conceptual clarification in one of the most complex subjects in economics.
**Competition and Entrepreneurship**
By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

*Competition and Entrepreneurship* defines Israel M. Kirzner’s unique contribution to the economics profession. Pointing out the shortcomings of the traditional microeconomic model, Kirzner offers an alternative and complementary view, which illuminates and enriches the way economists think of the market process. Kirzner develops a theory of the market process that focuses on the role of the pure entrepreneurial element in human action.

**Discovery, Capitalism, and Distributive Justice**
By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

*Discovery, Capitalism, and Distributive Justice* makes Kirzner’s case for the idea that entrepreneurial profit is both essential for an economy and profoundly just. Asserting that the problem with standard criticism of capitalist income distribution is a failure to see capitalism as a “discovery procedure,” Kirzner argues that production and subsequent profit are neither automatic nor guaranteed.

This important contribution to the larger debate of the capitalist system clarifies core economic issues, so that the positive science of economics can enlighten our understanding of justice in capitalist distribution. Successful production always results from the discovery of an opportunity to obtain new gains from trade, i.e., the discovery of entrepreneurial profit. Kirzner shows that profit is the just and fair possession of its discoverer. This is what he calls the “finders-keepers” rule: “The finders-keepers rule asserts that an unowned object becomes the justly owned property of the first person who, discovering its availability and its potential value, takes possession of it.”

Richard Ebeling reviewed the work in 1989, saying, “the heart of Professor Kirzner’s argument is that every discovery of a new opportunity is the appropriation of that which had not existed before a human mind had seen the potential in that object.” Kirzner’s monograph is complemented here by three important articles on the subject of economic justice, a critique of Kirzner’s theory, and a reply from Kirzner to that critique.
Competition, Economic Planning, and the Knowledge Problem

By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

*Competition, Economic Planning, and the Knowledge Problem* expands on the ideas Kirzner first discussed in *Competition and Entrepreneurship*—the role of the entrepreneur and its relation to the determination of prices and the coordination of individuals’ plans—as well as economic planning, the knowledge problem, market-process theory, and the parts played by information, knowledge, and advertising. It includes a paper on F. A. Hayek’s theory of market coordination and the Austrian business-cycle theory—seen now for the first time in its original English.

As a whole, the volume expresses Kirzner’s understanding that economics cannot be separated from its human element. Competition is a rivalrous process of entrepreneurial activity in which individuals and firms discover, innovate, and outdo each other. Kirzner discusses why this dynamic view of the economy is so important to understand, particularly in the contexts of economic planning and the workings of competitive markets.

Over the course of this book’s nineteen articles and one monograph, Kirzner also stresses another point: though knowledge is present in all economic interaction, it is also dispersed in the economy such that no individual mind can ever centralize it all. This “knowledge problem” implies, as Mises and Hayek have argued, the impossibility of central planning. Kirzner’s contribution is to show that, ultimately, it is only the free, competitive entrepreneurial process that can overcome this problem through generation of knowledge that enables the most efficient allocation of scarce resources.

Israel M. Kirzner is a leading economist in the Austrian School and Professor Emeritus of Economics at New York University.

The Essence of Entrepreneurship and the Nature and Significance of Market Process

By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

*The Essence of Entrepreneurship and the Nature and Significance of Market Process* is a continuation of the discourse started in Kirzner’s earlier work, *Competition and Entrepreneurship*, expanding upon his ideas about entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial alertness. Essence presents most of the detailed research Kirzner has done on the nature of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneurial process in the decades following the publication of his magnum opus. It is during that long period that Kirzner elaborated his approach further, responding to objections and critics, and offering the world a more systematic understanding of the concept of market process.

In the words of the volume editors and in contrast with traditional microeconomics, “Kirzner’s view of the entrepreneurial function in the market process consists primarily in liberating human choice from its deterministic structure by introducing alertness. Alertness to unexploited gains from trade sets the market process in motion.”

In addition to Kirzner’s essays, *Essence* contains several critiques of Kirzner’s work centered on the topics of entrepreneurship, market process, and supply and demand. Kirzner’s response to each of these critiques shows that he welcomes criticism as an opportunity to “crystallize and sharpen” the difference between the normative views he espouses and contemporary economic theory. The painstaking precision with which Kirzner defends his position shows why his work has become such a staple of Austrian economic thought.
Reflections on Ethics, Freedom, Welfare Economics, Policy, and the Legacy of Austrian Economics

By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

Reflections on Ethics, Freedom, Welfare Economics, Policy, and the Legacy of Austrian Economics comprises a variety of Kirzner’s essays on social thought. Kirzner’s intellectual interest and theories go beyond market process and entrepreneurship; they encompass several important topics that are vital to the existence of human societies.

Kirzner’s work, at heart, is not prescriptive but analytical. His work is not about casting unsubstantiated judgments on modern economics or spouting a blind return to laissez-faire, instead Kirzner starts with examining how markets function, working from the ground up. From these foundations, he is able to explore a variety of domains, such as the nature of economics, the economics of welfare and policy, and even ethical issues.

In the words of the volume editors, “Kirzner contends that in order to make ethical judgments about a social system, one must first understand the science behind it. In other words, having good knowledge of the principles that govern markets is a prerequisite for ethical statements about them. It is only through a clear grasp of the fundamental concepts of economic science, such as profit, interest, and entrepreneurship, that one can make true statements about welfare economics, the morality of market transactions, and policy issues.”

The tools that Kirzner developed in his work can be applied to many areas of inquiry. From the impact of governmental regulation on the entrepreneurial discovery process to the role of institutions in sustaining prosperity, Kirzner’s work shows that the free market is a necessary element in maintaining social harmony and bringing stability to our constantly changing world.

Ludwig von Mises: The Man and His Economics

By Israel M. Kirzner
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter J. Boettke and Frédéric Sautet

Ludwig von Mises: The Man and His Economics is a collection of Israel M. Kirzner’s work regarding his mentor, including a monograph on Mises and his work as well as several articles detailing how he impacted the world of economics.

Kirzner showcases Mises not only as a man with a “sparkling, fresh, fundamentally new interpretation” of the tenets espoused by the Austrian School of economics, but also as Kirzner’s mentor and academic compatriot. To this end, Kirzner’s essays on Mises elucidate the work of both men and convey Mises’s ideas with unparalleled brilliance.

For Kirzner, Mises is a man with a mission: to reignite economists’ search for truth. It was this mission that led both Mises and Kirzner to champion economic science and its teaching—i.e., the unhampered market and the system of free enterprise—in response to the encroaching philosophical and economic shadow of socialism. As Kirzner put it, “Mises saw the denial of economics as an alarming threat to a free society and to Western civilization. It is economics that is able to demonstrate the social advantages of the unhampered market.”

Peter J. Boettke is University Professor of Economics and Philosophy at George Mason University and the BB&T Professor for the Study of Capitalism at the Mercatus Center. His publications include Living Economics, The Handbook of Contemporary Austrian Economics, and The Elgar Companion to Austrian Economics. He has been the editor of The Review of Austrian Economics since 1998.

Frédéric Sautet is Associate Professor at The Catholic University of America, Tim Busch School of Business and Economics. He is a specialist in Austrian market process theory and teaches entrepreneurship studies. He is the author of An Entrepreneurial Theory of the Firm and has published widely on entrepreneurship.
Economic Sophisms and “What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen”

By Frédéric Bastiat
Jacques de Guenin, General Editor
Dennis O’Keeffe, Translation Editor
Introduction by David M. Hart, Academic Editor

This volume, the third in our Collected Works of Frédéric Bastiat, includes two of Bastiat’s best-known works, the collected Economic Sophisms and the pamphlet What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen. We are publishing here for the first time in English the Third Series of Economic Sophisms, which Bastiat had planned but died before he could complete the project.

Both Economic Sophisms and What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen share similar stylistic features and were written with much the same purpose in mind, to disabuse people of misperceptions they might have had about the benefits of free trade and free markets. Throughout the book, Bastiat’s clever and witty arguments against tariff protection and subsidies to domestic industry are timeless, as governments and vested-interest groups are still advocating the same policies 160 years after Bastiat wrote.

Frédéric Bastiat was born in 1801, and during his short life (he died in Rome, on Christmas Eve, in 1850) he was witness to many historic events, such as the victory of Richard Cobden’s free-trade Anti–Corn Law League in 1846, the rise of socialism, the 1848 Revolution, and the rise of Louis Napoléon to the presidency of the Second Republic. Many of these events affected his ideas and became targets of his writings. In his final work, What Is Seen and What Is Not Seen, completed only months before his death, he provides one of his keenest economic insights, that, although there are obvious beneficial effects of government interventions at first, that is, the “seen,” there are also the “unseen” consequences, for example, in the form of opportunity costs that are ignored but that often have deleterious economic effects. He makes this case most eloquently in the form of a parable in the opening chapter, “The Broken Window.”

To accompany Bastiat’s original works, we have provided detailed and comprehensive explanatory footnotes, glossaries, and appendixes. Bastiat refers to dozens of other writers and politicians and is critical of French government policies regarding taxation, tariffs, and subsidies to business. The glossary of authors and politicians provides detailed information about the individuals Bastiat mentions in his essays, the views they held, the books they published, and the laws that the French state enacted in order to maintain the system of protection and subsidies that Bastiat and the other free-market economists so strenuously opposed. This collection of supplementary material allows us a better understanding of the community of economists and politicians of which Bastiat was a part in the late 1840s.

Jacques de Guenin founded the Cercle Frédéric Bastiat in 1990. He had degrees in science from the University of Paris and from the University of California, Berkeley, and was the author of The Logic of Classical Liberalism.

Dennis O’Keeffe was Professor of Social Science at the University of Buckingham and Senior Research Fellow in Education at the Institute of Economic Affairs, London.

Jean-Claude Paul-Dejean is a Bastiat scholar and a historian at the University of Bordeaux.

David M. Hart has a Ph.D. in history from King’s College, Cambridge, and is the Director of Liberty Fund’s Online Library of Liberty.
“The Law,” “The State,” and Other Political Writings, 1843–1850
By Frédéric Bastiat
Introduction by Pascal Salin
Jacques de Guenin, General Editor
Dennis O’Keeffe, Translation Editor
David M. Hart, Academic Editor

“The Law,” “The State,” and Other Political Writings, 1843–1850, collects nineteen of Bastiat’s “pamphlets,” or articles, ranging from the theory of value and rent, public choice and collective action, government intervention and regulation, the balance of trade, education, and trade unions to price controls, capital and growth, and taxation. Many of these are topics still relevant and debated today.

In addition, this edition also contains footnotes and glossary entries that help explain the political, economic, and intellectual context in which Bastiat lived and worked. Filling gaps on Bastiat and his philosophy, this volume features articles that have never before been translated in English.

Frédéric Bastiat (1801–1850) was one of the leading advocates of free markets and free trade in the mid-nineteenth century.

Pascal Salin is Emeritus Professor of Economics, Paris University, and former president of the Mont Pelerin Society. He is the author of Libéralisme; Français, n’ayez pas peur du libéralisme; and Revenir au capitalisme, pour éviter les crises.

Jacques de Guenin is founder of the Cercle Frédéric Bastiat. He is a graduate of the École des Mines in Paris and holds a Master of Sciences from the University of California, Berkeley.

Dennis O’Keeffe is Professor of Social Science at the University of Buckingham, Buckingham, England, and is Senior Research Fellow in Education at the Institute of Economic Affairs, London.

David M. Hart has a Ph.D. in history from King’s College, Cambridge, and is the Director of Liberty Fund’s Online Library of Liberty.

The Man and the Statesman
The Correspondence and Articles on Politics
By Frédéric Bastiat
Jacques de Guenin, General Editor
Introduction by Jacques de Guenin and Jean-Claude Paul-Dejean
Dennis O’Keeffe, Translation Editor
David M. Hart, Academic Editor

The Man and the Statesman, the first volume in Liberty Fund’s six-volume series, may be considered the most complete edition of Bastiat’s works published to date, in any country, and in any language. The main source for this translation is the seven-volume Œuvres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat, published in the 1850s and 1860s.

The present volume, most of which has never before been translated into English, includes Bastiat’s complete correspondence: 207 letters Bastiat wrote between 1819, when he was only 18 years old, until just a few days before his untimely death in 1850 at the age of 49. For contemporary classical liberals, Bastiat’s correspondence will provide a unique window into a long-forgotten world where opposition to war and colonialism went hand-in-hand with support for free trade and deregulation.

Frédéric Bastiat (1801–1850) was one of the leading advocates of free markets and free trade in the mid-nineteenth century.

Jacques de Guenin is founder of the Cercle Frédéric Bastiat. He is a graduate of the École des Mines in Paris and holds a Master of Sciences from the University of California, Berkeley.

Dennis O’Keeffe is Professor of Social Science at the University of Buckingham, Buckingham, England, and is Senior Research Fellow in Education at the Institute of Economic Affairs, London.

David M. Hart has a Ph.D. in history from King’s College, Cambridge, and is the Director of Liberty Fund’s Online Library of Liberty.
Essay on the Nature of Trade in General
By Richard Cantillon
Edited and with an Introduction by Antoin E. Murphy

The Liberty Fund edition is a modernized translation of Richard Cantillon's Essai sur la nature du commerce en général (1755) with a new introduction by Antoin E. Murphy. In the Essay, Cantillon outlined an extraordinary model-building approach showing how the economy could be built up, through progressive stages, from a command, barter, closed economy to a market economy, which uses money and is open. Though written in the eighteenth century, the Essay has a considerable resonance for a twenty-first-century audience.

Antoin E. Murphy is Emeritus Professor of Economics and Fellow of Trinity College Dublin.

A Treatise on Political Economy
By Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy
Translation by Thomas Jefferson
Edited and with an Introduction by Jeremy Jennings

A Treatise on Political Economy is a foundational text of nineteenth-century, free-market economic thought and remains one of the classics of nineteenth-century French economic liberalism. Destutt de Tracy was one of the founders of the classical liberal republican group known as the Idéologues, which included Jean-Baptiste Say, Marquis de Condorcet, and Pierre Cabanis.

In this volume, Destutt de Tracy argues against the luxurious consumption of the idle rich and recommends a market economy with low taxation and minimum state intervention.

Jeremy Jennings is Professor of Political Theory at Queen Mary, University of London.

Commerce and Government Considered in Their Mutual Relationship
By Etienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac
Translated by Shelagh M. Eltis, with an Introduction by Shelagh M. Eltis and Walter Eltis

French philosopher Abbé de Condillac produced perhaps the most original contributions to eighteenth-century economics. His conclusions as to the desirability of removing barriers to free trade and of competitive market economies mirrored Smith's, published three months later.

Commerce and Government has been called “one of the most sustained defenses of economic liberty in the eighteenth century.” In Condillac’s own words, to eliminate the abuses and injustices of government it is necessary “to give trade full, complete, and permanent freedom.” Shelagh and Walter Eltis, editors of the volume, write, “English language readers who come upon Commerce and Government for the first time will find … that the case for competitive market economics has rarely been presented more powerfully and that there is continuing relevance in Condillac’s account of the difficulties that those who seek to liberalize economies still encounter.”

Shelagh M. Eltis is a historian and graduate of Somerville College, Oxford, U.K.

Walter Eltis is an Emeritus Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Visiting Professor of Economics at the University of Reading, U.K.
The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan

By James M. Buchanan
Forewords by Geoffrey Brennan, Hartmut Kliemt, and Robert D. Tollison

This monumental twenty-volume series presents the writings of James M. Buchanan, one of the great twentieth-century scholars of liberty. Buchanan, the Nobel laureate in Economics in 1986, has much wisdom to offer—not just to academics and economists—but to all who seek to understand the challenges and opportunities of governance in our age.

The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan includes ten monographs and all of the important journal articles, papers, and essays that Buchanan produced in a distinguished career spanning more than half a century. Among the monographs are such famous works as The Calculus of Consent (coauthored by Gordon Tullock) and The Limits of Liberty, as well as Cost and Choice: An Inquiry in Economic Theory. The monographs have been cast into a new format, and new indexes have been created. In addition, each volume includes a foreword by one of the three editors of the series, each of whom is a distinguished economist in his own right.

“This is a series,” write the editors, “that no serious scholar of public choice theory, public economics, or contemporary political theory will want to be without. It is a series that will also appeal to the general student of liberty, for Buchanan has—perhaps more than any other contemporary scholar—helped us to view politics without the romantic gloss that characterizes much normative political theory and that slips unthinkingly into so much popular commentary. Buchanan has been a resolute defender of ‘the ideal of a society of free and responsible individuals’ and has been a painstaking analyst of the institutional structure that might best support such a society. Buchanan stands with von Mises, Hayek, Popper, and Friedman as one of the great twentieth-century scholars of liberty.”

As James Buchanan, himself, wrote, “My interest in understanding how the economics interaction process works has always been instrumental to the more inclusive purpose of understanding how we can learn to live with one another without engaging in Hobbesian war and without subjecting ourselves to the dictates of the state.”

James M. Buchanan (1919–2013) was an eminent economist who won the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986. He founded the Center for Study of Public Choice at George Mason University, where he was a professor of economics, and is considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty of the twentieth century.

“This is a series that no serious scholar of public choice theory, public economics, or contemporary political theory will want to be without.”

—Editors of the series
The Logical Foundations of Constitutional Liberty
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Geoffrey Brennan, Hartmut Kliemt, and Robert D. Tollison
The thirty-one papers presented in this volume offer scholars and general readers alike a comprehensive introduction to the work of one of the greatest economists of the modern era. Many of Buchanan's most important essays are gathered in this inaugural volume of the twenty-volume series from Liberty Fund of his Collected Works.

The essays are arranged thematically and so present a complete perspective on Buchanan's work. The six sections include:

1. Introduction
2. Politics without Romance
3. Public Finance and Democratic Process
4. The Economist and Economic Order
5. Ethics and Economics
6. The Reason of Rules

The editors have focused on papers that Buchanan has written without collaboration and which present Buchanan's earlier, classic statements on crucial subjects rather than his subsequent elaborations which appear in later volumes in the series. Included, too, is Buchanan's Nobel address, "The Constitution of Economic Policy," and the text of the Nobel Committee's press release explaining why Buchanan was awarded the prize for Economics in 1986. The volume also includes Buchanan's autobiographical essay, "Better Than Plowing," in which he gives not only a brief account of his life, but also his own assessment of what is important, distinctive, and enduring in his work. The foreword by the three series editors will be valuable to all readers who wish to engage the challenging but epochal writings of the father of modern public choice theory.

Public Principles of Public Debt
A Defense and Restatement
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Geoffrey Brennan
Public Principles of Public Debt is one of James M. Buchanan's most important and influential books. The radical idea he conceived was that our reliance on public debt has amassed a sort of orthodoxy that is commonly—and needlessly—assumed by taxpayers, by politicians, and by economists themselves.

Buchanan dismisses the nearly universal belief (which continues to this day) that the burden of debt is borne by the current generation, and he argues persuasively that public debt is shouldered in large part by generations still to come.

Written in 1958, this book represents Buchanan's first published monograph, and its publication met with much controversy, confusion, and speculation in the economic community. But the book also added to Buchanan's rising stature in the early part of his career as a brilliant and original thinker.

The arguments Buchanan lays out in this book had a considerable impact on much of his later work. Buchanan's object here is to establish a set of analytical claims about debt incidence. Current anxieties over implicit Social Security debt are clear indications of the rightness of Buchanan's then-revolutionary theory.

James M. Buchanan (1919–2013) was an eminent economist who won the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986 and was considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty in the twentieth century.
The Calculus of Consent
*Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*

By James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock
Foreword by Robert D. Tollison

The *Calculus of Consent* was co-authored by Buchanan with Gordon Tullock, with whom Buchanan collaborated on many books and academic enterprises throughout their careers. As Robert D. Tollison states in the foreword, “[this book] is a radical departure from the way democracies conduct their business. The Calculus is already a book for the ages.”

This classic work analyzes the political organization of a free society through the lens of the economic organization of society. The authors acknowledge their unease as economists in analyzing the political organization, but they take the risk of forging into unfamiliar territory because they believe the benefits of their perspective will bear much fruit.

As the authors state, their objective in this book is “to analyze the calculus of the rational individual when he is faced with questions of constitutional choice. . . . We examine the [choice] process extensively only with reference to the problem of decision-making rules.”

The authors describe their approach as “economic individualism.” They believe that economists have explored individual choice extensively in the market sector while social scientists have largely ignored the dynamics of individual decision-making in the dynamics of forming group action in the public sector.

Written in the early 1960s, *The Calculus of Consent* has become a bulwark of the public choice movement for which James M. Buchanan is so justly famous.

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Public Finance in Democratic Process
*Fiscal Institutions and Individual Choice*

By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Geoffrey Brennan

*Public Finance in Democratic Process* is James M. Buchanan’s monumental work that outlines the dynamics of individual choice as it is displayed in the process of public finance.

Buchanan is perhaps nowhere more clearly a disciple of the great Swedish economist Knut Wicksell than he is in the underlying principles of this seminal work. Specifically, he elaborates on these three central Wicksellian themes:

1. Analysis of market failure in the provision of public goods.
2. The insistence on conceiving policy decisions as the outcome of political processes.
3. The necessity of treating the tax and expense sides of the budget as interconnected.

Echoing Wicksell’s antipathy to the “benevolent despot” model of government, Buchanan lays out in this book a starting point for modern public-choice analysis. Recognizing the pathbreaking work he is about to begin, Buchanan opens his preface by stating, “Fiscal theory is normally discussed in a frame of reference wholly different from that adopted in this book. This dramatic shift of emphasis . . . requires that I consider the processes through which individual choices are transmitted, combined, and transformed into collective outcomes. Careful research in this area is in its infancy, and the necessary reliance on crude, unsophisticated models underscores the exploratory nature of the work.”

According to Geoffrey Brennan in the foreword, “*Public Finance in Democratic Process* is a work more hospitable to public finance orthodoxy and could be treated as an extension (albeit an important one) of the conventional approach.”
The Demand and Supply of Public Goods
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Geoffrey Brennan

Public-goods theory constituted a major element in James M. Buchanan’s research agenda throughout the 1960s. The Demand and Supply of Public Goods is a major part of that work.

At the time that Buchanan was elaborating on his theories of public goods, the prevailing trend in public economics was the emergence of public-expenditure theory, which attempted to form a comprehensive theory of the state around the notion of market failure.

The Demand and Supply of Public Goods established Buchanan’s broad purpose of explicitly comparing market performance with political performance. As such, the book is an important part of Buchanan’s contractarian theory of the “productive state.”

Conceived originally as a series of lectures given at Cambridge University in 1961 and 1962, The Demand and Supply of Public Goods is written for students, but is in no way a textbook of dry pedagogy. Instead, as Geoffrey Brennan writes in the foreword, “What Buchanan provides here is a clear statement of the contractarian approach to public goods problems, very much in the ‘voluntary exchange’ tradition of Wicksell and Lindahl.”

Cost and Choice
An Inquiry in Economic Theory
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Hartmut Kliemt

While relatively short, Cost and Choice, according to Hartmut Kliemt in the foreword, “holds quite a central place in Buchanan’s work. For the fundamental economic notion of ‘cost’, or ‘opportunity cost’, is intimately related to the individualist and subjectivist perspective that is so essential to the Buchanan enterprise.”

To be sure, the Austrian School of economists enunciated similar views of cost decades before Buchanan, but Buchanan advances his theories by attempting to integrate his views into the orthodox classical and neoclassical framework.

When he published the book in 1969, Buchanan hoped that other scholars would follow him in researching the opportunity-cost concept and its applications. Unlike the theater of public policy, where Buchanan’s work is widely celebrated and influential, his important work on the issue of cost and choice, so clearly explicated in this volume, has done little to move the mainstream of economic thinking in the thirty years since its original publication. It is hoped that this new edition of Buchanan’s seminal work will place Buchanan’s groundbreaking ideas in wider circulation.

Buchanan writes in the preface, “My aim is to utilize the theory of opportunity cost to demonstrate basic methodological distinctions that are often overlooked and to show that a consistent usage of this theory clarifies important areas of disagreement on policy issues.”
The Limits of Liberty

Between Anarchy and Leviathan

By James M. Buchanan

Foreword by Hartmut Kliemt

Published originally in 1975, The Limits of Liberty made James Buchanan’s name more widely known than ever before among political philosophers and theorists and established Buchanan, along with John Rawls and Robert Nozick, as one of the three new contractarians, standing on the shoulders of Hobbes, Locke, and Kant.

While The Limits of Liberty is strongly related to Buchanan’s Calculus of Consent (Vol. 3 in Liberty Fund’s Collected Works of James M. Buchanan), it is logically prior to the Calculus, according to Hartmut Kliemt in the foreword, even though it was published later. As Kliemt states, “[The Limits of Liberty] characterizes the status quo from the point where Paretian politics starts and at the same time describes conceivable processes of interindividual agreement that might lead from a natural equilibrium to a political one.”

Buchanan frames the central idea most cogently in the opening of his preface: “Precepts for living together are not going to be handed down from on high. Men must use their own intelligence in imposing order on chaos, intelligence not in scientific problem-solving but in the more difficult sense of finding and maintaining agreement among themselves. Anarchy is ideal for ideal men; passionate men must be reasonable. Like so many men have done before me, I examine the bases for a society of men and women who want to be free but who recognize the inherent limits that social interdependence places on them.”

James M. Buchanan (1919–2013) was an eminent economist who won the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986 and was considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty in the twentieth century.

Democracy in Deficit

The Political Legacy of Lord Keynes

By James M. Buchanan and Richard E. Wagner

Foreword by Robert D. Tollison

Democracy in Deficit is one of the early comprehensive attempts to apply the basic principles of public-choice analysis to macroeconomic theory and policy.

According to Robert D. Tollison in the foreword, “The central purpose of the book was to examine the simple precepts of Keynesian economics through the lens of public-choice theory. The basic discovery was that Keynesian economics had a bias toward deficits in terms of political self-interest.”

Democracy in Deficit opened the door for much of the current work on political business cycles and the incorporation of public-choice considerations into macroeconomic theory. Even in the area of monetarism, Buchanan’s landmark work has greatly influenced the sway of contemporary theorists away from the nearly universally held belief of Keynesian theory.

Democracy in Deficit contributes greatly to Buchanan’s lifelong fiscal and monetary rules to guide long-term policy in macroeconomics. The book serves to bolster Buchanan’s central beliefs in the necessity of a balanced-budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution and in monetary rules rather than central bank discretion.

The book is co-authored with Richard Wagner, a respected colleague of Buchanan, whom Buchanan recognized as helping to keep the book free of polemics and on target with its central purpose of applying the elementary theory of public choice.
**The Power to Tax**  
*Analytical Foundations of a Fiscal Constitution*  
By Geoffrey Brennan and James M. Buchanan  
Foreword by Geoffrey Brennan

Commenting on his collaboration with Geoffrey Brennan on *The Power to Tax*, James M. Buchanan says that the book is “demonstrable proof of the value of genuine research collaboration across national-cultural boundaries.” Buchanan goes on to say that “The Power to Tax is informed by a single idea—the implications of a revenue-maximizing government.”

Originally published in 1980, *The Power to Tax* was a much-needed answer to the tax revolts sweeping across the United States. It was a much-needed answer as well in the academic circles of tax theory, where orthodox public finance models were clearly inadequate to the needs at hand.

The public-choice approach to taxation which Buchanan had earlier elaborated stood in direct opposition to public-finance orthodoxy. What Buchanan and Brennan constructed in *The Power to Tax* was a middle ground between the two. As Brennan writes in the foreword, “The underlying motivating question was simple: Why not borrow the motivational assumptions standard in public-choice theory and put them together with assumptions about policy-maker discretion taken from public-finance orthodoxy?”

The result was a controversial book—and a much misunderstood one as well. Looking back twenty years later, Brennan feels confirmed in the rightness of the theories he and Buchanan espoused, particularly in their unity with the public-choice tradition: “The insistence on motivational symmetry is a characteristic feature of the public choice approach, and it is in this dimension that *The Power to Tax* and the orthodox public-finance approach diverge.”

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**The Reason of Rules**  
*Constitutional Political Economy*  
By Geoffrey Brennan and James M. Buchanan  
Foreword by Robert D. Tollison

In his foreword, Robert D. Tollison identifies the main objective of Geoffrey Brennan and James M. Buchanan’s *The Reason of Rules*: “…a book-length attempt to focus the energies of economists and other social analysts on the nature and function of the rules under which ordinary political life and market life function.”

In persuasive style, Brennan and Buchanan argue that too often economists become mired in explaining the obvious or constructing elaborate mathematical models to shed light on trivial phenomena. Their solution: economics as a discipline would be better focused on deriving normative procedures for establishing rules so that ordinary economic life can proceed unaffected as much as possible by social issues.

The basic idea of the importance of rules is a thread that runs through virtually the whole of Buchanan’s distinguished career, and it is one of his signal contributions to the contemporary discipline of economics. *The Reason of Rules* is an elaboration of the potential for rules and the normative process by which they can best be devised.

James M. Buchanan (1919–2013) was an eminent economist who won the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986 and was considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty in the twentieth century.
Politics by Principle, Not Interest

Toward Nondiscriminatory Democracy

By James M. Buchanan and Roger D. Congleton

Foreword by Hartmut Kliemt

"Politics by principle is that which modern politics is not. What we observe is 'politics by interest,' whether in the form of explicitly discriminatory treatment (rewarding or punishing) of particular groupings of citizens or of some elitist-dirigiste classification of citizens into the deserving or non-deserving on the basis of a presumed superior wisdom about what is really 'good' for us all. The proper principle for politics is that of generalization of generality."

—James M. Buchanan, from the Preface

As James Buchanan notes in introducing his co-author Roger Congleton, Politics by Principle, Not Interest "embodies the working out and presentation of a single idea . . . the extension and application of the generality principle to majoritarian politics." After laying out the theory, Buchanan and Congleton attempt to work it out in practical political reality. Buchanan notes that "it is much easier to discuss the generality principle as an abstract ideal than it is to define the precise conditions for its satisfaction in any particular setting." Not daunted by the difficulty of the task, the two authors succeed brilliantly in applying the generality principle to the political arena. They are interested not in laying down precise do's and don'ts for politics, but in pointing out the ideal of nondiscriminatory governance and calling for constitutional constraints on political action so it conforms more closely to the generality norm.

In his foreword, Hartmut Kliemt sums up the main objective of James M. Buchanan and Roger Congleton's Politics by Principle: "Imposing constitutional constraints on majoritarian politics such that a more principled pattern might emerge must be a political aim of high priority for all who wish for free and responsible citizens to live together peacefully as political equals under the rule of general laws. Buchanan and Congleton's efforts to revive the classical liberal agenda in Politics by Principle, Not Interest are of the greatest interest in that regard. And this interest is not merely a theoretical one."
Economic Inquiry and Its Logic
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Robert D. Tollison

Economic Inquiry and Its Logic presents a collection of Buchanan's most representative works in economic method and analysis. As Robert D. Tollison points out in his foreword, "[Included] in this volume are some of [Buchanan's] most often cited works on methodology, including papers reflecting his emphasis on the subjective nature of opportunity costs and the implications of this subjectivity for economic analysis."

The works collected in this volume also demonstrate Buchanan's interest throughout his career in the ideas and issues posed by economic theory. Buchanan shows throughout this volume that he believes economic theory can help explain the world around us.

Spanning nearly his entire fifty-year career, Buchanan's writings in this volume exhibit a consistency of thought and belief as ideas recur from paper to paper, ever richer and more resonant. The thirty-six works represented here are grouped into seven major categories:

1. The Practice and Method of Economic Theory
2. Competition and Entrepreneurship
3. The Theory of Monopoly
4. Input Prices
5. Opportunity Cost and Efficient Prices
6. Increasing Returns and the Work Ethic
7. Economic Theory in a Post-socialist World

Clearly, these papers as a whole reflect a broad range of issues and provide us with countless insights. More than this, they give us a picture of the theorist in his workshop. They acquaint us with what interests him and how he deals with important issues.

Politics as Public Choice
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Robert D. Tollison

This volume presents a collection of thirty-four essays and shorter works by James M. Buchanan that represent the brilliance of his founding work on public-choice theory.

The work of James M. Buchanan is perhaps most often associated with his helping to found public-choice theory. Buchanan's book-length works such as The Calculus of Consent or The Reason of Rules (Volumes 3 and 10, respectively, in Liberty Fund's The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan) are best known for their brilliant application of market behavioral models to government. But Buchanan's shorter works represented here all show originality and insight as well as clear articulation of important theoretical principles. What's more, these essays have all had a significant impact on the subsequent literature about public choice.

In this volume, the works are broken down into these major categorical groupings:

1. General Approach
2. Public Choice and Its Critics
3. Voters
4. Voting Models
5. Rent Seeking
6. Regulation
7. Public Choice and Public Expenditures

As Robert D. Tollison concludes his foreword to this volume, "Read in conjunction with the other parts of the 'Collected Works,' these papers offer the reader a fuller appreciation of the public-choice revolution and its impact and prospects."
Debt and Taxes
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Geoffrey Brennan

While this volume presents the important writings of James M. Buchanan on taxation and debt, Geoffrey Brennan makes it clear in the foreword that the thrust of Buchanan’s work in this area has been to integrate theories of taxation and debt with public-expenditure theory. Therefore, the editors strongly urge that the present volume on taxation and debt be read in tandem with the subsequent Volume 15, Externalities and Public Expenditure Theory.

Included in this present volume are thirty-five important writings by Buchanan on taxation and debt. These are grouped into the following major subject categories:

1. Taxation, Politics, and Public Choice
2. Earmarking and Incidence in Democratic Process
3. Analytical and Ethical Foundations of Tax Limits
4. The Fiscal Constitution
5. Confessions of a Burden Monger
6. Ricardian Equivalence
7. The Constitution of a Debt-Free Polity

As Geoffrey Brennan points out in the foreword to this volume, “Although James Buchanan’s interests are wide-ranging, the core of his professional reputation as an economist and the origin of much of his broader thinking lie in public economics—in engagement with the questions of what governments do and how governments should properly finance what they do.” This volume together with its partner subsequent volume present clear and accessible insights into the rich economic work for which Buchanan is best known.

James M. Buchanan (1919–2013) was an eminent economist who won the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986 and was considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty in the twentieth century.

Externalities and Public Expenditure Theory
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Geoffrey Brennan

In his foreword, Geoffrey Brennan states, “The papers in this volume represent a coherent set of pieces focused on aspects of public-expenditure theory and constitute all of Buchanan’s papers in this area.”

Buchanan’s work on the subject of what governments should do and his insistence on Knut Wicksell’s ideal that taxation and public expenditure be integrated topics have contributed significantly to the current thinking of most economists on the topic. Geoffrey Brennan summarizes Buchanan’s central themes in this way, “There are two messages that emerge from this work: one is that a proper sense of the extent of market failure, rather than its mere presence, is relevant in all cases; the other is that ‘correcting’ for such market failure is often a complex multidimensional business not captured by direct public provision at zero price and not necessarily involving expansion of market output.”

The twenty-nine papers represented in this volume are grouped into these major subject categories:

1. Public Services and Collective Action
2. Externalities
3. Clubs and Joint Supply
4. Public Goods Theory
5. Applications—City, Health, and Social Security
6. Distributive Norms and Collective Action

This volume also includes what are arguably Buchanan’s two most famous articles: “Externality,” which he wrote with William Stubblebine, and “Economic Theory of Clubs.”
Choice, Contract, and Constitutions
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Robert D. Tollison

Constitutional political economy is the theme of the papers collected in this volume. This entire area of contemporary economic thought is a legacy of James M. Buchanan.

In outlining the importance of this volume to the contemporary study of economics and to the work of James M. Buchanan, Robert D. Tollison states in his foreword, "Buchanan literally founded the field of constitutional political economy... [His] insistence on the importance of rules was an important innovation in economics, and, over the past thirty years or so, the analytical and empirical relevance of Buchanan's constitutional perspective has become apparent."

The thirty-five papers represented in this volume are grouped into these major subject categories:
1. Foundational Issues
2. The Method of Constitutional Economics
3. Incentives and Constitutional Choice
4. Constitutional Order
5. Market Order
6. Distributional Issues
7. Fiscal and Monetary Constitutions
8. Reform

For Buchanan, his work in constitutional political economy is just the first step. He is concerned with inducing economists and other scholars to take the constitutional problem seriously. As they do, says Robert D. Tollison, "the face of modern economics will be changed."

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Moral Science and Moral Order
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Hartmut Kliemt

This volume presents a representative sampling of James M. Buchanan’s philosophical views as he deals with fundamental problems of moral science and moral order. As one might expect, Buchanan always goes back to fundamental principles first. From there, his observations and conclusions range far and wide from his own discipline.

The thirty essays collected in Moral Science and Moral Order are divided into these categories:
1. Methods and Models
2. Belief and Consequence
3. Moral Community and Moral Order
4. Moral Science, Equality, and Justice
5. Contractarian Encounters

In his foreword, Hartmut Kliemt says, "The British and Scottish Moralists of the Enlightenment period would have felt very comfortable with James Buchanan. Like them, Buchanan may be seen as a 'man of letters' who concerns himself with fundamental problems of moral science and moral order. But, also like them, Buchanan is not a secondhand dealer in old ideas. On the contrary, taking as inspiration classical philosopher-economists (in particular, Adam Smith), Buchanan not only proposes new applications of the neoclassical economic paradigm, he also addresses, in innovative ways, fundamental issues of his discipline and beyond."

Kliemt’s lengthy foreword highlights some of the major philosophical currents with which Buchanan is engaged in the papers collected in this volume. His introduction to these philosophies provides an excellent grounding for economists and all readers who may not be familiar with the philosophical and fundamental issues Buchanan undertakes.
Federalism, Liberty, and the Law
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Hartmut Kliemt

As diverse as the papers presented in this volume may seem at first glance, all of them touch on two characteristic themes of James Buchanan’s work: the respect for individual sovereignty and the threat of monopoly power on the rights of the individual.

In his foreword, Hartmut Kliemt says, “As opposed to more extreme and more utopian libertarians, [Buchanan] well understands that in our world it takes a state to defend the individual from the state. Buchanan, therefore, is not an anarchist but, rather, what may be called a ‘reluctant anarchist’ who accepts both that the state is the greatest threat to individual sovereignty and that without some statelike monopoly, individual sovereignty cannot be protected.”

The twenty-six essays included in Federalism, Liberty, and the Law are grouped into these categories:
1. The Analytics of Federalism
2. Federalism and Freedom
3. Liberty, Man, and the State
4. The Constitution of Markets
5. Economists, Efficiency, and the Law
6. Law, Money, and Crime

The central issue that unites the pieces in this volume is monopoly power and its control. As a libertarian, Buchanan sees government as the greatest threat—and also the greatest protector—of individual liberties.

Ideas, Persons, and Events
By James M. Buchanan
Foreword by Hartmut Kliemt

This final volume (save for the Index) in Liberty Fund’s The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan acquaints us most intimately with the man himself. Included are essays and short pieces that shed light on Buchanan’s view of the world.

Ranging from personal reflections on the art and science of economics, to restatements of his central themes and reminiscences of his encounters and collaborations with other great thinkers, this volume presents James Buchanan as a multidimensional human being, not just as a great economic and political thinker.

The thirty-three pieces collected in Ideas, Persons, and Events are grouped into these categories:
1. Autobiographical and Personal Reflections
2. Reflections on Fellow Political Economists
3. Political Economy in the Post-Socialist Century
4. Reform without Romance

As Hartmut Kliemt states in his foreword, “The personal and the theoretical are often inseparably intertwined in the essays of this volume. . . . As a case in point, consider James Buchanan’s account of his relationship to Frank Knight. This account not only sheds some interesting light on the personal element in the development of science, it also offers some new perspectives on the concept of the ‘relatively absolute absolutes,’ which has been so central to Buchanan’s thinking in general.”

James M. Buchanan (1919–2013) was an eminent economist who won the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986 and was considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty in the twentieth century.
Indexes

This volume presents a comprehensive index to the entire series of The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan. Included is an annotated copy of the entire curriculum vitae, indicating in which volume in the series the various items appear and, correspondingly, those items that have been omitted.

As the editors observe, “This is a series that no serious scholar of public choice theory, public economics, or contemporary political theory will want to be without. It is a series that will also appeal to the general student of liberty, for Buchanan has—perhaps more than any other contemporary scholar—helped us to view politics without the romantic gloss that characterizes so much normative political theory and that slips unthinkingly into so much popular commentary. Buchanan has been a resolute defender of ‘the ideal of a society of free and responsible individuals,’ and has been a painstaking analyst of the institutional structure that might best support such a society. Buchanan stands with von Mises, Hayek, Popper, and Friedman as one of the great twentieth-century scholars of liberty.”

What Should Economists Do?

By James M. Buchanan
Preface by Geoffrey Brennan and Robert D. Tollison

This volume is a collection of sixteen essays on three general topics: the methodology of economics, the applicability of economic reasoning to political science and other social sciences, and the relevance of economics as moral philosophy. Several essays are published here for the first time, including “Professor Alchian on Economic Method,” “Natural and Artifactual Man,” and “Public Choice and Ideology.”

This book provides relatively easy access to a wide range of work by a moral and legal philosopher, a welfare economist who has consistently defended the primacy of the contractarian ethic, a public finance theorist, and a founder of the burgeoning subdiscipline of public choice. Buchanan’s work has spawned a methodological revolution in the way economists and other scholars think about government and government activity.

As a measure of recognition for his significant contribution, Dr. Buchanan was awarded the 1986 Nobel Prize in Economics.
The Collected Works of Armen A. Alchian
By Armen A. Alchian
Edited and with an Introduction by Daniel K. Benjamin

Liberty Fund is proud to present, in two volumes, *The Collected Works of Armen A. Alchian*, bringing together Alchian’s most influential essays, articles, editorials, and lectures to provide a comprehensive record of his thinking on a broad range of topics in economics.

Armen Alchian has helped found several schools of economic thought and is the founder of the UCLA tradition in economics and one of the most influential voices in the areas of market structure, property rights, and the theory of the firm.

Daniel K. Benjamin is Professor of Economics at Clemson University.

The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics
Edited by David R. Henderson

In this easily accessible, user-friendly volume, respected economist David R. Henderson brings together 152 of the most brilliant minds in economics to show how the analysis of economic topics can illuminate many aspects of the average person’s daily life. The more than 160 entries cover numerous topics including basic concepts, discrimination and labor issues, corporations and financial markets, issues in economic history, economics of legal issues, regulation, environmental regulation, taxes, economic policy, macroeconomics, money and banking, international economics, economics outside the United States, economic systems, schools of economic thought, and more.

David R. Henderson is a Research Fellow with Stanford University’s Hoover Institution and an Associate Professor of Economics at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California.
Adam Smith

The Man and His Works

By E. G. West

Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, was no dry pedant. His lectures and writings are alive with examples taken from the busy eighteenth-century world around him, and Edmund Burke praised his literary style as “rather painting than writing.” It was Adam Smith who taught moral philosophy and literary criticism to Boswell at the University of Glasgow, and in Smith’s works we follow his interests from political history to law, sociology, economic and social history, philosophy, and English literature.

E. G. West brings to life Adam Smith’s first years in the bustling Scottish seaport of Kirkcaldy (and recounts Smith’s brief kidnapping, as a baby, by gypsies). We follow young Smith as a student, watch his thought develop as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, and enjoy with him the hospitality of David Hume, the Parisian literary salons, Johnson, Burke, Gibbon, and other giants of the era.

West gives us a masterful summary of *The Wealth of Nations*. Even more significant, West restores to eminence an earlier work of Smith’s, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. “If *The Wealth of Nations* had never been written,” he asserts, “this previous work would have earned for him a prominent place in intellectual history.” West takes particular delight in using *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* to rebut Marx’s assumptions about laissez-faire capitalism.

E. G. West was educated at the University College of Exeter, graduating in economics in 1948. He has taught at several British colleges and at Carleton University in Ottawa, and has been a visiting research scholar at the University of Chicago and the University of California at Berkeley and a visiting professor at the Center for Study of Public Choice, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. Dr. West authored several books including *Education and the State* and *Education and the Industrial Revolution*. His articles have appeared in numerous periodicals and scholarly journals.

The Wisdom of Adam Smith

Selected by John Haggarty

Edited and with an Introduction by Benjamin A. Rogge

Adam Smith was an eloquent man of considerable philosophical and historical learning. His most incisive and enduring observations are collected here on subjects ranging from political and economic history to morals, art, education, war, and the American colonies. Throughout, notes an admirer in the introduction, “his writing is blessedly free of that use of jargon (and mathematics) that characterizes most of the modern materials in economics. His ideas are expressed in a lucid, straightforward manner that makes them accessible to all.”

Economics and the Public Welfare


By Benjamin M. Anderson

Foreword by Arthur Kemp

In the turbulent years between passage of the Federal Reserve Act (1913) and the Bretton Woods Agreement (1945), the peoples of the Western world suffered two world wars, two major and several minor international financial panics, an epidemic of currency devaluations and debt repudiations, civil wars, and revolutions.

No period in history could serve better as a case study for the analysis of applied economic policy. No one could have been better situated to write that study than Benjamin M. Anderson. From his vantage point as economist for the Chase Manhattan Bank and editor of the Chase Economic Bulletin, who participated in much of what he records, Dr. Anderson here describes the climactic events of a turbulent era.

Arthur Kemp was Professor Emeritus of Economics at Claremont McKenna College.

Arthur Kemp was Professor Emeritus of Economics at Claremont McKenna College.
The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo

By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

David Ricardo was born in London in 1772. His father, a successful stockbroker, introduced him to the Stock Exchange at the formative age of fourteen. During his career in finance, he amassed a personal fortune which allowed him to retire at the age of forty-two. Thereafter, he pursued a political career and further developed his economic ideas and policy proposals. A man of very little formal education, Ricardo arguably became, with the exception of Adam Smith, the most influential political economist of all time.

Ricardo was the first economist to make extensive use of deductive reasoning and arithmetical models to illustrate the anticipated reactions to juxtaposed market forces and responsive human action. His modes of analysis have become identified with economics as an academic discipline.

Like Smith, Ricardo believed that minimal government intervention best served an economy. His contributions to economics are numerous and include the theory of “hard money” to hedge inflation, the law of diminishing returns, developed along with his close friend the classical economist T. R. Malthus, and the labor theory of value.

One of Ricardo’s most significant contributions to economics is the law of comparative advantage as applied to international commerce, which grew out of Adam Smith’s division of labor and has become the central argument for free trade and open markets.

The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo contains Ricardo’s published and unpublished writings, and provides great insight into the early era of political economics by chronicling Ricardo’s significant contributions to modern economics. Widely acclaimed as the best example, prior to the Glasgow edition of Adam Smith’s writings, of scholarly editing applied to the work of an economist, Volume 11 contains a general index. Volumes 6–9 are dedicated to Ricardo’s personal correspondence with such economic luminaries as Malthus, Jean-Baptiste Say, and James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill. This series is an affordable paperback version of the cloth edition prepared under the auspices of the Royal Economic Society by Piero Sraffa and printed by Cambridge University Press in 1951–1973, though not available for many years.
On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation

By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation provides analysis of the allocation of money between capitalists, landowners, and agricultural workers in Britain. Through this analysis, Ricardo came to advocate free trade and oppose Britain's restrictive “Corn laws.” Here are his classic commentaries on certain points of contention and divergence with the political economic writings of Adam Smith and T. R. Malthus.

Notes on Malthus’s Principles of Political Economy

By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

David Ricardo and T. R. Malthus shared an endearing friendship despite a contentious divergence of opinion on many political economic issues. This volume contains the formal remnants of their differences. Ricardo analyzes, issue-by-issue, his points of divergence to Malthus’s Principles of Political Economy. Malthus’s contributions to political economics generally concern his bleak forecast that a geometrically growing population would surpass the arithmetically growing capacity of essential natural resources.

Pamphlets and Papers 1809–1811

By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

This volume focuses on Ricardo's shorter essays printed in the Morning Chronicle, which deal exclusively with his thoughts on the inflationary monetary policy of the Bank of England and Britain's consequent Bullion Crises. In these essays, the genesis of Ricardo's theory of “hard money” emerges as a tool to hedge against inflation using metallic currency. The Bullion Committee, created by the House of Commons in 1819, subsequently adopted his recommendations. His writings here gave rise to the currency school of hard money.

Pamphlets and Papers 1815–1823

By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

Speeches and Evidence
By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

Speeches and Evidence contains the texts of Ricardo’s numerous speeches. It consists of his speeches given in the House of Commons and evidentiary advocacies before Parliamentary committees.

The introduction provides insightful context to the circumstances and events that preceded Ricardo’s appointment as a Member of Parliament and describes his subsequent influence and role on various committees.

Letters 1810–1815
By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

David Ricardo was born in London in 1772. His father, a successful stockbroker, introduced him to the Stock Exchange at the formative age of fourteen. During his career in finance, he amassed a personal fortune which allowed him to retire at the age of forty-two. Thereafter, he pursued a political career and further developed his economic ideas and policy proposals. A man of very little formal education, Ricardo arguably became, with the exception of Adam Smith, the most influential political economist of all time.

Ricardo was the first economist to make extensive use of deductive reasoning and arithmetical models to illustrate the anticipated reactions to juxtaposed market forces and responsive human action. His modes of analysis have become identified with economics as an academic discipline.

Like Smith, Ricardo believed that minimal government intervention best served an economy. His contributions to economics are numerous and include the theory of “hard money” to hedge inflation, the law of diminishing returns, developed along with his close friend the classical economist T. R. Malthus, and the labor theory of value.

One of Ricardo’s most significant contributions to economics is the law of comparative advantage as applied to international commerce, which grew out of Adam Smith’s division of labor and has become the central argument for free trade and open markets.
Letters 1816–1818
By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

David Ricardo was born in London in 1772. His father, a successful stockbroker, introduced him to the Stock Exchange at the formative age of fourteen. During his career in finance, he amassed a personal fortune which allowed him to retire at the age of forty-two. Thereafter, he pursued a political career and further developed his economic ideas and policy proposals. A man of very little formal education, Ricardo arguably became, with the exception of Adam Smith, the most influential political economist of all time.

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Letters 1819–1821
By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

This period of Ricardo’s life witnessed his entrance into Parliament as a member of the House of Commons where he became an influential advocate of free trade through his opposition to Britain’s restrictive “Corn laws.”

These letters preserve the intellectual give-and-take on many of the political economic issues of Ricardo’s age. The list of these eminent correspondents includes:

T. R. Malthus (1766–1834), an eminent economist, was a professor of History and Political Economy at the East India Company Haileybury College.

Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was the leading philosopher of utilitarianism.

Jean Baptiste-Say (1762–1832) was a businessperson who became interested in economics and went on to provide significant contributions to the field, most notably Say’s law of markets.
Letters 1821–1823
By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

David Ricardo was born in London in 1772. His father, a successful stockbroker, introduced him to the Stock Exchange at the formative age of fourteen. During his career in finance, he amassed a personal fortune which allowed him to retire at the age of forty-two. Thereafter, he pursued a political career and further developed his economic ideas and policy proposals. A man of very little formal education, Ricardo arguably became, with the exception of Adam Smith, the most influential political economist of all time.

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One of Ricardo’s most significant contributions to economics is the law of comparative advantage as applied to international commerce, which grew out of Adam Smith’s division of labor and has become the central argument for free trade and open markets.

Biographical Miscellany
By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

This volume is a collection of personal correspondence and first-person recollections that focus on Ricardo’s life outside of his political economic endeavors. These missives concern the aspects of Ricardo’s life that surround his character, his amiable and generous nature, his successful business dealings, and his personal relationships.

It includes a memoir written by one of his brothers that sheds light about his family, his formative youth, and his education. There are chapters on his entrance into the stock market as a mere teenager and records of his meteoric climb within the financial community to an extremely successful station.

General Index
By David Ricardo
Edited by Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

The last volume of this collection is a comprehensive index to the previous ten volumes of The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo. It gives students, academics, and researchers a single unified source for locating Ricardo’s many contributions to economics. The index is designed to help readers trace their topics of interest through all of Ricardo’s writings, his speeches, and his bilateral correspondence with such luminaries as James Mill, T. R. Malthus, Jean-Baptiste Say, Jeremy Bentham, and Maria Edgeworth.
The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock

By Gordon Tullock
Edited by Charles K. Rowley

During the past half-century Gordon Tullock continually advanced the frontiers of political economy, most particularly with respect to the workings of representative democracies and of autocracies. This ten-volume series, edited and arranged thematically, brings together Tullock’s most significant contributions to economics, political science, public choice, sociology, law and economics, and bioeconomics.

Scholars will undoubtedly find the extensive breadth and depth of Tullock’s writings enriching. The general reader, as well as the student of politics, and all who love economic liberty, will find Tullock’s prose lucid, readable, and sprinkled with wit. His forensic argument is penetrating, compelling, and clear, and his brilliant mind is surprisingly accessible to us all.

Tullock’s scholarship and entrepreneurship have left an indelible imprint on economics. He is a pioneer who has worked almost exclusively at the frontiers of the discipline.

—Volume one, page xxviii

The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock provides an entrée to the mind of a legend in the field of political economics. Professor Rowley gives a deliberately sparse contextual introduction to each volume, opting to allow the very able and eloquent Tullock to speak for himself.

Gordon Tullock (1922–2014) was Professor Emeritus of Law at George Mason University, where he was Distinguished Research Fellow in the Center for Study of Public Choice and University Professor of Law and Economics. He also taught at the University of South Carolina, the University of Virginia, Rice University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and the University of Arizona. In 1966 he founded the journal that became Public Choice and remained its editor until 1990.

Charles K. Rowley (1939–2013) was Duncan Black Professor of Economics, a Senior Fellow of the James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy at George Mason University, and the General Director of the Locke Institute.
### Virginia Political Economy

**By Gordon Tullock**  
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley

Editor Charles Rowley calls Gordon Tullock “an economist by nature rather than by training.” Tullock attended a one-semester course in economics for law students at the University of Chicago but is otherwise self-taught. Tullock’s background has enabled him to analyze economic problems with an open mind and to deploy his formidable intellect in a truly entrepreneurial manner.

**Virginia Political Economy** is the inaugural volume in Liberty Fund’s *The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock*. The series consists of ten volumes of selections from the major monographs and scholarly papers published by Tullock between 1954 and 2002.

The first volume contains a selection from Tullock’s published academic papers and essays designed to introduce the series and to offer a representative picture of his work to allow scholars to evaluate in depth the relevance and intellectual impact of his contributions. The volume begins with the only two pieces in the *Selected Works* that were not written by Tullock himself. The first is the brief assessment of Tullock’s contributions made by Mark Blaug in 1985 when explaining why he had included Tullock in his list of the one hundred greatest economists since John Maynard Keynes. The second is the short statement published in *American Economic Review* in September 1998, recognizing Tullock as a Distinguished Fellow of the American Economic Association.

**Gordon Tullock** is Professor Emeritus of Law at George Mason University, where he was Distinguished Research Fellow in the Center for Study of Public Choice and University Professor of Law and Economics. He also taught at the University of South Carolina, the University of Virginia, Rice University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and the University of Arizona. In 1966 he founded the journal that became *Public Choice* and remained its editor until 1990.

**Charles K. Rowley** was Duncan Black Professor of Economics at George Mason University and a Senior Fellow of the James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy at George Mason University. He was also General Director of the Locke Institute.

### The Calculus of Consent

**Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy**

**By James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock**  
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley

*The Calculus of Consent*, the second volume of Liberty Fund’s *The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock*, is a reprint edition of the groundbreaking economic classic written by two of the world’s preeminent economists—Gordon Tullock and Nobel Laureate James M. Buchanan. This book is a unique blend of economics and political science that helped create significant new subfields in each discipline respectively, namely, the public choice school and constitutional political economy. Charles K. Rowley, Duncan Black Professor of Economics at George Mason University, points out in his introduction, “The Calculus of Consent is, by a wide margin, the most widely cited publication of each coauthor and, by general agreement, their most important scientific contribution.”

*The Calculus of Consent* is divided into four parts, each consisting of several chapters. The introduction by Professor Rowley provides a short overview of the book and identifies key insights that permeated the bounds of economics and political science and created an enduring nexus between the two sciences. Part I of *The Calculus of Consent* establishes the conceptual framework of the book’s subject; part II defines the realm of social choice; part III applies the logic developed in part II to describe a range of decision-making rules, most notably, the rule of simple majority; and part IV explores the economics and ethics of democracy.

**James M. Buchanan** is an eminent economist who won the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986 and is considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty of the twentieth century. He is also Professor Emeritus at George Mason and Virginia Tech Universities.
The Organization of Inquiry

By Gordon Tullock
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley

The Organization of Inquiry, the third volume in Liberty Fund’s The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock, was originally published by Duke University Press in 1966. This is a treatise by one of the most stalwart practitioners of the scientific method in political economy—Gordon Tullock. Charles K. Rowley, Duncan Black Professor of Economics at George Mason University, writes in his introduction to this book, “From a purely technical perspective, this book stands out as his (Tullock’s) best-written single authored work. The book sets out his own views on scientific method—views that he would faithfully reflect in all of his subsequent scholarship.”

In this book, Tullock focuses attention on the organization of science, raising important questions about scientific inquiry and specifically about the problems of science as a social system. Tullock poses such questions as how do scientists engage in apparently cooperative contributions in the absence of hierarchic organization and why are scientific contributions worthy, for the most part, of the public’s trust? Throughout The Organization of Inquiry, he sets out to answer these questions and many more through a pioneering exploration of the interrelationship between economics and the philosophy of science, much of which defined then conventional wisdom.

Anyone interested in any scientific endeavor will find the combination of Tullock’s powerful logic, his sharp forensic skills, and his barbed wit completely elucidating and helpful to their pursuits.

The Economics of Politics

By Gordon Tullock
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley

The Economics of Politics is the fourth volume in Liberty Fund’s The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock. This volume includes some of Gordon Tullock’s most noteworthy contributions to the theory and application of public choice, which is a relatively new science that links economics and political action. This volume combines the best parts of two of his books, Private Wants: Public Means and On Voting, as well as his famous monograph The Vote Motive.

The common thread of The Economics of Politics is the importance of the bond between Homo politicus and Homo economicus: they are the same species, each driven largely by self-interest in vigorous pursuit of such personal objectives as wealth, power, prestige, and income security within the confines of society. The Economics of Politics covers such diverse public choice topics as: the nature and origins of public choice, the power of using economic analysis to understand and predict the behavior of politically influenced markets, and an evaluation of voting rules and political institutions.

Equally confident in both the normative and the positive branches of the discipline, and well-versed in the wide variety of institutions and practices of democracy throughout history, Tullock takes the reader on a journey that goes well beyond the conventional horizon of public choice.

Charles K. Rowley was Duncan Black Professor of Economics at George Mason University and a Senior Fellow of the James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy at George Mason University. He was also General Director of the Locke Institute.
The Rent-Seeking Society
By Gordon Tullock
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley

The fifth volume in The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock consists of six parts, each part expounding on a separate component of the field. Part 1, “Rent Seeking: An Overview,” brings together two papers that focus on problems of defining rent-seeking behavior and outline the nature of the ongoing research program in a historical perspective. Part 2, “More on Efficient Rent Seeking,” contains four contributions in which Tullock elaborates on his 1980 article on efficient rent seeking. Part 3, “The Environments of Rent Seeking,” consists of eight papers that collectively display the breadth of the rent-seeking concept. Part 4, “The Cost of Rent Seeking,” comprises seven papers that address several important issues about the cost of rent seeking to society as a whole. Part 5 is Tullock’s short monograph Exchanges and Contracts, in which he develops a systematic theory of exchange in political markets. In Part 6, “Future Directions for Rent-Seeking Research,” Tullock focuses on the importance of information in the political marketplace.

This work has been carefully constructed to build on the inaugural volume in this collection and to ease students through the field in a clear and concise manner.

Bureaucracy
By Gordon Tullock
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley

Bureaucracy provides access to two important and influential books on bureaucracy by Gordon Tullock: The Politics of Bureaucracy (1965) and Economic Hierarchies, Organization and the Structure of Production (1992).

When The Politics of Bureaucracy was published in 1965, bureaucracy was viewed by many people as benign—serving the public good with objectivity and omniscience.

In Economic Hierarchies, Organization and the Structure of Production, Tullock looks at bureaucracy in a different but related way, basing his new book on developments in the theory of the firm that had occurred during the intervening period. By comparing the politics of bureaucracy with the economics of industrial organization, Tullock demonstrates that corporations perform with greater economic efficiency than do government bureaus.

Gordon Tullock is Professor Emeritus of Law at George Mason University, where he was Distinguished Research Fellow in the Center for Study of Public Choice and University Professor of Law and Economics. He also taught at the University of South Carolina, the University of Virginia, Rice University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and the University of Arizona. In 1966 he founded the journal that became Public Choice and remained its editor until 1990.

Charles K. Rowley was Duncan Black Professor of Economics at George Mason University and a Senior Fellow of the James M. Buchanan Center for Political Economy at George Mason University. He was also General Director of the Locke Institute.
The Economics and Politics of Wealth Redistribution
By Gordon Tullock
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley
The role of the democratic state in the redistribution of wealth is the topic of this readable and lively examination of an often controversial issue. Using public choice and rent-seeking analysis as a basis, Tullock discusses the role of the democratic state in the redistribution of wealth. He adds a refreshing dose of realism to a field of economics that is often dominated by idealistic visions.

Gordon Tullock is Professor Emeritus of Law at George Mason University, where he was Distinguished Research Fellow in the Center for Study of Public Choice and University Professor of Law and Economics. He also taught at the University of South Carolina, the University of Virginia, Rice University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and the University of Arizona. In 1966 he founded the journal that became Public Choice and remained its editor until 1990.

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Law and Economics
By Gordon Tullock
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley
Gordon Tullock’s innovative scholarship in law and economics shines in this volume. It includes, in full, his famous book The Logic of Law, the first book to analyze the law from the perspective of economics. It also includes an influential and controversial monograph, The Case against the Common Law, the best chapters from his book, Trials on Trial, as well as a sequence of influential articles in the field of law and economics.

Economics without Frontiers
By Gordon Tullock
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles K. Rowley
Gordon Tullock delights in deploying rational-choice analysis effectively to areas widely considered to be outside the domain of economics. This volume illustrates the strength of this endeavor by reproducing the very best chapters from his controversial textbook The New World of Economics. It also highlights Tullock’s innovative contributions to bioeconomics, another area in which he pioneered the application of economic methods. Other sections of this volume reproduce his best contributions to more traditional areas of study, further solidifying the innovative strength of his scholarship.
Liberty Fund is pleased to make available in paperback eight of the original thirty-three cloth volumes of the *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* that were first published by the University of Toronto Press that remain most relevant to liberty and responsibility in the twenty-first century. Born in London in 1806 and educated at the knee of his father, the Scottish philosopher James Mill, John Stuart Mill became one of the nineteenth century’s most influential writers on economics and social philosophy.

*Mill’s Autobiography* tells of his extraordinary education under the direct tutelage of his father, and under the indirect influence of some of England’s most renowned political economic thinkers, such as Jeremy Bentham. At the tender age of three, Mill was reading Greek, and by eight years of age he was well-versed in English history, classical western philosophy, and arithmetic.

*Principles of Political Economy* is a compendium of economic theory ranging from Adam Smith through the then-modern theories of David Ricardo and Bentham. *Principles* was the leading economics textbook for nearly half a century and influenced generations of social and economic thinkers.

Primarily of interest to economists is *Mill’s Essays on Economics and Society*, in which he writes on the most compelling economic problems and social concerns brought about by the rapidly industrialized nineteenth-century Britain.

The most indispensable work for understanding Mill’s thought is *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive*, which was the first serious attempt to methodize induction in relation to deduction.

*Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society* includes Mill’s response to Benthamite utilitarianism and his development of his own independent moral position.

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was an economist, philosopher, Member of Parliament, and one of the most significant English classical liberals of the nineteenth century. Mill spent most of his working life with the East India Company, which he joined at age sixteen and worked for for thirty-eight years. He is also the author of *On Liberty* (1859), *Utilitarianism* (1861), and *The Subjection of Women* (1869).
Autobiography and Literary Essays
By John Stuart Mill

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Essays on Economics and Society
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The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon
By Arthur Seldon
Edited by Colin Robinson

The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon spans 65 years of Seldon’s influential thought and includes all his pivotal works that helped to shape current economic thought. His arguments are as compelling and relevant today as they were over a half century ago.

Each volume of this series has a contextual introduction and, except for Volume 3, an individual index. Volume 7 contains an index to the entire series. Everyman’s Dictionary of Economics, cowritten with Fred G. Pennance, Volume 3 of this series, is an essential tool for anyone who wants a better understanding of economics.

Arthur Seldon has been writing on classical liberal economics since the 1930s, when he was a student at the London School of Economics during Friedrich Hayek’s time there. For over thirty years, from the late 1950s, he was Editorial Director of the London-based Institute of Economic Affairs, where his publishing program was one of the principal influences on governments all around the world, persuading them to liberalize their economies. His Collected Works in these seven volumes are a major contribution to classical liberal thought.

Colin Robinson was a business economist for eleven years. He was then appointed to the Chair of Economics at the University of Surrey, Guildford, United Kingdom where he founded the Department of Economics and is now Emeritus Professor. For many years he has been associated with the Institute of Economic Affairs, and from 1992 to 2002 he was the IEA’s Editorial Director.

The Virtues of Capitalism
By Arthur Seldon
Edited and with Introductions by Colin Robinson

The Virtues of Capitalism lays the foundation of Arthur Seldon’s views and theories of capitalism and its alternatives. The first part, Corrigible Capitalism; Incorrigible Socialism, was first published in 1980. It explains why, he believes, “private enterprise is imperfect but redeemable," but the "state economy promises the earth, and ends in coercion to conceal its incurable failure."

The second part, Capitalism, is widely considered to be Seldon’s finest work. Originally published in 1990 by Basil Blackwell of Oxford, it is the winner of the 1991 Antony Fisher Award from the Atlas Economic Research Foundation. This book covers a wide range of the classical liberal thought that inspired the movement toward free-market reforms in Great Britain and intellectually opposed the collectivist tide of socialism. In an understandable and eloquent manner, Seldon offers Capitalism as a celebration rather than a defense of classical liberalism. Through his analytical commentaries, Seldon chronicles the economic and social history of the western world throughout the 20th century, noting the intoxicating yet detrimental effects of collectivism. Along the way, he builds a powerfully compelling case why government should economically confine itself to the delivery of essential public goods. Throughout the book, he proposes free-market alternatives to socialist models of government, many of which still plague the economies of the world.
The State Is Rolling Back
By Arthur Seldon
Edited and with a New Introduction by Colin Robinson

The State Is Rolling Back, the second volume of Liberty Fund’s The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon, brings together a comprehensive collection of fifty-four articles reflecting Arthur Seldon’s scholarly development. By the late twentieth century, Arthur Seldon was one of the most powerful exponents of classical liberalism, helping to stimulate its revival, through both his own writings and the publications of the London-based Institute of Economic Affairs, of which he was Editorial Director for more than 30 years.

First published in 1994, this book collects virtually all of Seldon’s major ideas and his proposals for reform. In its totality, The State Is Rolling Back demonstrates Seldon’s long-standing advocacy and commitment to free-market reforms and includes his earliest, barbed criticisms of the “welfare state.”

Arthur Seldon has been writing on classical liberal economics since the 1930s, when he was a student at the London School of Economics during Friedrich Hayek’s time there. For over thirty years, from the late 1950s, he was Editorial Director of the London-based Institute of Economic Affairs, where his publishing program was one of the principal influences on governments all around the world, persuading them to liberalize their economies. His Collected Works in these seven volumes are a major contribution to classical liberal thought.

Colin Robinson was a business economist for eleven years. He was then appointed to the Chair of Economics at the University of Surrey, Guildford, United Kingdom, where he founded the Department of Economics and is now Emeritus Professor. He is the author of 23 books and over 150 scholarly articles and has edited many other books. For many years he has been associated with the Institute of Economic Affairs and from 1992 to 2002 he was the IEA’s Editorial Director.

Everyman’s Dictionary of Economics
By Arthur Seldon
Edited and with a New Introduction by Colin Robinson

Everyman’s Dictionary of Economics, the third volume of The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon, translates the often obscure jargon and technical terminology of economics into direct, plain English understandable by both the academic and the layperson. The most abstruse topic becomes clear as he conveys the sense in ordinary language, without loss of meaning through oversimplification.

Everyman’s Dictionary of Economics covers a wide range of economic thought and includes every relevant term that the average person might encounter in a written or other treatment of the subject. In addition to conveying a sense of how economic thought has evolved over the centuries, the Dictionary stimulates and challenges readers in its questioning of conventional wisdom about government intervention and manipulation of economies. It too has “stood the test of time”; nearly thirty years after the second edition and forty years after the first, this book still engages readers—economists and nonprofessionals alike.

Introducing Market Forces into “Public” Services

By Arthur Seldon
Edited and with a New Introduction by Colin Robinson

Introducing Market Forces into “Public” Services is the fourth volume in Liberty Fund’s The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon. It brings together six of Seldon’s most pivotal essays that discuss his alternative proposals for paying for “public” services rather than through coercive taxation. Specifically, Seldon focuses on the varied use of vouchers and the choices people have regarding purchasing or receiving such public services as health care and education. The recurring theme, as noted in Colin Robinson’s introduction, is that “non-market provision, financed by taxpayers, leads to a fatal disconnection between suppliers and consumers.”

Throughout this book, Seldon examines the options and obligations of the government as the “middle-man.” Seldon creates a compelling case that through a return to market principles, "efficiency in the provision of these services will improve, and, above all, people will regain the incentive to provide for themselves instead of relying on the state." This volume is an invaluable resource for those embroiled in the public debate over such issues as education vouchers, managed health care, and overwhelming taxation.

Government Failure and Over-Government

By Arthur Seldon
Edited and with a New Introduction by Colin Robinson

In the fifth volume of The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon, Arthur Seldon uses public choice economics research to support his theory of over-government. The term "over-government" was coined by Seldon and is defined as the failure of governments to govern well, leading the public to avoid government programs in favor of markets.

Seldon explains how the results of government programs are always at odds with what the people would have chosen for themselves, because governments seek to impose taxes and legislature based on their own agendas. This increasing control and restraint by the government will continue to force people to abandon those ineffective programs for more open markets and other countries that support them. Seldon argues that government bureaucrats rely too heavily on unions, labor groups, and lobbyists and act in their own interest instead of opening those options up to the people they serve.

Seldon purports that any government that continues to force its own views and desires on the unwilling public will lead to its own demise as the public searches elsewhere for a more representative democracy.
The Welfare State: Pensions, Health, and Education
By Arthur Seldon
Edited and with a New Introduction by Colin Robinson

Volume 6 of The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon examines the failure of state-supported welfare programs to benefit the people most in need of help. The eight articles and one book in this volume encompass almost forty years of criticism of the welfare state.

Seldon argues that the welfare state cannot, in the long run, solve the problem of poverty. It is driven by misguided egalitarian views which make it universalist, providing benefits for the middle classes as well as the poor. Because it finances welfare through taxation, it damages incentives to work. Moreover it diminishes motivations to save and to provide for one’s family as the state appears to take over such responsibilities.

Once “free” welfare services are begun they are very difficult to stop. But, says Seldon, permanent state welfare is unnecessary: as people’s incomes rise, most are capable of providing for themselves and their families. In the end, people will revolt against inferior state services and the state will have to retreat.

The IEA, the LSE, and the Influence of Ideas
By Arthur Seldon
Edited and with a New Introduction by Colin Robinson

Volume 7 of The Collected Works of Arthur Seldon includes six works that discuss the role of the Institute of Economic Affairs, where Seldon spent most of his working life.

Friedrich Hayek regarded himself as partly responsible for the creation of the IEA. The Institute, founded by Sir Antony Fisher, was influential not only in the United Kingdom—where it had a major impact on the policies of the Thatcher governments of the 1980s—but all around the world. Many of the classical liberal and free-market think tanks in the United States and other countries were established by Fisher and were modeled on and took their inspiration from the IEA.

In the works in this volume, Seldon emphasizes the power of ideas to transform society and provides insight into how he saw the place of the IEA (and his own role within it) in starting to bring about that transformation.
“Are Economists Basically Immoral?” And Other Essays on Economics, Ethics, and Religion by Paul Heyne

By Paul Heyne
Edited and with an Introduction by Geoffrey Brennan and A. M. C. Waterman

A well-trained theologian, a gifted and dedicated teacher of economics for over forty years, and the author of a highly regarded and widely-used textbook, The Economic Way of Thinking, Paul Heyne influenced generations of students of economics. Many of the essays in this volume are published here for the first time. The editors have divided Heyne’s essays thematically to cover three general areas: the ethical foundations of free markets, the connection between those ethical foundations and Christian thought, and the teaching of economics—both method and substance.


Geoffrey Brennan is a faculty member in the Research School of Social Sciences (RSSS) at the Australian National University, Research Professor in Philosophy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Research Professor in Political Science at Duke University.

A. M. C. Waterman is a Fellow of St. John’s College, Winnipeg, and Professor Emeritus of Economics in the University of Manitoba.

The Morals of Markets and Related Essays

By H. B. Acton
Edited by David Gordon and Jeremy Shearmur

Although the market economy is not as unpopular now as when Acton wrote The Morals of Markets, the morality of buying and selling has long bothered man’s conscience. Defenses of capitalism often establish its efficiency or rely on a “that is the way human nature is anyway” argument. This book asserts that a free market is a necessary condition for the pursuit of moral excellence. Its analysis of the relation between capitalism and moral virtue has not been superseded.

The demise of Marxism and the moral bankruptcy of socialism throughout the world do not end the debate over capitalism. Acton’s book is distinctive in discussing the “morals of markets” in a way that forms an essential addition—often missing—to the case to be made for free markets.

Harry Burrows Acton (1908–1974) was Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh.

David Gordon is a Senior Fellow at the Ludwig von Mises Institute.

Jeremy Shearmur teaches political theory at the Australian National University.
The Representation of Business in English Literature
Edited and with an Introduction by Arthur Pollard
Foreword by John Blundell

In The Representation of Business in English Literature, five scholars of different periods of English literature produce original essays on how business and businesspeople have been portrayed by novelists, starting in the eighteenth century and continuing to the end of the twentieth century. The contributors to Representation help readers understand the partiality of the various writers and, in so doing, explore the issue of what determines public opinion about business.

Arthur Pollard (1922–2001) was Professor Emeritus of English at the University of Hull in Hull, East Yorkshire, England.

John Blundell is General Director of the Institute of Economic Affairs, London.

Political Economy and Freedom
A Collection of Essays
By G. Warren Nutter
Edited by Jane Couch Nutter
Foreword by Paul Craig Roberts

These thirty-three essays, many of them previously unpublished, illustrate the broad range of Warren Nutter’s thought. There are essays on the Soviet economy and international relations as well as essays exploring the economic institutions that support a society of free people.

One finds in these essays a man of intellect and judgment ever ready to look at the evidence and ever willing to admit imperfections of even the best human institutions. He defends capitalism not because it is perfect but because for this imperfect world it is superior to the attainable alternatives.

G. Warren Nutter (1923–1979) taught economics at the University of Virginia.

Paul Craig Roberts is a distinguished fellow at the Cato Institute.

Commerce, Culture, and Liberty
Readings on Capitalism Before Adam Smith
Edited by Henry C. Clark

This collection of thirty-seven readings (from thirty-three writers) brings together some of the most significant pre–Adam Smith writings on the political and cultural dimensions of capitalism. To modern readers, these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century discussions of commerce and economic life in general are surprising because they are so closely integrated with current moral and cultural issues. Part of the value of this book is in reminding us that many of our own concerns are not without precedent and earlier reflection.

The selections come both from now-unfamiliar authors who were influential in their own time, as well as from such well-known writers as Rousseau, Defoe, Fielding, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. The essays emphasize the human meaning of the market; they were selected to provide a sense of the range of opinion that prevailed on the broader significance of the market economy before it became a pervasive feature of modern life.

Henry C. Clark is a Visiting Professor in the Political Economy Project at Dartmouth College. He has written two books and numerous articles, mainly on the French and Scottish Enlightenments.
A Maverick’s Defense of Freedom
Selected Writings and Speeches of Benjamin A. Rogge
By Benjamin A. Rogge
Edited and with an Introduction by Dwight R. Lee

This new collection of fifty-three essays, many of which have never before been published, gathers some of Benjamin Rogge’s most interesting talks and writings spanning a vast array of topics including the case for individual liberty and responsibility in maintaining the free-market economy, the nature of economics, the business system, labor markets, money and inflation, and education.

Benjamin A. Rogge (1920–1980) was Distinguished Professor of Political Economy at Wabash College. He was also the author of Can Capitalism Survive?, published by Liberty Fund.

Dwight R. Lee is William J. O’Neil Professor of Global Markets and Freedom at Southern Methodist University’s Cox School of Business.

The Roots of Capitalism
By John Chamberlain

Capitalism is a system that can stand on its own attainments, says John Chamberlain, and he offers here a fast-paced, provocative look at the intellectual forces and practical accomplishments that have created American capitalism.

In clear, unequivocal language he discusses the ideas responsible for our economic institutions, the originators of these ideas, and the times in which they first became important. The political theories of the men who hammered out the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence; the thinking of John Locke, James Madison, and Adam Smith; the deeds and discoveries of the James Watts, Eli Whitneys, and Henry Fords—all these diverse elements are shown to be part of the tradition of a free society in which American capitalism has grown and flourished. A unique blend of political and economic theory and the practical accomplishments of businessmen and innovators, The Roots of Capitalism provides valuable insights into the ideas underlying the free economy.

John Chamberlain is an editor and journalist.

Can Capitalism Survive?
By Benjamin A. Rogge

Benjamin A. Rogge—late Distinguished Professor of Political Economy at Wabash College—was a representative of that most unusual species: economists who speak and write in clear English. He forsakes professional jargon for clarity and logic—and can even be downright funny. The nineteen essays in this volume explore the philosophy of freedom, the nature of economics, the business system, labor markets, money and inflation, the problems of cities, education, and what must be done to ensure the survival of free institutions and capitalism.

Economic Calculation in the Socialist Society
By Trygve J. B. Hoff
Introduction by Karen I. Vaughn

Dr. Hoff’s 1938 book and Professor Vaughn’s important introduction establish the theoretical impossibility of socialism: a system empirically in ruins but still advocated by many.
The Collected Works of Henry G. Manne
By Henry G. Manne
Fred S. McChesney, General Editor
Stephen Bainbridge, Henry Butler, and Jonathan Macey, Volume Editors

As the founder of the Center for Law and Economics at George Mason University and dean emeritus of the George Mason School of Law, Henry G. Manne is one of the founding scholars of law and economics as a discipline. This three-volume collection includes articles, reviews, and books from more than four decades, featuring Wall Street in Transition, which redefined the commonly held view of the corporate firm.

Fred S. McChesney is James B. Haddad Class of 1967 Professor of Law at the Northwestern University School of Law, focusing on business and antitrust law and their intersection with economic theory.

The Keynesian Episode
A Reassessment
By W. H. Hutt

The late W. H. Hutt was a preeminent and persistent critic of the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes. In The Keynesian Episode, he presents a comprehensive review of Keynes’s General Theory, including the finest critique to date of the Acceleration Principle. He questions the very legitimacy of Keynes’s fundamental epistemology.

In Hutt’s discussion of economics there is a refreshing emphasis on the vital importance of the market price system as a coordinating process. As Dr. Hutt wrote: “The intellectual developments for which Keynes’s General Theory appeared to be responsible had caused a setback to scientific thinking about human economic relations at a crucial epoch. Keynes tried to find in the factors determining the value of the money unit the genesis of output and income. . . . He linked monetary theory to the economic world only through unsatisfactory concepts such as employment, income, and effective demand.”

In this unsparing analysis of the theories of John Maynard Keynes, W. H. Hutt explains why Keynes’s ideas attracted both practical politicians and ardent academics and why they do not square with the logic of long-accepted laws of economics. Professor Hutt outlines methods by which modern economies can extricate themselves from the disasters into which Keynesian theory has plunged them.

The Rationale of Central Banking
And the Free Banking Alternative
By Vera C. Smith
Foreword by Leland B. Yeager

The Rationale of Central Banking was first published in England in 1936. Vera Smith spent her professional career in a variety of research positions. She wrote articles and books on money, banking, economic development, and the labor market and translated into English books by Wilhelm Röpke, Oskar Morgenstern, and Fritz Machlup.

This book provides a scholarly review and judicious assessments of the experience and theory that bear on the issues of free banking and central banking. Its wide-ranging discussion identifies both the fallacies in the arguments for central banks and the influential fallacies in the arguments against free banking. Vera Smith’s work should play a prominent role in any reappraisal of our monetary institutions.
**Freedom and Reform**

*Essays in Economics and Social Philosophy*

By Frank H. Knight
Foreword by James M. Buchanan

The fifteen essays in this collection, first published in 1947, treat a variety of economic, social, political, and philosophical problems and were written by a legendary professor of economics at the University of Chicago.

**Professor Knight** (1885–1972) wrote from the viewpoint of ethics as well as economics. His own words best describe his objective in this book: “The basic principle of science—truth or objectivity—is essentially a moral principle… The presuppositions of objectivity are integrity, competence, humility… All coercion is absolutely excluded in favor of free meeting of free minds.”

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**Promises, Performance, and Prospects**

*Essays on Political Economy, 1980–1998*

By Antonio Martino
Edited and with a Foreword by Dwight R. Lee

Since 1970, Antonio Martino has authored 13 books and more than 150 papers and articles on economic theory and policy. This modern collection of writings is from Martino’s practical and theoretical perspective, as he has personally encountered many of the economic and political issues presented in these essays.

Divided into six parts, this volume discusses major economic topics such as fiscal responsibility, government and over-government, the underground economy and the failure of governments to deliver on their promises of economic prosperity, discretionary monetary policy, and the future of freedom and the human flourishing that depends upon it.

As Dwight Lee comments in his foreword to the volume, “From Adam Smith to James Buchanan, the insights of political economics have been motivated by, and illustrated with, contemporary concerns that keep recurring in only slightly different guises.” This is certainly the case with the concerns Martino addresses in his papers.

**Antonio Martino** is well known for his classical liberal views, having developed his economic opinions as a law student at the University of Messina and then as a student of Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago. He is a member of the Mont Pelerin Society, served as defense minister of Italy from 2001 to 2006, and was professor of economics at the University of Rome until 2002.
The Crisis
A British Defense of American Rights, 1775–1776
Edited and with an Introduction by Neil L. York

*The Crisis* was a London weekly published between January 1775 and October 1776. It was the longest-running weekly pamphlet series printed in the British Atlantic world during those years, and it used unusually bold, pithy language. Neither the longevity of the effort nor the colorful language employed would be reason enough to collect and print all ninety-two issues under one cover in a modern edition. *The Crisis* lays claim to our attention because of its place in the rise of freedom of the press, its self-conscious attempt to create a transatlantic community of protest, and its targeting of the king as the source of political problems—but without attacking the institution of monarchy itself.

*The Crisis* was condemned informally by leaders in the British government, and then formally in court, as a dangerous example of seditious libel. Copies of it were publicly burned, and yet publication continued uninterrupted. The men behind *The Crisis* were determined to interest the British public in American affairs and were no doubt pleased when various issues were reprinted in the colonies. They played on shared beliefs and shared fears: beliefs in the existence of fundamental rights, rights beyond the reach of any government, and the fear that loss of those rights in Britain’s American colonies could lead to their loss in Britain itself. They denounced George III in language at once harsh and florid, and did so many months before Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense*. Even so, *The Crisis* did not call on Britons to overthrow monarchy with a republic, and its ardor for the Patriot cause cooled once Revolutionary Americans declared their independence. It stands as proof that strident rhetoric does not necessarily lead to radical political action. Its history also shows that ideas, once unleashed, take on a life of their own.

Neil L. York is professor of history at Brigham Young University. He is the author or editor of a dozen books, including, most recently, *The American Revolution, 1760–1790: New Nation as New Empire*.

Liberty, Order, and Justice
An Introduction to the Constitutional Principles of American Government
By James McClellan
Revised Third Edition

Unlike most textbooks in American Government, *Liberty, Order, and Justice* seeks to familiarize the student with the basic principles of the Constitution, and to explain their origin, meaning, and purpose. Particular emphasis is placed on federalism and the separation of powers. These features of the book, together with its extensive and unique historical illustrations, make this edition of *Liberty, Order, and Justice* especially suitable for introductory classes in American Government and for high school students in advanced placement courses.

James McClellan (1937–2005) was the James Bryce Visiting Fellow in American Studies at the Institute of United States Studies, University of London.
Democracy in America
De la démocratie en Amérique

Historical-Critical Edition of De la démocratie en Amérique
By Alexis de Tocqueville
Edited by Eduardo Nolla
Translated by James T. Schleifer

In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont spent nine months in the U.S. studying American prisons on behalf of the French government. They investigated not just the prison system but indeed every aspect of American public and private life—the political, economic, religious, cultural, and above all the social life of the young nation. From Tocqueville’s copious notes came Democracy in America.

This English-only edition of Democracy in America features Eduardo Nolla’s incisive notes to James Schleifer’s English translation of the French text, with extensive reference to early outlines, drafts, manuscript variants, marginalia, unpublished fragments, and other materials: “This new Democracy is not only the one that Tocqueville presented to the reader of 1835, then to the reader of 1840 . . . the reader will see how Tocqueville proceeded with the elaboration of the main ideas of this book.”

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) was a French writer and politician.

Eduardo Nolla is a Professor at the Universidad San Pablo-CEU, Madrid.

James T. Schleifer is Emeritus Dean of the Library and Professor of History at the College of New Rochelle and has been a visiting lecturer at Yale University.

Democracy in America

By Alexis de Tocqueville
Edited by Eduardo Nolla
Translated by James T. Schleifer

In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville and his friend Gustave de Beaumont visited the United States. From Tocqueville’s copious notes of what he had seen and heard came the classic text De la Démocratie en Amérique, published in two large volumes, the first in 1835, the second in 1840. The first volume focused primarily on political society; the second, on civil society.

The Liberty Fund bilingual Democracy in America includes Eduardo Nolla’s critical edition of the French text and notes on the left-hand pages and James Schleifer’s English translation, with notes, on the right. This is the fullest historical critical edition of the Democracy, and the notes offer an extensive selection of early outlines, drafts, manuscript variants, marginalia, unpublished fragments, and other materials.

Liberty Fund Books

2020 CATALOG
The Making of Tocqueville’s “Democracy in America”

By James T. Schleifer

Foreword by George W. Pierson

The Liberty Fund second edition of James T. Schleifer’s celebrated study of Tocqueville includes a new preface by the author and an epilogue, “The Problem of the Two Democracies.” For the first time, the evolution of a number of Tocqueville’s central themes—democracy, individualism, centralization, despotism—emerges into clear relief.

SECOND EDITION
2000 | 6 x 9 | 437 pages

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Tocqueville’s Voyages

The Evolution of His Ideas and Their Journey Beyond His Time

Edited and with an Introduction by Christine Dunn Henderson

Tocqueville’s Voyages is a collection of newly written essays by some of the most well-known Tocquevillian scholars today. The essays in the first part of the volume explore the development of Tocqueville’s thought, his intellectual voyage, during his trip to America and while writing Democracy in America. The second part of the book focuses on the dissemination of Tocqueville’s ideas beyond the Franco-American context of 1835–1840 in places such as Argentina, Japan, and Eastern Europe.

This book gives readers unprecedented access to the development of Tocqueville’s thought as seen through the eyes of some of today’s most preeminent Tocquevillian scholars. Not only do the essays shed fresh light on the ideas in Democracy in America, but they also invite readers to reassess previous interpretations of Tocqueville’s great work and to consider its continued relevance to the world today.

Christine Dunn Henderson is a Senior Fellow at Liberty Fund.
Encyclopedic Liberty
Political Articles in the Dictionary of Diderot and D’Alembert

By Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert
Edited and with an Introduction by Henry C. Clark
Translated by Henry C. Clark and Christine Dunn Henderson

Often described as the culmination of the French Enlightenment, the Encyclopédie was collected not only to serve as a comprehensive reference work, but to “change the way men think” about every aspect of the human and natural worlds. In his celebrated “Preliminary Discourse” to the compilation, d’Alembert traced an entire history of modern philosophy and science designed to chart the way toward a sweeping Baconian project of improving the world through usable knowledge.

This anthology is the first endeavor to bring together the most significant political writing from the entire twenty-million-word compendium. It includes eighty-one of the most original, controversial, and representative articles on political ideas, practices, and institutions, many translated into English for the first time. The articles cover such topics as the foundations of political order, the relationship between natural and civil liberty, the different types of constitutional regimes, the role of the state in economic and religious affairs, and the boundaries between manners, morals, and laws. The anthology will also introduce to many English-language readers the tireless figure of Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt (1704–80), who wrote about 18,000 articles, or about 25 percent of the Encyclopédie. Jaucourt’s numerous articles on political topics did much to solidify the new political teachings of the natural-law tradition, the English Whig writers, the Huguenot diaspora, and particularly Montesquieu, whose Spirit of the Laws had appeared shortly before the first volume of the Encyclopédie itself.

Henry C. Clark is a Visiting Professor in the Political Economy Project at Dartmouth College. He has written two books and numerous articles, mainly on the French and Scottish Enlightenments.

Christine Dunn Henderson is a Senior Fellow at Liberty Fund.

My Thoughts
By Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron of La Brède and of Montesquieu

Translated, Edited, and with an Introduction by Henry C. Clark

My Thoughts provides a unique window into the mind of one of the undisputed pioneers of modern thought, the author of the 1748 classic, The Spirit of the Laws. From the publication in 1721 of his first masterpiece, Persian Letters, until his death in 1755, Montesquieu maintained notebooks in which he wrote and dictated ideas on a wide variety of topics. Some of the contents are early drafts of passages that Montesquieu eventually placed in his published works; others are outlines or early versions of projected works that were ultimately lost, unfinished, or abandoned. These notebooks provide important insights into his views on a broad range of topics, including morality, religion, history, law, economics, finance, science, art, and constitutional liberty.

Montesquieu called these notebooks Mes Pensées (My Thoughts), and they appear in their entirety in English for the first time in this Liberty Fund edition.

Editor and translator Henry C. Clark provides readers with translations of most of the footnotes contained in the 1991 French edition by Louis Desgraves, while adding new notes, a bibliography, and other aids to understanding the text and translation. These features provide the frame for a revealing portrait of one of the most influential figures of the eighteenth century.

Henry C. Clark is a Visiting Professor in the Political Economy Project at Dartmouth College. He has written two books and numerous articles, mainly on the French and Scottish Enlightenments.

Christine Dunn Henderson is a Senior Fellow at Liberty Fund.
Commentary on Filangieri’s Work

By Benjamin Constant
Edited and Translated by Alan S. Kahan

Commentary on Filangieri’s Work addresses the principal political and social questions that Benjamin Constant, one of the most important liberal thinkers of the nineteenth century, ever discussed. This translation will help give the work its deserved importance in political theory.

Commentary is founded on the view that government should maintain a strictly limited role in society: “The functions of government are purely negative. It should repress disorder, eliminate obstacles, in a word, prevent evil from arising. Thereafter one can leave it to individuals to find the good.”

Benjamin Constant (1767–1830), born in Switzerland, became one of France’s leading writers, as well as a journalist, philosopher, and politician.

Alan S. Kahan is Professor of British Civilization at the Université de Versailles/St. Quentin-en-Yvelines in France.

Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution

By Germaine de Staël
Edited and with an Introduction by Aurelian Craiutu

Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution was a winner in the Scholarly/Reference category at the Chicago Book Clinic’s 2009 Book & Media Show.

Germaine de Staël’s voice, which Napoleon Bonaparte tried to silence by censorship and banishment, is a unique and important contribution to revolutionary historiography.

Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution, considered Madame de Staël’s magnum opus, became a classic of liberal thinking, making a deeply original contribution to an ongoing political and historical debate in early nineteenth-century France and Europe.

Germaine de Staël (1766–1817) rose to fame as a novelist, critic, political thinker, sociologist of literature, and autobiographer.

Aurelian Craiutu is Professor in the Department of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington.

Principles of Politics Applicable to All Governments

By Benjamin Constant
Translated by Dennis O’Keeffe
Edited by Etienne Hofmann
Introduction by Nicholas Capaldi

In Principles of Politics, first published in 1815, Constant explores the subjects of law, sovereignty, and representation; power and accountability; government, property, and taxation; wealth and poverty; war, peace, and the maintenance of public order; and freedom, of the individual, of the press, and of religion.
On Religion
Considered in Its Source, Its Forms, and Its Developments
By Benjamin Constant
Translated by Peter Paul Seaton Jr.
Introduction by Pierre Manent

This is the first full-length English translation of Benjamin Constant's massive study of humanity's religious forms and development, published in five volumes between 1824 and 1831. Constant (1767–1830) regarded On Religion, worked on over the course of many years, as perhaps his most important philosophical work. He called it "the only interest, the only consolation of my life," and "the book that I was destined by nature to write."

While the recent revival of interest in Constant's thought has been welcome and fruitful, it has been incomplete, tending to leave out of account his writings on religion. In this connection, On Religion is essential reading and of interest for many reasons. As an analysis of humanity's religious experience, the work is notable for its methodology. Unlike previous writers with dogmatic commitments, whether theological or philosophical, Constant aimed to work with well-established facts and to relate religious forms to their historical contexts and civilizational developments. In this way, he was a precursor of the scientific study of religion.

On Religion demonstrates that principled liberalism can turn a sympathetic as well as analytic eye toward religion and, in an unbegrudging way, find an important place for it in free society. There are signs that this is a lesson that contemporary liberalism would do well to relearn.

Peter Paul Seaton Jr. teaches philosophy at St. Mary's Seminary and University in Baltimore. His scholarly interests focus on the intersection of religion, politics, and philosophy. He has translated a number of works in French thought, especially political philosophy. These include works by Pierre Manent, Democracy without Nations? and Modern Liberty and Its Discontents (with Daniel J. Mahoney), Chantal Delsol, Unjust Justice, and Rémi Brague, On the God of the Christians and The Legitimacy of the Human.
The Thomas Hollis Library

Thomas Hollis (1720–1774) was a businessman and philanthropist who gathered books he thought were essential to the understanding of liberty and donated them to libraries in Europe and America in the years preceding the American Revolution.

A Letter Concerning Toleration and Other Writings

By John Locke
Edited and with an Introduction by Mark Goldie

This volume opens with Locke’s Letter Concerning Toleration (1689) and also contains his earlier Essay Concerning Toleration (1667), extracts from the Third Letter for Toleration (1692), and a large body of his briefer essays and memoranda on this theme. As editor Mark Goldie writes in the introduction, A Letter Concerning Toleration "was one of the seventeenth century’s most eloquent pleas to Christians to renounce religious persecution."

This Liberty Fund edition provides the first fully annotated modern edition of A Letter Concerning Toleration, offering the reader explanatory guidance to Locke’s rich reservoir of references and allusions.

David Womersley is the Thomas Warton Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford. He has published widely on English literature from the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. He is the editor of Jonathan Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels (2012) for Cambridge University Press.

Mark Goldie is Reader in British Intellectual History at the University of Cambridge.

An Account of Denmark

With Francogallia and Some Considerations for the Promoting of Agriculture and Employing the Poor

By Robert Molesworth
Edited and with an Introduction by Justin Champion

The Liberty Fund edition of An Account of Denmark is the first modern edition of Molesworth’s writings. This volume presents not only An Account, but also his translation of Francogallia and Some Considerations for the Promoting of Agriculture and Employing the Poor. These texts encompass Molesworth’s major political statements on liberty as well as his important and understudied recommendations for the application of liberty to economic improvement.

Justin Champion is Chair of the History Department at Royal Holloway, University of London.

The Excellencie of a Free-State

Or, The Right Constitution of a Commonwealth

By Marchamont Nedham
Edited and with an Introduction by Blair Worden

This edition brings back into print, after two and a half centuries, the pioneering work of English republicanism, Marchamont Nedham’s The Excellencie of a Free-State, which was written in the wake of the execution of King Charles I.

First published in 1656, and compiled from previously written editorials in the parliamentarian newsbook Mercurius Politicus, The Excellencie of a Free-State addressed a dilemma in English politics, namely, what kind of government should the Commonwealth adopt?

Marchamont Nedham (1620–1678) was a polemicist, pamphleteer, and editor of Mercurius Politicus.

Blair Worden is Emeritus Fellow of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.
An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times and Other Writings
By John Brown
Edited and with an Introduction by David Womersley

John Brown (1715–1766) was a clergyman who achieved great but transient fame as a writer and moralist. His attack on Shaftesbury and “moral sense” philosophy, against which he employed utilitarian arguments and also arguments deriving from God’s benevolent intentions toward his creation, was published in 1751.

The central text of this volume, An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times (1757), is a vigorous attack on the “vain, luxurious, and selfish effeminacy” of England’s higher ranks. Brown repeated complaints of corruption and argued that public virtue had been undermined by a preoccupation with luxury and commerce. Estimate was printed no fewer than seven times within the first year, earning the author the name “Estimate Brown.”

Alongside Estimate, the volume includes four other works by Brown: his poem On Liberty (1749); his Essays on the Characteristicks (1751), which is an attack on Shaftesbury’s Characteristicks; his Explanatory Defence of the Estimate (1758), in which Brown engaged to defend the work against his critics; and finally, a late work, Thoughts on Civil Liberty (1765).

Two appendixes complement the texts. The first is a tribute to Brown by Thomas Hollis, and the second provides Hollis’s own annotations to his copy of Estimate. The introduction places Brown’s writings and career in the context of eighteenth-century moralism and in the tradition of British writing on liberty; the editorial annotations explain now-unfamiliar words and references to contemporary events, circumstances, and personalities.

Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the Ancient Republicks
Adapted to the Present State of Great Britain
By Edward Wortley Montagu
Edited and with an Introduction by David Womersley

In 1759, at the height of the Seven Years’ War, when Great Britain was suffering a series of military reversals, Montagu considered his country’s plight in an historical context formed by the study of five ancient republics: Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Carthage, and Rome. Montagu’s focus on the ancient republics gives his contribution a distinctive twist to the chorus of voices lamenting Britain’s decline, and his analysis exerted influence in three momentous eighteenth-century crises: the Seven Years’ War, the American War of Independence, and the French Revolution. This is the first modern edition of Montagu’s work.

Edward Wortley Montagu (1713 –1776) was the son of a wealthy British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire and of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. He was a student of oriental languages at the University of Leiden, which apparently proved useful during the peace negotiations at Aix-la-Chapelle which concluded the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748.

David Womersley is the Thomas Warton Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford. He has published widely on English literature from the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. He is the editor of Jonathan Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels (2012) for Cambridge University Press.
Liberty in Mexico
Writings on Liberalism from the Early Republican Period to the Second Half of the Twentieth Century
Edited by José Antonio Aguilar Rivera
Translated from the Spanish by Janet M. Burke and Ted Humphrey

Liberty in Mexico presents sixty-four essays and writings on liberty and liberalism, from the early republican period to the late twentieth century, from a variety of authors. The texts in this edition will refute commonly held notions that the liberal project in Latin America had no indigenous roots. The institutions of modern representative government and free-market capitalism were very much part of the founding of Mexico. Offering direct access to primary sources that are not available to readers in English, this volume is a key primer to those interested in Latin American history, politics, and political theory.

José Antonio Aguilar Rivera is a Professor of Political Studies in the Division of Policy Studies department at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, A. C. (CIDE) in Mexico.

Liberal Thought in Argentina, 1837–1940
Edited and with an Introduction by Natalio R. Botana and Ezequiel Gallo
Translated by Ian Barnett

Liberal ideas were very important in Argentina from the time of independence. The Argentine constitution (1853–60), in force for a long time, was based on liberal principles taken from both the North American and the European tradition.

The general structure of the collection is chronological, taking the reader through an analysis of different periods of liberal thought in Argentina: from liberalism as opposed to dictatorial rule, to liberalism as the framework of the National Constitution (1852–60). Importance is given to the development of liberalism in government and opposition (1857–1910) and to the last period (1912–40), the twilight of liberalism.

The writings rescue from obscurity those voices and writings that upheld and defended liberal ideals in several aspects, namely, those ideals concerning electoral and constitutional reforms and the resistance of the advance of different expressions of totalitarian dictatorship during the twentieth century.

This volume also includes a new introduction, editorial footnotes, a chronology, and brief biographies of the authors of the original texts.

Natalio R. Botana is Emeritus Professor at Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Departamento de Ciencia Política y Relaciones Internacionales, in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Ezequiel Gallo is Emeritus Professor at Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Departamento de Historia, in Buenos Aires, Argentina.
Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times
By Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury
Foreword by Douglas Den Uyl

The Liberty Fund edition of Characteristicks presents the complete 1732 text of this classic work of philosophy and political theory. Also included are faithful reproductions of the stirring engravings that Shaftesbury designed to facilitate the reader’s consideration of his meditations on the interrelationships among truth, goodness, beauty, virtue, liberty, responsibility, society, and the state.

The grandson of a founder and leader of the English Whigs, and tutored by John Locke, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), wrote one of the most intellectually influential works in English of the eighteenth century. This was the three-volume Characteristicks, originally published in 1711, but revised in 1714 to accommodate the engravings of illustrations that Shaftesbury himself planned to aid the reader’s consideration of his reflections on virtue as a kind of rationally achieved harmony among the affections.

Douglas Den Uyl is Vice President of Educational Programs for Liberty Fund.

Cato’s Letters
Or, Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects
By John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon
Edited and Annotated by Ronald Hamowy

Almost a generation before Washington, Henry, and Jefferson were even born, two Englishmen, concealing their identities with the honored ancient name of Cato, wrote newspaper articles condemning tyranny and advancing principles of liberty that immensely influenced American colonists. The Englishmen were John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon.

John Trenchard (1662–1723) devoted himself to writing on contemporary British politics and for one year was a Member of Parliament from Taunton.

Thomas Gordon (ca. 1695–1750) was a tutor in languages, a publisher, and a pamphleteer.

Ronald Hamowy was Professor Emeritus of Intellectual History at the University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Cato: A Tragedy, and Selected Essays
By Joseph Addison
Edited by Christine Dunn Henderson and Mark E. Yellin
Foreword by Forrest McDonald

First produced in 1713, Cato: A Tragedy inspired generations toward a pursuit of liberty. Liberty Fund’s new edition of Cato: A Tragedy, and Selected Essays brings together Addison’s dramatic masterpiece along with a selection of his essays that develop key themes in the play.

Christine Dunn Henderson is a Senior Fellow at Liberty Fund.

Mark E. Yellin is a Fellow at Liberty Fund.
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<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Editor</th>
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<tr>
<td>Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary</td>
<td>David Hume</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>978-0-86597-055-7</td>
<td>$30.00</td>
<td>978-0-86597-056-4</td>
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<td>This edition contains the thirty-nine essays included in Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary that made up Volume I of the 1777 posthumous Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects. It also includes ten essays that were withdrawn or left unpublished by Hume for various reasons.</td>
<td>Eugene F. Miller</td>
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<td>Areopagitica and Other Political Writings of John Milton</td>
<td>John Milton</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>978-0-86597-196-7</td>
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<td>As poet, statesman, and pamphleteer, John Milton (1608–1675) remains one of the singular champions of liberty in the annals of history. Even in his meditations on theology Milton strove to demonstrate that liberty—of conscience—is one of the inviolable rights of free peoples. John Alvis has collected into a superb one-volume edition all of Milton’s political writings of enduring importance. These include the entirety of Areopagitica, The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, A Defence of the People of England, The Second Defence of the People of England, and The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth.</td>
<td>John Alvis</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Hume: Prophet of the Counter-revolution</td>
<td>Laurence L. Bongie</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>978-0-86597-208-7</td>
<td>$22.00</td>
<td>978-0-86597-209-4</td>
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<td>Though usually Edmund Burke is identified as the first to articulate the principles of a modern conservative political tradition, arguably he was preceded by a Scotsman who is better known for espousing a brilliant concept of skepticism. As Laurence Bongie notes, “David Hume was undoubtedly the eighteenth-century British writer whose works were most widely known and acclaimed on the Continent during the later Enlightenment period. Hume’s impact [in France] was of undeniable importance, greater even for a time than the related influence of Burke, although it represents a contribution to French counter-revolutionary thought which, unlike that of Burke, has been almost totally ignored by historians to this day.” The bulk of Bongie’s work consists of the writings of French readers of Hume who were confronted, first, by the ideology of human perfection and, finally, by the actual terrors of the French Revolution. Offered in French in the original edition of David Hume published by Oxford University Press in 1965, these vitally important writings have been translated by the author into English for the Liberty Fund second edition. In his foreword, Donald Livingston observes that “If conservatism is taken to be an intellectual critique of the first attempt at modern total revolution, then the first such event was not the French but the Puritan revolution, and the first systematic critique of this sort of act was given by Hume.”</td>
<td>Laurence L. Bongie</td>
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<td>Donald Livingston is Professor of Philosophy at Emory University.</td>
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The Fable of the Bees
Or Private Vices, Publick Benefits
By Bernard Mandeville
With a Commentary by F. B. Kaye

It used to be that everyone read the “notorious” Bernard Mandeville (1670–1733). He was a great satirist and came to have a profound impact on economics, ethics, and social philosophy.

_The Fable of the Bees_ begins with a poem and continues with a number of essays and dialogues. It is all tied together by the startling and original idea that “private vices” (self-interest) lead to “publick benefits” (the development and operation of society).

From that simple beginning, Mandeville saw that orderly social structures (such as law, language, the market, and even the growth of knowledge) were a spontaneous growth developing out of individual human actions.

The Pursuit of Certainty
David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Beatrice Webb
By Shirley Robin Letwin

By examining the thought of four seminal thinkers, Shirley Robin Letwin in _The Pursuit of Certainty_ provides a brilliant record of the gradual change in the English-speaking peoples’ understanding of “what sort of activity politics is.” As Letwin writes, “the distinctive political issue since the eighteenth century has been whether government should do more or less.” Nor, as many historians argue, did this issue arise because of the Industrial Revolution or “new social conditions [that] aggravated the problem of poverty” but, Letwin believes, because of the “profoundly personal reflection” of major thinkers, including Hume, Bentham, Mill, and Webb. David Hume, for example, believed that to “reach for perfection, to seek an ideal, is noble, but dangerous, and is therefore an activity that individuals or voluntary groups may pursue, but governments certainly should not.”

By the end of the nineteenth century, as Letwin observes, Beatrice Webb came to “equate the triumph of reason over passion with the rule of science over human life.” Thus did the “pursuit of certainty” displace the traditional English understanding of the limitations of human nature—hence the necessity of limits to governmental power and programs. Consequently, in our time, “Politics was no longer one of several human activities and at that not a very noble one; it encompassed all of human life” in quest of philosophical “certainty” and social perfection. The Liberty Fund edition is a reprint of the original work published by Oxford in 1965.

Shirley Robin Letwin (1924–1993) was a Professor of Political and Legal Philosophy at Harvard, Cambridge, and the London School of Economics.

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IN TWO VOLUMES
1988 | 6 x 9 | 1,044 pages
Vol. I, preface
Vol. II, preface and index

Hardcover
ISBN 978-0-86597-072-4
$42.00 | £29.95

Paperback
$24.00 | £19.95

1998 | 6 x 9 | 454 pages
Introduction, index

Hardcover
$24.00 | £19.95

Paperback
ISBN 978-0-86597-195-0
$14.50 | £10.95

This title is available as an ebook for purchase on Amazon, Barnes and Noble, and iTunes.
The Ethics of Redistribution
By Bertrand de Jouvenel
Introduction by John Gray

In this concise and elegant work, first published in 1952, Bertrand de Jouvenel purposely ignores the economic evidence that redistributional efforts sap incentives and are economically destructive. Rather, he stresses the commonly disregarded ethical arguments showing that redistribution is ethically indefensible for, and practically unworkable in, a complex society. Bertrand de Jouvenel was an author and teacher, first publishing On Power in 1945.

John Gray is Professor Emeritus of European Thought at the London School of Economics.

Sovereignty
An Inquiry into the Political Good
By Bertrand de Jouvenel
Translated by J. F. Huntington
Foreword by Daniel J. Mahoney and David DesRosiers

Who decides? Who is the Sovereign? What is a good act? In quest of answers to these vitally important questions, Bertrand de Jouvenel examines successively the nature and history of authority, the political good, the sovereign, and liberty. His concern is with "the prospects for individual liberty in democratic societies in which sovereignty purportedly resides in the whole people of the body politic." His objective is a definition and understanding of "the canons of conduct for the public authority of a dynamic society."

Daniel J. Mahoney is Associate Professor of Politics at Assumption College.

David DesRosiers is Executive Vice President at the Manhattan Institute.

On Power
The Natural History of Its Growth
By Bertrand de Jouvenel
Foreword by D. W. Brogan
Translated by J. F. Huntington

Documenting the process by which government and controlling majorities have grown increasingly powerful and tyrannical, Bertrand de Jouvenel demonstrates how democracies have failed to limit the powers of government. Jouvenel traces this development to the days of royal absolutism, which established large administrative bureaucracies and thus laid the foundation of the modern omnipotent state.

The Pure Theory of Politics
By Bertrand de Jouvenel
Foreword by Daniel J. Mahoney

This is the final volume in Jouvenel’s magnum opus, the trilogy that begins with On Power, moves to Sovereignty, and concludes with The Pure Theory of Politics. In this volume, Bertrand de Jouvenel proposes to remedy a serious deficiency in political science: "the lack of agreement on first principles, or 'elements.'" The author’s concern is with political processes as they actually exist, not as they are conjectured to be in hypothetical models.
Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays
By Michael Oakeshott
Foreword by Timothy Fuller

Rationalism in Politics established the late Michael Oakeshott as the leading conservative political theorist in modern Britain. This expanded collection of essays astutely points out the limits of "reason" in rationalist politics and criticizes ideological schemes to reform society according to supposedly "scientific" or rationalistic principles that ignore the wealth and variety of human experience.

Michael Oakeshott (1901–1990) was Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics and the author of many essays, among them those collected in Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays and On History and Other Essays, both now published by Liberty Fund.

Timothy Fuller is Professor of Political Science at Colorado College.

On History and Other Essays
By Michael Oakeshott
Foreword by Timothy Fuller

In five essays, including three on historiography, one of the greatest minds in English political thought in the twentieth century explores themes central to the human experience: the nature of history, the rule of law, and the quest for power that is intrinsic to the human condition. Michael Oakeshott believed, as Timothy Fuller observes, that "the historian’s effort to understand the past without ulterior motive [is the] effort which distinguishes the historian from all who examine the past for the guidance they expect it to provide about practical concerns."

The Voice of Liberal Learning
By Michael Oakeshott
Foreword and Introduction by Timothy Fuller

By 1989, when Michael Oakeshott’s Voice of Liberal Learning was first published by Yale University Press, books that held a negative view of education in the United States had garnered a remarkable amount of attention.

Oakeshott’s approach to the subject is subtle, comprehensive, and radical—in the sense of summoning readers to the root of the matter. That root, Oakeshott believed, is the very nature of learning itself and, concomitantly, the means (as distinct from the method) by which the life of learning is discovered, cultivated, and pursued.

Hobbes on Civil Association
By Michael Oakeshott
Foreword by Paul Franco

Of Michael Oakeshott and his interest in Thomas Hobbes, Professor Paul Franco has written, “The themes Oakeshott stresses in his interpretation of Hobbes are…skepticism about the role of reason in politics, allegiance to the morality of individuality as opposed to any sort of collectivism, and the principle of a noninstrumental, nonpurposive mode of political association, namely, civil association.” Of Hobbes’s Leviathan, Oakeshott has written, “Leviathan is the greatest, perhaps the sole, masterpiece of political philosophy written in the English language.” Hobbes on Civil Association consists of Oakeshott’s four principal essays on Hobbes and on the nature of civil association as civil association pertains to ordered liberty.

Paul Franco is a Professor in the Department of Government at Bowdoin College.
The State
By Anthony de Jasay

The State is a brilliant analysis of modern political arrangements that views the state as acting in its own interest contrary to the interests of individuals and even of an entire society. As Nobel laureate James Buchanan has observed, Jasay subjects the state to a "solid, foundational analysis, grounded in an understanding of economic theory, informed by political philosophy and a deep sense of history." The results include a "devastating critique of the absurdities of modern welfare economics."

Jasay traces the logical and historical progression of the state from a modest-sized protector of life and property through its development into what he believes to be an "agile seducer of democratic majorities, to the welfare-dispensing drudge that it is today." Can, Jasay wonders, this seemingly inexorable expansion of the state be stopped? Or "is the rational next step [for the state] a totalitarian enhancement of its power?"

Political Economy, Concisely
Essays on Policy That Does Not Work and Markets That Do
By Anthony de Jasay
Edited with an Introduction by Hartmut Kliemt

Written for the general reader and specialist alike, the essays collected here articulate a convincing classical liberal view of the world, with a no-nonsense approach to modern economic theory. Many of the articles are collected here for the first time in book form. Jasay's aim is to clarify basic concepts in the realm of political and economic philosophy, such as property, equality and distributive justice, public goods, unemployment, opportunity costs, and welfare.

Economic Sense and Nonsense
Reflections from Europe, 2008–2012
By Anthony de Jasay
Edited by Hartmut Kliemt

Economic Sense and Nonsense comprises a collection of sixty essays written by Anthony de Jasay for his monthly column "Reflections from Europe," on Liberty Fund's Library of Economics and Liberty website. The articles span the years 2008 to 2012 and focus on economic issues of topical concern in Europe.

In this collection Jasay continues his explorations of a number of themes that he developed in his earlier articles, such as the importance of property rights, the role of contracts in economic activity, the proper limitations of the state, and the attitude of intellectuals concerning the regulation of the free market. With the outbreak of the economic crisis of mid-2008, Jasay spends considerable time discussing its origins, the reactions of governments in both Europe and the United States, and the ensuing euro crisis, thus adding another dimension to his analysis of the economic woes of the industrialized world.
Social Justice and the Indian Rope Trick

By Anthony de Jasay
Edited by Hartmut Kliemt

Anthony de Jasay is arguably one of the most influential independent thinkers and libertarian political philosophers of our time. Through his writings, he challenges the reigning paradigms justifying modern democratic government, providing an antidote to the well-intentioned yet, in Jasay’s opinion, naive expansion of state power furthered by much of modern thought today.

In this collection of witty and compelling essays, the author challenges what many of today’s social and political philosophers widely accept: that social injustice is identified with inequality and social justice with equality. Rather, Jasay argues that justice preempts so-called social justice, so any attempt to adorn equality in the robes of social justice is an illusion, a sleight of hand, “much as the Indian rope in the notorious trick is made to stand up skyward on its own.”

The fifteen articles in this collection include both published and unpublished papers written over the years 2008 to 2012. Scholars, students, and general readers will enjoy this collection, which is written with just the right blend of serious scholarship, wit, and plain speaking. In addition, Social Justice and the Indian Rope Trick can be seen as a continuation of Jasay’s Political Philosophy, Clearly (Liberty Fund, 2010) and a companion to his book Economic Sense and Nonsense (Liberty Fund, 2014).

Anthony de Jasay, an independent theorist, has been described as one of the few genuinely original minds in modern political philosophy.

Hartmut Kliemt is Professor of Philosophy and Economics at the Frankfurt School of Finance and Management.

Social Contract, Free Ride

A Study of the Public-Goods Problem

By Anthony de Jasay

Social Contract, Free Ride is a cogent argument that strikes at the very foundations of traditional economic apologies for coercive action by the state to fulfill necessary public utility.

Justice and Its Surroundings

By Anthony de Jasay

Anthony de Jasay breaks new ground with Justice and Its Surroundings—a collection of trenchant essays that seek to redefine the concept of justice and to highlight the frontier between it and the surrounding issues that encroach upon it and are mistakenly associated with it.

This straightforward and terse book analyzes the roles of collective choice, redistribution, and socialism and the claims that would enlist justice in their service.
Leisure the Basis of Culture
By Josef Pieper
Translated by Alexander Dru
Introduction by T. S. Eliot

This elegantly written work introduces the reader to an understanding that leisure is nothing less than “an attitude of mind and a condition of the soul that fosters a capacity to perceive the reality of the world.” Pieper demonstrates that “Leisure has been, and always will be, the first foundation of any culture,” and observes, “in our bourgeois Western world total labor has vanquished leisure. Unless we regain the art of silence and insight, the ability for nonactivity, unless we substitute true leisure for our hectic amusements, we will destroy our culture—and ourselves.”

Josef Pieper (1904–1997) was an influential German Catholic philosopher, scholar, and author.

The Servile State
By Hilaire Belloc
Introduction by Robert Nisbet

Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953) was one of the most respected men of his day for his learning, insight, wit, and brilliant literary style. Author of over a hundred books and articles, Belloc was a journalist, polemicist, social and political analyst, literary critic, poet, and novelist.

The Servile State has endured as his most important political work. The effect of socialist doctrine on capitalist society, Belloc wrote, is to produce a third thing different from either—the servile state, today commonly called the welfare state.

Envy
A Theory of Social Behaviour
By Helmut Schoeck

This classic study is one of the few books to explore extensively the many facets of envy—“a drive which lies at the core of man’s life as a social being.” Ranging widely over literature, philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences, Professor Schoeck—a distinguished sociologist and anthropologist—elucidates both the constructive and destructive consequences of envy in social life. Perhaps most important, he demonstrates that not only the impetus toward a totalitarian regime but also the egalitarian impulse in democratic societies are alike in being rooted in envy.

Politica
By Johannes Althusius
Translated, Abridged, and with an Introduction by Frederick S. Carney
Foreword by Daniel J. Elazar

Drawing deeply from Aristotle and biblical teaching, Politica presents a unique vision of the commonwealth as a harmonious ordering of natural associations. According to Althusius, the purpose of the state is to protect and encourage social life. The family is the most natural of human associations, and all other unions derive from it. Power and authority properly grow from more local to more general associations.

Johannes Althusius (1557–1638) was a German political and legal philosopher.

Frederick S. Carney was Professor Emeritus of Ethics at the Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University.

Daniel J. Elazar was Director of the Center for the Study of Federalism at Temple University and Professor of Political Science at Temple and at Bar Ilan University in Israel.
**Discourses Concerning Government**

By Algernon Sidney  
Edited by Thomas G. West

Written in response to Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha* (1680), the *Discourses Concerning Government* by Algernon Sidney (1623–1683) has been treasured for more than three centuries as a classic defense of republicanism and popular government.  

*Thomas G. West* is Paul and Dawn Potter Professor of Politics, Hillsdale College.

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**The Liberal Mind**

By Kenneth Minogue

Kenneth Minogue offers a brilliant and provocative exploration of liberalism in the Western world today: its roots and its influences, its present state, and its prospects in the new century. *The Liberal Mind* limns the taxonomy of a way of thinking that constitutes the very consciousness of most people in most Western countries.  

*Kenneth Minogue* is Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of London.
The Man Versus the State
With Six Essays on Government, Society, and Freedom
By Herbert Spencer
Introduction by Albert Jay Nock
Foreword by Eric Mack

Spencer develops various specific disastrous ramifications of the wholesale substitution of the principle of compulsory cooperation—the statist principle—for the individualist principle of voluntary cooperation. His theme is that “there is in society . . . that beautiful self-adjusting principle which will keep all its elements in equilibrium. . . . The attempt to regulate all the actions of a community by legislation will entail little else but misery and compulsion.”

Herbert Spencer joined the staff of the London and Birmingham Railway as an engineer in 1837 and in 1848 took a position as editor of The Economist.

Popular Government
By Sir Henry Sumner Maine
Introduction by George W. Carey

Sir Henry Sumner Maine was one of the great intellects of the Victorian era. In Popular Government he examines the political institutions of men. He saw that popular governments, unless they are founded upon and consonant with the evolutionary development of a people, will crumble from their own excesses.

George W. Carey is Professor of Government at Georgetown University and editor of the Political Science Reviewer.

The Principles of Ethics
By Herbert Spencer
Introduction by Tibor R. Machan

Though almost forgotten today, Herbert Spencer ranks as one of the foremost individualist philosophers. His influence in the latter half of the nineteenth century was immense.

Spencer’s name is usually linked with Darwin’s, for it was he who penned the phrase, “survival of the fittest.” Today in America he is most often admired for his trenchant essays in The Man Versus the State. But Spencer himself considered The Principles of Ethics to be his finest work. In the second volume, under "Justice," is his final statement on the role of the state. His formula for justice is summed up in these words: “Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.”

The Illusion of the Epoch
Marxism-Leninism as a Philosophical Creed
By H. B. Acton

The Illusion of the Epoch helps readers to understand the roots of Marxism-Leninism and its implications for philosophy, modern political thought, economics, and history. As Professor Tim Fuller has written, this "is not an intemperate book, but rather an effort at a sustained, scholarly argument against Marxist views."

H. B. Acton (1908–1974) taught at Bedford College (London), the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Chicago.
Modern Age: The First Twenty-Five Years
A Selection
Edited by George A. Panichas

These seventy-eight essays characterize the richness and diversity of conservative scholarship. Modern Age was founded in 1957 by Russell Kirk, with Henry Regnery and David S. Collier. The magazine is now published by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. George A. Panichas is the current editor of Modern Age and a Professor of English at the University of Maryland.

Essays on Individuality
Edited by Felix Morley
Foreword by Arthur Kemp

"Individuality is freedom lived," wrote John Dos Passos in a passage that serves as a fitting introduction to this unusual volume dedicated to the critical examination of the place of the individual in contemporary society.

Contributors are John Dos Passos; Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.; Milton Friedman; Friedrich A. Hayek; Joseph Wood Krutch; William M. McGovern; James C. Malin; Felix Morley; Helmut Schoeck; Richard M. Weaver; Roger J. Williams; and Conway Zirkle.

Fugitive Essays
Selected Writings of Frank Chodorov
By Frank Chodorov
Edited and with an Introduction by Charles H. Hamilton

Frank Chodorov profoundly influenced the intellectual development of the post-World War II libertarian/conservative movement. These essays have been assembled for the first time from Chodorov’s writings in magazines, newspapers, books, and pamphlets. They sparkle with his individualistic perspective on politics, human rights, socialism, capitalism, education, and foreign affairs.

Freedom and Federalism
By Felix Morley

Despite the centralizing tendencies of the American national government in the twentieth century, there have been surprisingly few books defending the federal system. Felix Morley’s Freedom and Federalism, which examines the root causes of the problem, was thus a pioneering achievement when it first appeared in 1959.

No less relevant today, the book provides a perceptive diagnosis of the collapse of States’ rights in modern America; and it seeks the restoration of a constitutional balance between central and state authorities.

Is federalism worth saving? "Its outstanding virtue," which is "the distinctively American contribution to political art," argues Morley, "is its facility in combining two naturally antagonistic conditions—the social condition of order, and the more personal condition of freedom." In the end, he concludes, the American government will fail unless these two conditions are reconciled.

Felix Morley (1894–1982), Pulitzer-Prize-winning author, journalist, and educator, was a Rhodes Scholar, editor of the Washington Post and Human Events, and President of Haverford College.
Political Writings
By Samuel Johnson
Edited by Donald J. Greene

The eighteenth century produced a remarkable array of thinkers whose influence in the development of free societies and free institutions is incalculable. Among these thinkers were Mandeville, Hutcheson, Smith, Hume, and Burke; their time is known as the Age of Johnson. Samuel Johnson: Political Writings contains twenty-four of Johnson's essays on the great social, economic, and political issues of his time. These include "Taxation No Tyranny" — in which Johnson defended the British Crown against the American revolutionaries — and "An Introduction to the Political State of Great Britain," "Thoughts on the Coronation of King George III," and "The Patriot," which is one of Johnson's principal writings during the American Revolution.

Scholasticism and Politics
By Jacques Maritain

Scholasticism and Politics, first published in 1940, is a collection of nine lectures Maritain delivered at the University of Chicago in 1938. Maritain championed the cause of what he called personalist democracy — a regime committed to popular sovereignty, constitutionalism, limited government, and individual freedom. He believed a personalist democracy offered the modern world the possibility of a political order most in keeping with the demands of human dignity, Christian values, and the common good.

Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) was a French political thinker and philosopher and is widely recognized as one of the most influential interpreters of Thomistic thought to modern culture.

On Liberty, Society, and Politics
The Essential Essays of William Graham Sumner
By William Graham Sumner
Edited by Robert C. Bannister

William Graham Sumner is the "forgotten man" of American intellectual history. Too often dismissed or only superficially understood, his interpretations are now attracting closer scrutiny and appreciation. He is remembered chiefly as one of the founding fathers of sociology.

Sumner's analysis of the relation between the individual and society is deeper and more sophisticated than is commonly thought. For students of American history and politics, the essays reveal the complexity of American political and social thought.

Robert C. Bannister is Scheuer Professor Emeritus of History at Swarthmore College.

The Politicization of Society
Edited by Kenneth S. Templeton, Jr.
Introduction by R. M. Hartwell

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity
By James Fitzjames Stephen
Edited by Stuart D. Warner

Students of political theory will welcome the return to print of this brilliant defense of ordered liberty. Impugning John Stuart Mill’s famous treatise, On Liberty, Stephen criticized Mill for turning abstract doctrines of the French Revolution into “the creed of a religion.”

Only the constraints of morality and law make liberty possible, warned Stephen, and attempts to impose unlimited freedom, material equality, and an indiscriminate love of humanity will lead inevitably to coercion and tyranny. Liberty must be restrained by custom and tradition if it is to endure; equality must be limited to equality before the law if it is to be just; and fraternity must include actual men, not the amorphous mass of mankind, if it is to be real and genuine.

John Randolph of Roanoke
A Study in American Politics
By Russell Kirk

John Randolph of Roanoke is unique in American political history. For most of his public career Randolph was a leader of the opposition—to both Jeffersonians and Federalists. Only twenty-six when first elected to Congress in 1799, he readily became the most forceful figure at the Capitol.

For most of his public career Randolph was a leader of the opposition—to both Jeffersonians and Federalists. He was, writes Russell Kirk, “devoted to state rights, the agricultural interest, economy in government, and freedom from foreign entanglements.” Above all things Randolph cherished liberty, and he famously declared, “I love liberty; I hate equality.”

Russell Kirk (1918–1994) was the author of some thirty books, including The Conservative Mind, and was one of the seminal political thinkers of the twentieth century.

The Perfectibility of Man
By John Passmore

A reviewer of the original edition in 1970 of The Perfectibility of Man well summarizes the scope and significance of this renowned work by one of the leading philosophers of the twentieth century: “Beginning with an analytic discussion of the various ways in which perfectibility has been interpreted, Professor Passmore traces its long history from the Greeks to the present day, by way of Christianity, orthodox and heterodox, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, anarchism, utopias, communism, psychoanalysis, and evolutionary theories of man and society. Both in its broad sweep and in countless supporting reflections, it is a journey through spiritual scenery of the most majestic and exhilarating kind.” Thoroughly and elegantly, Passmore explores the history of the idea of perfectibility—manifest in the ideology of perfectibilism—and its consequences, which have invariably been catastrophic for individual liberty and responsibility in private, social, economic, and political life.

John Passmore served for many years as a Professor of Philosophy at Australian National University.
Christianity and Classical Culture
A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine
By Charles Norris Cochrane

Christianity and Classical Culture is considered one of the great works of scholarship published in the last century. The theme of Christianity and Classical Culture is the fundamental change in thought and action that occurred from the reign of Augustus to the time of Augustine. The classical world sought to practice politics and understand the world in purely rational terms, but the difficulties of this program were already evident as Christianity began developing a completely new understanding of the human world. It is from this revolution in ideas that our modern world was forged.

W. H. Auden wrote of an earlier edition in The New Republic: “Since the appearance of the first edition in 1940, I have read this book many times, and my conviction of its importance to the understanding not only of the epoch with which it is concerned, but also of our own, has increased with each rereading.”

Charles Norris Cochrane (1889–1945) was educated at the University of Toronto and Oxford (Corpus Christi College) and taught at the University of Toronto.

Rational Man
A Modern Interpretation of Aristotelian Ethics
By Henry Babcock Veatch

Forty years after its original publication, Liberty Fund brings back to print Henry Veatch’s path-breaking popular presentation of virtue ethics. This modern interpretation of Aristotelian ethics is a natural for undergraduate philosophy courses. It is also an engaging work for the expert and the beginner alike, offering a middle ground between existential and analytic ethics.

Veatch argues for the existence of ethical knowledge, and he reasons that this knowledge is grounded in human nature. Yet he contends that the moral life is not merely one of following rules or recipes, nor is human well-being something simple. Rather, the moral life, which Veatch calls “rational or intelligent living,” is the life of practical wisdom where individual judgment of the particular and the contingent is paramount. Veatch’s Rational Man offers a pluralistic understanding of human well-being without lapsing into moral relativism.

For those interested in morality and liberty, Rational Man offers fertile ground for developing an account of free and responsible persons. It has profoundly influenced the work of Den Uyl, Campbell, Machan, Miller, Mack, and many others.

Henry Babcock Veatch (1911–1999) was born in Evansville, Indiana, and educated at Harvard. He was recognized as one of the leading neo-Aristotelian philosophers of the twentieth century. Besides Rational Man, he was the author of Intentional Logic; Realism and Nominalism Revisited; Aristotle: A Contemporary Appreciation; and many others.
New Individualist Review
Introduction by Milton Friedman

Initially sponsored by the University of Chicago Chapter of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, the New Individualist Review was more than the usual "campus magazine." It declared itself "founded in a commitment to human liberty." Between 1961 and 1968, seventeen issues were published which attracted a national audience of readers. Its contributors spanned the libertarian-conservative spectrum, from F. A. Hayek and Ludwig von Mises to Richard M. Weaver and William F. Buckley, Jr.

In his introduction to this reprint edition, Milton Friedman—one of the magazine's faculty advisors—writes that the Review set “an intellectual standard that has not yet, I believe, been matched by any of the more recent publications in the same philosophical tradition.

As every reader of this volume will find for himself, the quality of the Review was consistently high . . . directed at important and controversial issues.

—Milton Friedman

The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy

By William Paley

Foreword by D. L. Le Mahieu

This classic work by William Paley was one of the most popular books in England and America in the early nineteenth century. Its significance lies in the fact that it marks an important point at which eighteenth-century "whiggism" began to be transformed into nineteenth-century "liberalism."

First published in 1785, Paley’s Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy was originally based on his Cambridge lectures of 1766–1776. It was designed for instructional purposes and was almost immediately adopted as a required text for all undergraduates at Cambridge.

The great popularity of Paley’s Principles is perhaps due in part to the author’s remarkable gift for clear exposition. Even today, this work is very readable and easily comprehended. But the popularity of the book also reflected the fact that Paley expressed some of the leading scientific, theological, and ethical ideas of his time and place. In this respect, Paley’s great classic provides valuable insight into the Anglo-American mind of the early nineteenth century and helps us better understand the thinking processes and evolving concepts of liberty and virtue that were displacing the old “whiggism” of the preceding century.

As editor D. L. Le Mahieu states, “To Paley, the undeniable demands of self interest coincided rather than conflicted with the needs of society.” Paley believed that "it was the utility of any moral rule alone which determined obligation." In his political theory, Paley rejected social contract theory and substituted instead a natural history of civil society. His opposition to electoral reform, and, later, the French Revolution, "became part of a larger ideological discourse that helped the British elites withstand the revolutionary currents of the 1790s."

D. L. Le Mahieu is Hotchkiss Presidential Professor at Lake Forest College in Illinois. He is also the author of The Mind of William Paley: A Philosopher and His Age (1976) and A Culture for Democracy (1988).
The Limits of State Action
By Wilhelm von Humboldt
Edited by J. W. Burrow

The Limits of State Action has an exuberance and attention to principle that make it a valuable introduction to classical liberal political thought. It is also crucial for an understanding of liberalism as it developed in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century. Humboldt explores the role that liberty plays in individual development, discusses criteria for permitting the state to limit individual actions, and suggests ways of confining the state to its proper bounds. In so doing, he uniquely combines the ancient concern for human excellence and the modern concern for what has come to be known as negative liberty.

J. W. Burrow is Professor of History at the University of Sussex.

The Moral Foundation of Democracy
By John H. Hallowell

With The Moral Foundation of Democracy, John H. Hallowell makes a significant argument in favor of the importance of moral values in the orderly functioning of modern democracies. Hallowell argues that developments in recent democratic thought have eroded the very "faith" upon which democracy rests, namely, that man is a reasonable, moral, and spiritual actor. He sharply criticizes positivist thought and moral relativism as direct challenges to the notion that transcendent truths guide individuals in their actions and influence how people participate in a democratic society.

John H. Hallowell taught political science for forty years at Duke University and was chair of the department from 1964 to 1971. He died in 1991.
Temporal and Eternal
By Charles Péguy
Translated and with an Introduction by Alexander Dru
Foreword by Pierre Manent

Temporal and Eternal is a profound and poetic assessment of the relationship between tradition and liberty, between politics and society, and between Christianity and the modern world. This edition includes a new foreword by Pierre Manent, Professor of Political Science at the Centre de Recherches Politiques Raymond Aron in Paris.

As the twenty-first century begins, the relationships this book explores are as relevant as they were in the last century, when French poet and essayist Charles Péguy addressed them in “Memories of Youth” and “Clio I,” the two essays in this volume.

The brevity, beauty, and timeless relevance of Péguy’s prose make this volume attractive for historians, scholars, and laymen.

The Southern Essays of Richard M. Weaver
By Richard M. Weaver
Foreword by George Core
Edited and with a Preface by George M. Curtis, III, and James J. Thompson, Jr.

Richard M. Weaver (1910–1963), one of the leading figures in the post-World War II development of an intellectual, self-conscious conservatism, believed that Southern values of religion, work ethic, and family could provide a defense against the totalitarian nihilism of fascist and communist statism.

George M. Curtis, III, is a Professor of American History at Hanover College.

James J. Thompson, Jr., is the author of three books.

Union and Liberty
The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun
By John C. Calhoun
Edited by Ross M. Lence

Calhoun’s most important constitutional and political writings are now available as complete, unabridged texts and in a single volume, many for the first time since the 1850s. These writings address such issues as states’ rights and nullification, slavery, the growth of the Federal judicial power, and Calhoun’s doctrine of the “concurrent majority.”

Ross M. Lence was Professor of Political Science at the University of Houston.

In Defense of Tradition
Collected Shorter Writings of Richard M. Weaver, 1929–1963
By Richard M. Weaver
Edited and with an Introduction by Ted J. Smith III

Richard M. Weaver, a thinker and writer celebrated for his unsparing diagnoses and realistic remedies for the ills of our age, is known largely through a few of his works that remain in print.

This new collection of Weaver’s shorter writings, assembled by Ted J. Smith III, Weaver’s leading biographer, presents many long-out-of-print and never-before-published works that give new range and depth to Weaver’s sweeping thought.

Ted J. Smith III was Professor of Mass Communications at Virginia Commonwealth University.
**The Virtue of Civility**

**Selected Essays on Liberalism, Tradition, and Civil Society**

By Edward Shils
Edited by Steven Grosby

Edward Shils was one of the leading intellectual defenders of freedom in the twentieth century. In these nine essays, he explores the importance of civility and tradition to a free society. The essays' significance is enormous, for Shils was one of the first and assuredly one of the most courageous writers to examine the nature of civility and civil society and their relation to a free, ordered, liberal democratic society.

**Edward Shils** (1910–1995) was Professor of Sociology and Social Thought at the University of Chicago and Honorary Fellow at Peterhouse, Cambridge.

**Steven Grosby** is an Associate Professor at Clemson University.

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**In Defense of Freedom and Related Essays**

By Frank S. Meyer
Foreword by William C. Dennis

When it first appeared in 1962, In *Defense of Freedom* was hailed by Richard M. Weaver as "a brilliant defense of the primacy of the person" and an effective "indictment of statism and bureaucratism." Meyer examines the tension between the freedom of the person and the power of social institutions. In his view, both the dominant Liberalism and the "New Conservatism" of the American tradition place undue emphasis on the claims of social order at the expense of the individual person and liberty.

**Frank S. Meyer** (1909–1972) was a senior editor of *National Review*.

**William C. Dennis** is a Senior Fellow, Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and a consultant in philanthropy.

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**Democracy and Leadership**

By Irving Babbitt
Foreword by Russell Kirk

Irving Babbitt was a leader of the intellectual movement called American Humanism, or the New Humanism, and a distinguished professor of French literature at Harvard. *Democracy and Leadership*, first published in 1924, is his only directly political book, and in it he applies the principles of humanism to the civil social order.

Babbitt offers a compelling critique of unchecked majoritarianism and addresses the great problem of how to discover leaders with standards.

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**The Logic of Liberty**

**Reflections and Rejoinders**

By Michael Polanyi
Foreword by Stuart D. Warner

A chemist and member of a family renowned for its learning in several disciplines, Michael Polanyi experienced first-hand the horrors of totalitarian government and worldwide war. He argued that centrally planned organizations—or governments—based solely on the methods of science threaten to foreclose a full human knowledge of the mysteries of existence and therefore pose a direct threat not only to academic freedom but also to social and political liberty.

**Michael Polanyi** (1891–1976) was an internationally renowned scientist, philosopher, and professor whose other works include *Personal Knowledge* and *The Tacit Dimension*.

**Stuart D. Warner** is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois.
**In Pursuit: Of Happiness and Good Government**

By Charles Murray

Respected author, scholar, and columnist Charles Murray has long challenged accepted notions of public and social policy issues. In this volume, originally published in 1988, Murray presents a persuasive and practical argument that reconsiders commonly held beliefs of what constitutes success in social policy by examining the scope of government and its role in people’s pursuit of happiness.

In Pursuit: Of Happiness and Good Government begins by examining James Madison’s statement: “A good government implies two things: first, fidelity to the object of government, which is the happiness of the people; secondly, a knowledge of the means by which that object can best be attained.” Murray exhibits a thoughtful, accessible writing style as he considers such basic, important questions as whether individual efforts or government reform should be responsible for dealing with society’s problems. Drawing from his minimalist-government viewpoint, Murray proposes that government not try to force happiness on the people with federal policies or programs but, rather, that it provide conditions that enable people to pursue happiness on their own.

Murray also proposes that the pursuit of happiness be used as a framework for analyzing the efficacy of public policy, and he comes to the conclusion that Jeffersonian democracy is still the best way to run society, even today’s complex society.

Charles Murray is the W. H. Brady Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. He has written numerous books, including Coming Apart, Losing Ground, Real Education, and Human Accomplishment. He is perhaps best known for coauthoring the 1994 New York Times bestseller The Bell Curve with the late Richard J. Herrnstein.

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**Twilight of Authority**

By Robert Nisbet

Foreword by Robert G. Perrin

“We had thought, or our forefathers had, that modern liberal democracy would be spared the kind of erosion and decay that both Plato and Aristotle declared endemic in all forms of state. Now we are not so sure.” So wrote Robert Nisbet in the first edition of Twilight of Authority, published by Oxford University Press in 1975. “The centralization and, increasingly, individualization of power is matched in the social and cultural spheres by a combined hedonism and egalitarianism, each in its own way a reflection of the destructive impact of power on the hierarchy that is native to the social bond,” he writes.

Robert Nisbet (1913–1996) taught at Columbia, the University of California at Berkeley, Smith College, and the University of Bologna.

Robert G. Perrin is Professor of Sociology at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

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**The Present Age**

Progress and Anarchy in Modern America

By Robert Nisbet

The Present Age challenges readers to reexamine the role of the United States in the world since World War I. Nisbet criticizes Americans for isolationism at home and discusses the gutting of educational standards, the decay of education, the presence of government in all facets of life, the diminished connection to community, and the prominence of economic arrangements driving everyday life in America.
America’s Second Crusade
By William Henry Chamberlin

In this work William Henry Chamberlin offers his perspective as a seasoned journalist on the United States’ involvement in World War II. Written only five years after the unconditional surrenders of Germany and Japan, the book is a window into its time.

William Henry Chamberlin (1897–1969) was an American journalist best known for his writings on the Cold War, Communism, and U.S. foreign policy.

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A Plea for Liberty
An Argument Against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation
Edited by Thomas Mackay
Introduction by Herbert Spencer
Foreword by Jeffrey Paul

This collection of essays was originally published in 1891, at a time when the modern welfare state was first taking shape. The theoretical and empirical contributions are fine examples of the classical liberal tradition in British thought.

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This title is available as an ebook for purchase on Amazon, Barnes and Noble, and iTunes.

The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State, and Other Essays
By Auberon Herbert
Edited and with an Introduction by Eric Mack

Auberon Herbert (1838–1906) is an eloquent, forceful, and uncompromising defender of liberty—indeed, in the judgment of Richard M. Ebeling he is “one of the most important and articulate advocates of liberty in the last two hundred years.” Herbert was a major participant in the profound and wide-ranging intellectual ferment of the late Victorian age. He formulated a system of “thorough” individualism that he described as “voluntaryism.” To Herbert, “you will not make people wiser and better by taking liberty of action from them. A man can learn only when he is free to act.” As Eric Mack writes, “Carrying natural rights theory to its logical limits, Herbert demanded complete social and economic freedom for all noncoercive individuals and the radical restriction of the use of force to the role of protecting those freedoms—including the freedom of peaceful persons to withhold support from any or all state activities.” There are ten essays.

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In Defense of the Constitution
By George W. Carey

_in Defense of the Constitution_ argues that modern disciples of Progressivism who subtly distort fundamental principles of the Constitution are determined to centralize political control in Washington, D.C., to achieve their goal of an egalitarian national society. It is in their distrust of self-government and representative institutions that Progressivists advocate, albeit indirectly, an elitist regime based on the power of the Supreme Court—or judicial supremacy. _George W. Carey_ was Professor of Government at Georgetown University and editor of _The Political Science Reviewer._

Democracy and Liberty
By William Edward Hartpole Lecky

"When democracy turns, as it often does, into a corrupt plutocracy, both national decadence and social revolution are being prepared." So wrote the Irish-born historian W. E. H. Lecky (1838–1903) in this devastating assault on mass democracy.

The State of the Union
_essays in social Criticism_
By Albert Jay Nock
Edited and with a Foreword by Charles H. Hamilton

This collection is the first chosen from Albert Jay Nock’s entire work and the first new collection in nearly thirty-five years. It includes his best-known essays, some outstanding but neglected articles, and previously unpublished material.

The Enforcement of Morals
By Patrick Devlin

Are morals always relative? Are private actions—among consenting adults—always beyond the law? Or are there some behaviors which so weaken a society that common beliefs about right and wrong must be enforced to protect the common good?

In opposing the decriminalization of private acts of homosexuality in Britain, Patrick Devlin maintained that not only is it reasonable to allow popular morality to influence lawmaking, it is imperative: "... For a society is not something that is kept together physically; it is held by the invisible bonds of common thought."

Today, as divisive issues such as same-sex marriage and "don't ask, don't tell" confront our legislative, judicial, and executive branches, the views expressed by Devlin in _The Enforcement of Morals_ resonate and reverberate anew.

Patrick Devlin (1905–1992) studied history and law at Cambridge University and became a successful lawyer.
Exploring the Bounds of Liberty

Political Writings of Colonial British America from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution

Edited and with an Introduction by Jack P. Greene and Craig B. Yirush

Latin translations by Kathleen Alvis

Exploring the Bounds of Liberty presents a rich and extensive selection of the political literature produced in and about colonial British America during the century before the American Revolution. Most colonial political pamphlets and broadsides were printed in London, but even in the mid-seventeenth century some writings were published in New England, which then had the only printing presses in British America. With the expansion of printing to most of the colonies during the last decade of the seventeenth and the first three decades of the eighteenth century, however, the number of political polemical publications increased exponentially throughout colonial British America, from Barbados to Nova Scotia. The number of publications dealing with political questions increased in every decade after 1710, to become a veritable flood by the 1750s.

Exploring the Bounds of Liberty is an ideal introduction to the rich, hitherto only lightly examined literature produced in and about the British colonies between 1680 and 1770. It provides easy access to key but little-discussed political writings, illuminating important political debates in the early-modern British empire and giving crucial context for much better-known tracts of the American Revolution.

The selections are presented in chronological sequence, from the earliest, William Penn’s “The Excellent Priviledge of Liberty and Property” (1687), to the latest, an anonymous 1774 protest against taxes arbitrarily imposed by royal officials without local consent or parliamentary authority, but simply in the king’s name. Each of the selections is preceded by a short, substantive introductory essay that clarifies the context and content of the sources.

As the editors write in their introduction, these writings speak directly to such themes in the history of liberty as the nature and source of corporate and individual rights, the importance of due process and the rule of law for the preservation of those rights, the centrality of private property and local autonomy in a free polity, and the ability of people to pursue their domestic happiness.

Jack P. Greene is Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities, Emeritus, Johns Hopkins University, where he was a member of the Department of History for thirty-nine years. He has published widely on colonial British America and the American Revolution, most recently Exclusionary Empire: English Liberty Overseas, 1600–1900 (2010); Constitutional Origins of the American Revolution (2011); Celebrating Empire and Confronting Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain (2013); Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity (2011); and Settler Jamaica: A Social Portrait of the 1750s (2016).

Craig B. Yirush is an Associate Professor of History at UCLA. Educated at the University of British Columbia, Cambridge University, and the Johns Hopkins University, he teaches and writes about the intellectual history of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British world. He is the author of Settlers, Liberty, and Empire: The Roots of American Political Theory, 1675–1775.
Edward’s essays anticipate John Adams’s *Defence of the American Constitutions* (1787) on every major point. It is doubtful that Adams read the essays, but the educated elites in Massachusetts had been discussing the problems of organizing government since 1776. The editors believe that Lincoln’s essays grew out of a conversation that Massachusetts people were having about the problem of a bicameral legislature in a republic. The publication of these essays may provoke an entirely new appraisal of the political thinking of the founding era.

**Philip C. Mead** is historian and curator of the Museum of the American Revolution in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

**Gordon S. Wood** is Alva O. Way University Professor Emeritus at Brown University. He is the author of many works, including *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992), which won the Pulitzer Prize for History and the Ralph Waldo Emerson Prize in 1993, and *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (2009), which was given the Association of American Publishers Award for History and Biography in 2009, the American History Book Prize by the New York Historical Society for 2010, and the Society of the Cincinnati History Prize in 2010. In 2011 he was awarded a National Humanities Medal by President Obama and the Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. Award from the Society of American Historians.

“The glare of wealth, and the splendor of its favours, will create an influence which no civil constitution can control.”
The American Republic

Primary Sources
Edited and with an Introduction by Bruce Frohnen

Many reference works offer compilations of critical documents covering individual liberty, local autonomy, constitutional order, and other issues that helped to shape the American political tradition. Yet few of these works are available in a form suitable for classroom use, and traditional textbooks give short shrift to these important issues.

The American Republic overcomes that knowledge gap by providing, in a single volume, critical, original documents revealing the character of American discourse on the nature and importance of local government, the purposes of federal union, and the role of religion and tradition in forming America’s drive for liberty.

By bringing together key original documents and other writings that explain cultural, religious, and historical concerns, this volume gives students, teachers, and general readers an effective way to begin examining the diversity of issues and influences that characterize American history.

The result unquestionably leads to a deeper and more thorough understanding of America’s political, institutional, and cultural continuity and change.

Bruce Frohnen is Associate Professor of Law at Ohio Northern University College of Law.

Liberty and Order

The First American Party Struggle
Edited and with an Introduction by Lance Banning

Liberty and Order is an ambitious anthology of primary source writings: letters, circulars, debate transcriptions, House proceedings, and newspaper articles that document the years during which America’s Founding generation divided over the sort of country the United States was to become.

With this significant collection, the reader receives a deeper understanding of the complex issues, struggles, and personalities that made up the first great party battle and that continue to shape our representative government today.

Lance Banning (1942–2006) was Professor of History at the University of Kentucky.

The American Nation

Primary Sources
Edited and with an Introduction by Bruce Frohnen

The American Nation: Primary Sources resumes the narrative begun in its companion volume, The American Republic, which covered the first eight decades of U.S. history, ending at the onset of the Civil War. The American Nation continues the story through America’s entrance into World War II.

Some of the primary documents include the Emancipation Proclamation, the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill, the Sherman Antitrust Act, and the Monroe Doctrine. The authors featured include Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jefferson Davis, Robert LaFollette, Eugene Debs, Jane Addams, William Graham Sumner, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Booker T. Washington, among many others.
The Federalist
The Gideon Edition
By Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison
Edited by George W. Carey and James McClellan

The Federalist, by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, constitutes a text central to the American political tradition. Written and published in newspapers in 1787 and 1788 to explain and promote ratification of the proposed Constitution for the United States, which were then bound by the Articles of Confederation, The Federalist remains of singular importance to students of liberty around the world.

George W. Carey was Professor of Government at Georgetown University and editor of The Political Science Reviewer.

James McClellan (1937–2005) was James Bryce Visiting Fellow in American Studies at the Institute of United States Studies, University of London.

The Anti-Federalist Writings of the Melancton Smith Circle
By Melancton Smith
Edited and with an Introduction by Michael Zuckert and Derek A. Webb

The Anti-Federalist Writings of the Melancton Smith Circle makes available for the first time a one-volume collection of Anti-Federalist writings that are commensurate in scope, significance, political brilliance, and depth with The Federalist. Included in this volume as an appendix is a computational and contextual analysis that addresses the question of the authorship of two of the most well-known pseudonymous Anti-Federalist writings, namely, Essays of a Federal Farmer and Essays of Brutus. Also included are the records of Smith’s important speeches at the New York Ratifying Convention, some shorter writings of Smith’s from the ratification debate, and a set of private letters Smith wrote on constitutional subjects at the time of the ratification struggle.

Michael Zuckert is Nancy Reeves Dreux Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame.

Derek A. Webb is a Fellow at Stanford Law School’s Center for Constitutional Law.
American Political Writing During the Founding Era: 1760–1805
Edited by Charles S. Hyneman and Donald S. Lutz

This selection of essays, pamphlets, speeches, and letters to newspapers written between 1760 and 1805 by American political and religious leaders illuminate the founding of the republic. Many selections are obscure pieces that were previously available only in larger research libraries, but all illuminate the founding of the American republic and are essential reading for students and teachers of American political thought. The second volume includes an annotated bibliography of five hundred additional items for future reference.

The subjects covered in this rich assortment of primary material range from constitutionalism, representation, and republicanism to freedom of the press, religious liberty, and slavery.

Charles S. Hyneman was Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Indiana University before his death in 1984. He was a past president of the American Political Science Association.

Donald S. Lutz is Professor of Political Science at the University of Houston.

Political Sermons of the American Founding Era: 1730–1805
Edited by Ellis Sandoz

The early political culture of the American republic was so deeply influenced by the religious consciousness of the New England preachers that it was often through the political sermon that the political rhetoric of the period was formed, refined, and transmitted. Political sermons such as the fifty-five collected in this work are unique to America, in both kind and significance. Political Sermons of the American Founding Era thus fills an important need if the American founding period is to be adequately understood.

Ellis Sandoz is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Eric Voegelin Institute at Louisiana State University.

The Sacred Rights of Conscience: Selected Readings on Religious Liberty and Church-State Relations in the American Founding
Edited by Daniel L. Dreisbach and Mark David Hall

The Sacred Rights of Conscience contains original documents from both public and private papers, such as constitutions, statutes, legislative resolutions, speeches, sermons, newspapers, letters, and diaries. These documents provide a vivid reminder that religion was a dynamic factor in shaping American social, legal, and political culture and that there has been a struggle since the inception of the Republic to define the prudential and constitutional role of religion in public culture.

Daniel L. Dreisbach is Professor in the School of Public Affairs at American University in Washington, D.C.

Mark David Hall is Herbert Hoover Distinguished Professor of Political Science at George Fox University.
Collected Works of Roger Sherman
By Roger Sherman
Edited and with an Introduction by Mark David Hall

Roger Sherman (1721–1793) was the only founder to sign the Articles of Association, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. He served 1,543 days in the Continental Congress and was a member of the five-man committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence.

At the Federal Convention of 1787 he spoke more times than all but three delegates and was the driving force behind the Connecticut Compromise. As a Representative and Senator in the new republic, he played critical roles in debates over the Bill of Rights, the assumption of state debts, and the creation of a national bank. He was also one of the leading political leaders in Connecticut for the latter part of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, no book dedicated to his writings has ever been published. Collected Works of Roger Sherman brings together essays, documents, records of his remarks in the Constitutional Convention and in the First Federal Congress, and important representative letters Sherman wrote to a variety of correspondents, including:

- 1768 letter to William Samuel Johnson, emphasizing Parliament’s limited authority over the colonies
- 1772 letter to the theologian Joseph Bellamy, criticizing Bellamy’s position on a congregation’s ability to fire its minister
- 1777 letter to Richard Henry Lee, addressing a number of economic issues
- 1789 series of letters between Sherman and John Adams, exploring the nature of republican government and the proper scope of presidential power.

Mark David Hall is Herbert Hoover Distinguished Professor of Politics and Faculty Fellow in the William Penn Honors Program at George Fox University.

Collected Political Writings of James Otis
By James Otis
Edited and with an Introduction by Richard Samuelson

The writings of James Otis arguably had more influence in America and England before 1774 than those of any other American except John Dickinson. John Adams pointed to Otis as the first man to have plumbed the depths of the argument between Britain and the Anglo-American colonies. Anyone who wishes to understand the American Revolution, the American founding, and American political thought would benefit greatly from reading Otis’s political writings.

Otis’s writings tackle enduring themes of American politics: the rule of law, individual rights, and federalism. Otis saw that the problem facing the Anglo-American colonists was the difficulty of reconciling their rights as British subjects, and as men, with continued participation in the British Empire. His proposed solution, a federally structured empire, with a proportionate number of Anglo-American representatives in the Parliament in London and the continued presence of Anglo-American governments, was unacceptable to almost everyone else at the time.

James Otis (1725–1783) was a highly regarded attorney, practicing first in Plymouth and then in Boston. In the early 1760s, he became leader of the Patriot Party in Massachusetts.

Richard A. Samuelson is Associate Professor of History at California State University, San Bernardino. He has published widely on the Founding era.
The Founders’ Constitution
Edited by Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner

A triumph of primary-source research, The Founders’ Constitution is a brilliant five-volume series that presents "extracts from all the leading works of political theory, history, law, and constitutional argument on which the Framers and their contemporaries drew and which they themselves produced."

The documentary sources and inspirations of The Founders’ Constitution reach to the early seventeenth century and extend through those Amendments to the Constitution that were adopted by 1835.

In cooperation with the University of Chicago Press, Liberty Fund has prepared a new online edition of the entire work at: http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/

Philip B. Kurland was the William R. Kenan, Jr., Distinguished Service Professor in the College and Professor in the Law School, University of Chicago.

Ralph Lerner is the Benjamin Franklin Professor Emeritus in the College, and Professor Emeritus in the Committee on Social Thought, at the University of Chicago.

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The American Commonwealth
By James Bryce
Introduction by Gary L. McDowell

In Democracy in America (1835) the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville interpreted American society through the lens of democratic political theory. A half-century later the Scotsman James Bryce examined “the institutions and the people of America as they are.” Bryce presented his findings in The American Commonwealth, first published in London in three volumes in 1888. This new Liberty Fund two-volume edition is based on the updated third edition of 1941, which encompassed all the changes, corrections, and additions that Bryce entered into the previous editions. Its expanded appendix includes Bryce’s 1887 essay, ”The Predictions of Hamilton and De Tocqueville,” and contemporaneous (1889) reviews of The American Commonwealth by Woodrow Wilson and Lord Acton.

The great merit of Bryce’s work is that it is based on close observation of the actual operation of American political institutions, including political parties and municipal and state governments. Consequently, Bryce provides what Professor Gary McDowell describes as “a grand atlas of American politics and society.” Indeed, Bryce was able to discern enduring characteristics of American society and politics. Therefore, as Robert Nisbet has written, “we still go to Bryce for piquant and cogent answers to the questions of why great men are not chosen presidents and why the best men do not go into politics in America.”

James Bryce (1838–1922) was a British jurist, historian, and statesman. From 1907 to 1913 he was England’s ambassador to the United States.

Gary L. McDowell is the Tyler Haynes Interdisciplinary Professor of Leadership Studies, Political Science, and Law at the University of Richmond in Virginia. From 1992 to 2003 he was the Director of the Institute of United States Studies in the University of London.
The Declaration of Independence in Historical Context
American State Papers, Petitions, Proclamations, and Letters of the Delegates to the First National Congresses
Compiled, Edited, and with an Introduction by Barry Alan Shain

An excellent addition to anyone’s primary source collection, the documents presented in this edition serve to understand the Declaration and the Revolutionary War against the backdrop provided by the hundreds of continental-level congressional state papers—declarations, petitions, resolutions, and proclamations—and the debates and correspondence of those in attendance at the first national congresses.

The Creation of the Presidency, 1775–1789
A Study in Constitutional History
By Charles C. Thach, Jr.
Foreword by Forrest McDonald
Original Introduction by Herbert J. Storing

Fresh from a battle against monarchy, the American Founders were wary of a strong executive, but they were equally conscious that unchecked legislative power risked all the excesses of democracy. Creating an effective executive who did not dominate the legislative body posed a significant challenge. In The Creation of the Presidency, 1775–1789, Charles Thach’s lucid analysis reveals how these conflicting concerns shaped the writing of the Constitution and the early clarification of executive powers.

Charles C. Thach, Jr. (1894–1966) was educated at Johns Hopkins University and received his Ph.D. in 1922. Specializing in political theory, he taught at the University of Minnesota and Johns Hopkins. He later became a Professor of Government at New York University, where he taught for over thirty years.

Forrest McDonald is Professor Emeritus of American History at the University of Alabama and author of States’ Rights and the Union.
The Life of George Washington
Special Edition for Schools
By John Marshall, Third Chief Justice of the United States
Edited by Robert Faulkner and Paul Carrese

Used throughout the first half of the nineteenth century in schools and colleges, John Marshall’s own abridgment of his monumental five-volume biography of George Washington is now available in a Liberty Fund edition that once again brings the spirit of George Washington alive in America’s classrooms.

Within eight years of the death of George Washington in 1799, John Marshall, who later became Chief Justice of the United States, published his authoritative five-volume biography. Justice Marshall’s biographer, Albert J. Beveridge, describes The Life of George Washington as “the fullest and most trustworthy treatment of that period from the conservative point of view.”

The twentieth and final version of Marshall’s abridgement, published in 1849, is the text reproduced in the Liberty Fund edition of what Charles A. Beard has praised as a “great” and “masterly” biography.

The editors’ foreword and notes, with new maps of major battle campaigns, make this edition especially attractive for classroom use.

Robert Faulkner is Professor of Political Science at Boston College.

Paul Carrese is Associate Professor of Political Science at the United States Air Force Academy.

George Washington
A Collection
By George Washington
Compiled and Edited by W. B. Allen

George Washington speaks for himself on behalf of liberty and the emerging American republic in this handsome book, the only one-volume compilation in print of his vast writings.

While Washington is recognized as a military leader and the great symbolic figure of the early republic, many fail to appreciate the full measure of his contributions to the country. In these selections, his political ideas and judgments stand out with remarkable clarity. His writings are replete with sustained, thoughtful commentary and keen political insight.

This volume includes correspondence, all of his presidential addresses, various public proclamations, his last will and testament, and the most comprehensive recompilation of the “discarded first inaugural” ever printed.

W. B. Allen is Professor of Political Philosophy and Director of the Program in Public Policy and Administration at Michigan State University.
The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793–1794
Toward the Completion of the American Founding
By Alexander Hamilton (Pacificus) and James Madison (Helvidius)
Edited and with an Introduction by Morton J. Frisch

The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793–1794 matched Hamilton and Madison in the first chapter of an enduring discussion about the proper roles of executive and legislative branches in the conduct of American foreign policy. Ignited by President Washington’s Neutrality Proclamation of 1793, which annulled the eleventh article of America’s treaty with France of 1778, the debate addressed whether Washington had the authority to declare America neutral, despite the early alliance treaty with France. The Liberty Fund edition brings together for the first time all the relevant original documents of this controversy.

Morton J. Frisch (1923–2006) was Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Northern Illinois University.

The Revolutionary Writings of Alexander Hamilton
By Alexander Hamilton
Edited and with an Introduction by Richard B. Vernier
Foreword by Joyce Appleby

Alexander Hamilton, trusted military aide and secretary to General George Washington, wrote to persuade. He had the ability to clarify the complex issues of his time without oversimplifying them. From the basic core values established in his earlier writings to the more assertive vision of government in his mature work, we see how Hamilton’s thought responded to the emerging nation and how the nation was shaped by his ideas. This comprehensive collection of his early writings, from the period before and during the Revolutionary War, provides a fuller understanding of the development of his thinking.

Richard B. Vernier is Adjunct Professor of American History at Purdue University at Calumet.

Joyce Appleby is Professor Emerita of History at UCLA.
The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams
By John Adams
Selected with a Foreword by C. Bradley Thompson

The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams presents the principal shorter writings in which Adams addresses the prospect of revolution and the form of government proper to the new United States.

This collection illustrates that it was Adams who, before the Revolution, wrote some of the most important documents on the nature of the British Constitution and the meaning of rights, sovereignty, representation, and obligation.

C. Bradley Thompson is Professor of Political Science at Clemson University and the Executive Director of the Clemson Institute for the Study of Capitalism. He is the author of John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty.

Fame and the Founding Fathers
Essays by Douglass Adair

The fifteen articles, essays, notes, and documents gathered in this collection are a permanent contribution to study of the American founding. As teacher, critic, and editor of the William & Mary Quarterly, Adair demonstrated what Trevor Colbourn—one of his principal students—describes as an “extraordinary ability to enter empathetically into the experience and ideology of the Founding Fathers while at the same time writing about them critically and movingly.” The volume also includes an affectionate reminiscence of Adair by Caroline Robbins and a bibliographical essay by Robert E. Shalhope.

Douglass Adair (1912–1968) was Professor of History and editor of the William & Mary Quarterly.

Trevor Colbourn is President Emeritus at the University of Central Florida.

The American Democrat
By James Fenimore Cooper
Introduction by H. L. Mencken

When The American Democrat was first published in 1838, Cooper’s position as America’s first major novelist obscured his serious contribution to the discussion of American principles and politics.

“Yet Cooper,” says H. L. Mencken, “was probably the first American to write about Americans in the really frank spirit . . . a simple, sound and sensible tract, moderate in tone and extraordinarily astute in its conclusions.”

Cooper provides a concise statement of the principles of American democracy and of its social ramifications. He was concerned that these principles and our institutions would be perverted—especially by the confusion of an equality of rights with equality of condition.
To Secure the Blessings of Liberty
Selected Writings of Gouverneur Morris
By Gouverneur Morris
Edited and with an Introduction by J. Jackson Barlow

Liberty Fund is pleased to present this single-volume collection of Gouverneur Morris’s writings. This edition will be a welcome addition to scholars of American and French history as the volume contains many writings that have never before been published.

Morris served as Deputy Superintendent of Finance during the American Revolution, in which capacity he devised the system of decimal coinage. He was a prominent member of the Constitutional Convention, where he spoke more frequently than any other member and, as a member of the Committee on Style and Arrangement, put the Constitution in its present form and authored its Preamble. As a private citizen in Paris, and later Minister to France (1789–94), Morris was a firsthand witness of the French Revolution. On his return to the U.S., he served as a U.S. Senator, was a prime mover in the creation of the Erie Canal, and took a leading role as a critic of the Jefferson and Madison administrations. Providing his unique perspective, this is a wonderful and accessible single source that illuminates the political and economic thought of Gouverneur Morris.

Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816) was a prominent member of the Constitutional Convention, a signer of the U.S. Constitution and author of its Preamble, and U.S. Minister to France during the French Revolution.

J. Jackson Barlow is the Charles A. Dana Professor of Politics and the Director, Program in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at Juniata College, in Huntington, Pennsylvania.

Collected Works of James Wilson
By James Wilson
Edited by Kermit L. Hall and Mark David Hall
With an Introduction by Kermit L. Hall and a Bibliographical Essay by Mark David Hall
Collected by Maynard Garrison

This two-volume set brings together a collection of writings and speeches of James Wilson, one of only six signers of both the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, and one of the most influential members of the federal Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Wilson’s writings and speeches had a significant impact on the deliberations that produced the cornerstone documents of our democracy. Wilson’s signal contribution to the founding of our national government was his advocacy for both a strong national government and an open and democratic political system, a position that set him apart from both Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.

James Wilson (1742–1798) emigrated from Scotland in 1765 and was one of the major architects of the American judicial system.

Kermit L. Hall (1944–2006) was the President of the State University of New York at Albany as well as Professor of History at the same institution.

Mark David Hall is Herbert Hoover Distinguished Professor of Political Science at George Fox University.

Maynard Garrison is a retired attorney. He received his law degree from Stanford University.
The Spur of Fame
Dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, 1805–1813
Edited by John A. Schutz and Douglass Adair

John Adams and Benjamin Rush were two remarkably different men who shared a devotion to liberty. Their dialogues on the implications of fame for their generation prove remarkably timely—even for the twenty-first century.

Adams and Rush championed very different views on the nature of the American Revolution and of the republic established with the United States Constitution; yet they shared one of the most important correspondences of their time.

John Adams and Benjamin Rush met in 1774 as members of the Continental Congress—Adams from Massachusetts, Rush from Pennsylvania. In 1805, after Adams was defeated in his quest for a second term as the new republic’s second President, the two men self-consciously commenced an exchange of letters. Their recurring subject was fame. This emphasis on fame was crucial, Adams and Rush believed, because on the fame attached to individual leaders of the Revolutionary generation would depend the view of the Revolution and of the Constitution and republican government that would be embraced by generations to come, including our own.

The new Liberty Fund edition of The Spur of Fame reproduces a text originally published by the Huntington Library.


The Webster-Hayne Debate on the Nature of the Union
Selected Documents
Edited and with a Foreword by Herman Belz

The debates between Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Hayne of South Carolina gave fateful utterance to the differing understandings of the nature of the American Union that had come to predominate in the North and the South by 1830.

To Webster, the Union was the indivisible expression of one nation of people. To Hayne, the Union was the voluntary compact among sovereign states. The Webster-Hayne Debate consists of speeches delivered in the United States Senate in January of 1830.

Herman Belz is Professor of History at the University of Maryland.
**History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution**

Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations

By Mercy Otis Warren

Edited and Annotated by Lester H. Cohen

Mercy Otis Warren has been described as perhaps the most formidable female intellectual in eighteenth-century America. This work (in the first new edition since 1805) is an exciting and comprehensive study of the events of the American Revolution, from the Stamp Act Crisis of 1765 through the ratification of the Constitution in 1788–1789.

Steeped in the classical, republican tradition, Warren was a strong proponent of the American Revolution. She was also suspicious of the newly emerging commercial republic of the 1780s and hostile to the Constitution from an Anti-Federalist perspective, a position that gave her history some notoriety.

Lester H. Cohen taught history and American Studies at Purdue University.

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**The History of the American Revolution**

By David Ramsay

Edited and Annotated by Lester H. Cohen

David Ramsay’s *History of the American Revolution* appeared in 1789 during an enthusiastic celebration of nationhood. It is the first American national history written by an American revolutionary and printed in America.

Ramsay, a well-known Federalist, was an active participant in many of the events of the period and a member of the Continental Congress from South Carolina.

This is a comprehensive and exciting narrative of the events and ideas of the American Revolution (from the outbreak of turbulence in the 1760s to the onset of Washington’s administration) and an ardent Federalist defense of the Constitution of 1787.

This is the first modern edition of the work, based on the original and authorized 1789 version.
Origin of the American Revolution: 1759–1766 and
Growth of the American Revolution: 1766–1775
By Bernhard Knollenberg
Edited and with a Foreword by Bernard W. Sheehan

In his two volumes on the Revolution, Bernhard Knollenberg provides a basic narrative of events with extensive citations to the sources and a thorough discussion of the historiography. He concentrates on the political and constitutional clash between Parliament and the colonies that led to the Revolution. Social, economic, and intellectual history enter the story where needed, but Knollenberg was essentially a political historian. Although steeped in the sources and scrupulous about the facts, he wrote Whig history. His sympathies lay with the Americans. He believed that the British ministries were responsible for the crumbling of the empire and that the Americans represented the cause of liberty.

Bernhard Knollenberg practiced law for twenty-two years in New York City before leaving to direct the Yale University Library in 1938. He was the senior deputy administrator of the United States Lend-Lease Administration in Washington, D.C., and later a Division Deputy in the O.S.S. during World War II. Thereafter, he dedicated his time to historical research and writing about the American Revolution. He is also the author of Washington and the Revolution; Pioneering Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West; and Franklin, Jonathan Williams, and William Pitt. Bernhard Knollenberg died in 1973.

Bernard W. Sheehan is Professor emeritus of history at Indiana University and past editor of the Indiana Magazine of History.
Empire and Nation

*Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania; Letters from the Federal Farmer*

By John Dickinson and Richard Henry Lee

Edited by Forrest McDonald

Two series of letters described as "the wellsprings of nearly all ensuing debate on the limits of governmental power in the United States" address the whole remarkable range of issues provoked by the crisis of British policies in North America out of which a new nation emerged from an overreaching empire.

Forrest McDonald is Professor Emeritus of American History at the University of Alabama and author of *States’ Rights and the Union*.

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The Lamp of Experience

*Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution*

By Trevor Colbourn

In a landmark work, a leading scholar of the eighteenth century examines the ways in which an understanding of the nature of history influenced the thinking of the founding fathers.

As Jack P. Greene has observed, "[The Whig] conception saw the past as a continual struggle between liberty and virtue on one hand and arbitrary power and corruption on the other." Many founders found in this intellectual tradition what Josiah Quincy, Jr., called the "true old English liberty," and it was this Whig tradition—this conception of liberty—that the champions of American independence and crafters of the new republic sought to perpetuate. Colbourn supports his thesis—that "Independence was in large measure the product of the historical concepts of the men who made it"—by documenting what books were read most widely by the founding generation. He also cites diaries, personal correspondence, newspapers, and legislative records.

Trevor Colbourn is President Emeritus of the University of Central Florida.
Colonial Origins of the American Constitution

A Documentary History
Edited and with an Introductory Essay by Donald S. Lutz

This landmark collection of eighty documents created by the American colonists—and not English officials—is the genesis of American fundamental law and constitutionalism. Included are all documents attempting to unite the colonies, beginning with the New England Confederation of 1643.

Donald S. Lutz is Professor of Political Science at the University of Houston.

View of the Constitution of the United States

With Selected Writings
By St. George Tucker
Foreword by Clyde N. Wilson

St. George Tucker’s View of the Constitution, published in 1803, was the first extended, systematic commentary on the United States Constitution after its ratification. Generations learned their Blackstone and their understanding of the Constitution through Tucker.

Clyde N. Wilson is Professor of History and editor of The Papers of John C. Calhoun at the University of South Carolina.

Friends of the Constitution

Writings of the “Other” Federalists, 1787–1788
Edited by Colleen A. Sheehan and Gary L. McDowell

There were many writers other than John Jay, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton who, in 1787 and 1788, argued for the Constitution’s ratification. In a collection central to our understanding of the American founding, Friends of the Constitution brings together forty-nine of the most important of these “other” Federalists’ writings.

Colleen A. Sheehan is Professor of Political Science at Villanova University.

Gary L. McDowell is the Tyler Haynes Interdisciplinary Professor of Leadership Studies, Political Science, and Law at the University of Richmond in Virginia. From 1992 to 2003 he was the Director of the Institute of United States Studies in the University of London.

Works of Fisher Ames

As Published by Seth Ames
By Fisher Ames
Edited and Enlarged by W. B. Allen

Fisher Ames was a leading New England Federalist and sublime critic of Jacobin Democracy and the French Revolution. During the presidency of George Washington, he was the leader of his party in the House of Representatives. Ames was active in public life from 1787 through 1807 and was instrumental in one drafting of the First Amendment to the Constitution. His witty, often brilliant, letters, speeches, and essays offered a sustained defense of conservative principles and insight into the Federalist theory of government.

This enlarged edition includes many speeches and writings by Ames that were omitted from the original edition of Ames’s works published in 1854.
Democracy, Liberty, and Property
The State Constitutional Conventions of the 1820s
Edited by Merrill D. Peterson
Foreword by G. Alan Tarr

In one volume, Democracy, Liberty, and Property provides an overview of the state constitutional conventions held in the 1820s. With topics as relevant today as they were then, this collection of essential primary sources sheds light on many of the enduring issues of liberty. Emphasizing the connection between federalism and liberty, the debates that took place at these conventions show how questions of liberty were central to the formation of state government, allowing students and scholars to discover important insights into liberty and to develop a better understanding of U.S. history.

The debates excerpted in Democracy, Liberty, and Property focus on the conventions of Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia, and they include contributions from the principal statesmen of the founding era, including John Adams, James Madison, James Monroe, and John Marshall.

Merrill D. Peterson (1921–2009) was Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Virginia and a noted Jeffersonian scholar.

G. Alan Tarr is Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for State Constitutional Studies at Rutgers University–Camden.

Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787–1788
Edited by John Bach McMaster and Frederick D. Stone

In Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787–1788, John Bach McMaster, a professor of American history, and Frederick D. Stone, librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, assembled newspaper articles, editorials, and records about the debates in Pennsylvania’s ratifying convention. In addition to speeches and essays by both supporters and opponents of the Constitution, noninterpretive editorial comments are presented to introduce the documents and place them in the appropriate historical context. Also included in the volume are biographical sketches of key figures in Pennsylvania during this significant period of the American Founding, including Benjamin Franklin, Gouverneur Morris, Benjamin Rush, and James Wilson.

Pennsylvania was one of the first states to ratify the U.S. Constitution. Twenty hours after the Continental Congress submitted the Constitution to the states, the Assembly of Pennsylvania called a convention to ratify or reject it. The Constitution immediately became the subject of passionate debate, which continued until Washington was sworn in, in 1789. Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution collects the primary documents that formed this passionate debate.

John Bach McMaster (1852–1932) worked as a civil engineer, taught civil engineering at Princeton University, and was Professor of American History at the University of Pennsylvania.

Frederick D. Stone (1841–1897) was Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and an authority on United States colonial history.
The Political Writings of William Penn
By William Penn
Introduction and Annotations by Andrew R. Murphy

William Penn (1644–1718) played a crucial role in the articulation of religious liberty as a philosophical and political value during the second half of the seventeenth century and as a core element of the classical liberal tradition in general. Penn was not only one of the most vocal spokesmen for liberty of conscience in Restoration England, but he also oversaw a great colonizing endeavor that attempted to instantiate his tolerationist commitments in practice. His thought has relevance not only for scholars of English political and religious history, but also for those who are interested in the foundations of American religious liberty, political development, and colonial history. This volume illuminates the origins and development of Penn's thought by presenting, for the first time, complete and annotated texts of all his important political works.

Penn's early political writings illuminate the Whig understanding of English politics as guided by the ancient constitution (epitomized by Magna Charta and its elaboration of English native rights). The ancient constitution symbolized, for Penn and other Whigs, a balanced governing relationship between King and Parliament, established from antiquity and offering a standard against which to judge the actions of particular Parliaments. The values of liberty, property, and consent (as represented by Parliament) provide the basis for Penn's advocacy of liberty of conscience in Restoration England. His social status, indefatigable energy for publication, and command of biblical and historical sources give Penn's political writings a twofold significance: as a window on toleration and liberty of conscience, perhaps the most vexing issue of Restoration politics; and as part of a broader current of thought that would influence political thought and practice in the colonies as well as in the mother country.

The Origin and Principles of the American Revolution, Compared with the Origin and Principles of the French Revolution
By Friedrich Gentz
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter Koslowski
Translated by John Quincy Adams

The Origin and Principles of the American Revolution is perhaps one of the most important books written on the American Revolution by a European author. It is an original study of the subject by a conservative, objective German observer who acknowledges the legitimacy of the American Revolution, but also asserts at the same time that it was not a revolution but a legitimate transition.

The Liberty Fund edition is supplemented by a new introduction and annotations that provide the reader with historical and contextual background to better create a more robust picture of Gentz's thought.

Peter Koslowski was Professor of Philosophy at VU University Amsterdam.
**Liberty and American Experience in the Eighteenth Century**
Edited by David Womersley

*Liberty and American Experience in the Eighteenth Century* presents ten new essays on central themes of the American Founding period by some of today’s preeminent scholars of American history. The writers explore various aspects of the zeitgeist, among them Burke’s theories on property rights and government, the relations between religious and legal understandings of liberty, the significance of Protestant beliefs on the founding, the economic background to the Founders’ thought on governance, moral sense theory contrasted with natural rights, and divisions of thought on the nature of liberty and how it was to be preserved.

The articles provide a rich basis for discussion of the American Founding, its background, and its development over the first few decades of the United States’ existence.

David Womersley is the Thomas Warton Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford.

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**An Essay on the Life of the Honourable Major-General Israel Putnam**
By David Humphreys

Edited and with a Foreword by William C. Dowling

David Humphreys was aide-de-camp to Washington during the American Revolution. His *Life of Israel Putnam*, originally published in 1788, has rightly been described as “the first biography of an American written by an American.” It is, as William C. Dowling observes, “a classic of revolutionary writing, very readable and immensely interesting in what it says about the temper of the new republic in the period immediately after the American Revolution.” The subject—General Israel Putnam—is remembered to history and legend as exclaiming: “Don’t fire ‘til you see the whites of their eyes!” to American soldiers at the Battle of Bunker Hill. As Professor Dowling notes, “All the episodes are retold—Bunker Hill, the Battle of White Plains, the crossing of the Delaware, the Battle of Princeton—but from the perspective of one who was there throughout, and who always permits us to see Putnam as the sort of character by whom history is, in the last analysis, made.” Humphreys wrote the biography when formation of the Society of the Cincinnati, composed of men who were officers in the Revolution, “focused debate in the new republic about the competing claims of individual liberty and the good of the community.”

William C. Dowling is a Professor of English at Rutgers University.

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**Democratick Editorials**
*Essays in Jacksonian Political Economy*
By William Leggett

Edited and with a Foreword by Lawrence H. White

William Leggett (1801–1839) was the intellectual leader of the laissez-faire wing of Jacksonian democracy. His diverse writings applied the principle of equal rights to liberty and property. These editorials maintain a historical and contemporary relevance.

Lawrence H. White is Professor of Economics at the University of Georgia.
Observations on “The Two Sons of Oil”

Containing a Vindication of the American Constitutions and Defending the Blessings of Religious Liberty and Toleration, Against the Illiberal Strictures of the Rev. Samuel B. Wylie

By William Findley
Edited and with an Introduction by John Caldwell

Observations on “The Two Sons of Oil” was written in 1811 in response to the Reverend Samuel B. Wylie’s work, The Two Sons of Oil, which was published in 1803. In this work of radical Presbyterian theology, Wylie pointed out what he considered to be deficiencies in the constitutions of both Pennsylvania and the United States and declared them to be immoral.

Findley’s response to Wylie’s criticisms in Observations showed that it was neither the purpose nor the design of the United States government to have a federal religion and a federal creed. In a broader sense the book is also a passionate defense of a civil government guided by moral principles that allow for essential freedoms.

William Findley was born in Ireland and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1763. He served in the Second through the Fifth Congresses, and again in the Eighth through the Fourteenth Congresses, earning the designation “Father of the House” before he retired from Congress in 1817. He died in 1821.

John Caldwell is retired from Augustana College, where he was Director of the Library and Professor of History. Himself a native of western Pennsylvania, Professor Caldwell is the author of George R. Stewart (1981) and William Findley from West of the Mountains: A Politician in Pennsylvania, 1783–1791 (2000).

Tyranny Unmasked

By John Taylor of Caroline
Edited by F. Thornton Miller

John Taylor of Caroline (1753–1824) was one of the foremost philosophers of the States’ rights Jeffersonians of the early national period. In keeping with his lifelong mission as a “minority man,” John Taylor wrote Tyranny Unmasked not only to assault the protective tariff and the mercantilist policies of the times but also “to examine general principles in relation to commerce, political economy, and a free government.” Originally published in 1822, it is the only major work of Taylor’s that has never before been reprinted.

As an early discussion of the principles of governmental power and their relationship to political economy and liberty, Tyranny Unmasked is an important primary source in the study of American history and political thought.

F. Thornton Miller is Assistant Professor of History at Southwest Missouri State University.

Arator

Being a Series of Agricultural Essays, Practical and Political: In Sixty-One Numbers

By John Taylor of Caroline
Edited and with an Introduction by M. E. Bradford

This discussion of the social order of an agricultural republic is Taylor’s most popular and influential work. It includes materials on the relation of agriculture to the American economy, on agriculture and politics, and on the enemies of the agrarian republic. Both statesman and farmer, Taylor is often considered the deepest thinker of all the early Virginians.

M. E. Bradford was Professor of English at the University of Dallas until his death in 1993.

1977 | 6 x 9 | 426 pages
Introduction, note on the text, index
Paperback ISBN 978-0-913966-26-6 $12.00 | £8.95
This title is available as an ebook for purchase on Amazon, Barnes and Noble, and iTunes.
A Concise History of the Common Law
By Theodore F. T. Plucknett

As always during its long history, English common law, upon which American law is based, has had to defend itself against the challenge of civil law’s clarity and traditions. That challenge to our common-law heritage remains today. To that end, Liberty Fund now makes available a clear and candid discussion of common law. A Concise History of the Common Law provides a source for common-law understanding of individual rights, not in theory only, but protected through the confusing and messy evolution of courts and their administration as they struggled to resolve real problems. Plucknett’s seminal work is intended to convey a sense of historical development—not to serve merely as a work of reference.

The first half of the book is a historical introduction to the study of law. Plucknett discusses the conditions in political, economic, social, and religious thought that have contributed to the genesis of law. This section is a brief but astoundingly full introduction to the study of law.

The second half of the book consists of chapters introducing the reader to the history of some of the main divisions of law, such as criminal, tort, property, contract, and succession. These topics are treated with careful exposition so that the book will be of interest to those just embarking on their quest in legal history while still providing enough substantial information, references, and footnotes to make it meaningful for the well-versed legal history reader.

Theodore F. T. Plucknett (1897–1965) was an English legal historian. At twenty-six, he was appointed by Roscoe Pound as professor of legal history at Harvard Law School.

The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I
By Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland

First published in 1895, Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland’s legal classic The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I expanded the work of Sir Edward Coke and William Blackstone by exploring the origins of key aspects of English common law and society and with them the development of individual rights as these were gradually carved out from the authority of the Crown and the Church. Although it has been more than a century since its initial publication, Pollock and Maitland’s work is still considered an accessible and useful foundational reference for scholars of medieval English law.

Volume one begins with an examination of Anglo-Saxon law, goes on to consider the changes in law introduced by the Normans, then moves to the twelfth-century “Age of Glanvill,” with the first great compilation of English laws and customs, followed by the thirteenth-century “Age of Bracton,” author of another major treatise on the same subject. Volume two takes up different areas of English law topic by topic, or as its authors labeled it, “The Doctrines of English Law in the Early Middle Ages.” They consider land tenure, marriage and wardship, fealty, the ranks of men both free and unfree, aliens, Jews, excommunicates, women, and the churches and the King, before turning to the various jurisdictions of that decentralized era.

The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I helps readers explore the origins of English legal exceptionalism and through the English tradition the basis of the law of America, Canada, Australia, and other nations. This work is of interest to legal scholars, historians of the Middle Ages, political scientists, political philosophers, and all those interested in Anglo-Saxon law and early law and society.
Origins of the Common Law
By Arthur R. Hogue

This introductory analysis of the origin and early development of the English common law provides an excellent grounding for the beginning student as well as the experienced scholar of legal history.

Arthur R. Hogue (1906–1986) was Professor of History at Indiana University.

The Roots of Liberty
Magna Carta, Ancient Constitution, and the Anglo-American Tradition of Rule of Law
Edited and with an Introduction by Ellis Sandoz

The Roots of Liberty is a critical collection of essays on the origin and nature of the often elusive idea of liberty. The essays address early medieval developments, encompassing such seminal issues as the common-law mind of the sixteenth century under the Tudor monarchs, the struggle for power and authority between the Stuart kings and Parliament in the seventeenth century, and the role of the ancient constitution in the momentous legal and constitutional debate that occurred between the Glorious Revolution and the American Declaration of Independence.

Ellis Sandoz is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Eric Voegelin Institute at Louisiana State University.

Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern
By Charles Howard McIlwain

Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern explores the very roots of liberty by examining the development of modern constitutionalism from its ancient and medieval origins. Derived from a series of lectures delivered by Charles Howard McIlwain at Cornell University in the 1938–39 academic year, these lectures provide a useful introduction to the development of modern constitutional forms.

Charles Howard McIlwain won the Pulitzer Prize in 1924 for his constitutional analysis of the American Revolution.
The Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke
By Sir Edward Coke
Edited by Steve Sheppard

Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) successfully defended English liberties against the royal prerogative of the Stuart kings and virtually single-handedly established the rule of law for the English-speaking peoples. Coke's view of English law has had a powerful influence on lawyers, judges, and politicians through the present day.

It was Coke's astonishing task to set down the whole of the law—from Magna Carta to land law to criminal law, and the system of court procedure, from the High Court of Parliament down to the lowest courts of the realm—for students, lawyers, and laymen to understand it. The Institutes derived their authority not only from Coke's personal influence but also, in part, from the great authority accorded the Reports, which themselves solidified the modern understanding of case law.

The Liberty Fund edition of The Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke is the first anthology of his works ever published.

Steve Sheppard is Associate Dean for Research and Faculty Development and the William H. Enfield Distinguished Professor of Law at the School of Law, University of Arkansas.

Law, Liberty, and Parliament
Selected Essays on the Writings of Sir Edward Coke
Edited and with an Introduction by Allen D. Boyer

Sir Edward Coke remains one of the most important figures in the history of the common law. The essays collected in this volume provide a broad context for understanding and appreciating the scope of Coke's achievement: his theory of law, his work as a lawyer and a judge, his role in pioneering judicial review, his leadership of the Commons, and his place in the broader culture of Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

Sir Edward Coke claimed for judges the power to strike down statutes, created the modern common law by reshaping medieval precedents, and, in the House of Commons, led the gathering forces that would ultimately establish a constitutional regime of ordered liberty and responsible, representative government.

Although much has been written on Coke, there has been no single adequate study or collection of these writings until now. Law, Liberty, and Parliament brings together material that not only is useful for understanding Coke's career and achievement but also illuminates the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods in which the common law became inextricably identified with constitutional authority.

Allen D. Boyer, author of Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age, is a lawyer in New York City and a frequent contributor to the New York Times Book Review. Dr. Boyer serves on the advisory board of the Yale Center for Parliamentary History.
Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century

By A. V. Dicey
Edited and with an Introduction by Richard VandeWetering

This volume brings together a series of lectures A. V. Dicey first gave at Harvard Law School on the influence of public opinion in England during the nineteenth century and its impact on legislation. Dicey’s lectures were accurate as a reflection of the anxieties felt by turn-of-the-century Benthamite Liberals in the face of Socialist and New Liberal challenges.

Richard VandeWetering is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario.

Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers

By M. J. C. Vile

In Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers, M. J. C. Vile traces the history of the doctrine from its rise during the English Civil War, through its development in the eighteenth century—through subsequent political thought and constitution-making in Britain, France, and the United States.

M. J. C. Vile is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Kent at Canterbury and author of The Structure of American Federalism.

The Natural Law

A Study in Legal and Social History and Philosophy

By Heinrich A. Rommen
Translated by Thomas R. Hanley
Introduction by Russell Hittinger

Originally published in German in 1936, The Natural Law is the first work to clarify the differences between traditional natural law as represented in the writings of Cicero, Aquinas, and Hooker and the revolutionary doctrines of natural rights espoused by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau.

Heinrich A. Rommen (1897–1967) taught in Germany and England before concluding his distinguished scholarly career at Georgetown University.

Russell Hittinger is William K. Warren Professor of Catholic Studies and Research Professor of Law at the University of Tulsa.

Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution

By A. V. Dicey
Foreword by Roger E. Michener

The Law of the Constitution elucidates the guiding principles of the modern constitution of England: the legislative sovereignty of Parliament, the rule of law, and the binding force of unwritten conventions.
The “Higher Law” Background of American Constitutional Law
By Edward S. Corwin

Having written extensively on various aspects of the American constitutional order, Edward S. Corwin is considered a leading constitutional scholar of the twentieth century. Alpheus Mason described Corwin’s writings as "sources of learning and understanding—hallmarks to emulate and revere."

The “Higher Law” Background of American Constitutional Law is of unique value in connecting the Western European experience—from the classical world, the Middle Ages, and the seventeenth-century thought of Coke and Locke—to the American founding. This renowned work provides a bold and accurate outline of the tradition behind the “higher law” of the United States and places in historical context the political philosophy underlying the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution.

Edward S. Corwin (1878–1963) served as the McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University from 1908 to 1946.

Government by Judiciary
The Transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment
By Raoul Berger
Foreword by Forrest McDonald

It is Berger’s theory that the United States Supreme Court has embarked on “a continuing revision of the Constitution, under the guise of interpretation,” thereby subverting America’s democratic institutions and wreaking havoc upon Americans’ social and political lives.

Raoul Berger (1901–2000) was Charles Warren Senior Fellow in American Legal History, Harvard University.

Freedom and the Law
By Bruno Leoni
Foreword by Arthur Kemp

According to Bruno Leoni, the greatest obstacle to rule of law in our time is the problem of overlegislation. In modern democratic societies, legislative bodies increasingly usurp functions that were, and should be, exercised by individuals or groups rather than government.

Bruno Leoni (1913–1967) was an attorney and Professor of Legal Theory and the Theory of the State at the University of Pavia, Italy.
Liberty Fund’s 400+ titles for scholars, students, and general readers are available for purchase online at libertyfund.org/books. All Liberty Fund books, both hardcover and paperback, are printed on acid-free paper and are bound with sewn signatures, making them invaluable, lasting additions to any library.

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The Online Library of Liberty offers one of the most extensive digital libraries of scholarly works focused on individual liberty and free markets. From Art and Economics to Law and Political Theory, the Online Library of Liberty provides a curated collection of books, audio recordings, and reading guides available to download at no charge.

Law & Liberty’s focus is on the classical liberal tradition of law and political thought and how it shapes a society of free and responsible persons. This site brings together serious debate, commentary, essays, book reviews, interviews, and educational material in a commitment to the first principles of law in a free society. Law & Liberty considers a range of foundational and contemporary legal issues, legal philosophy, and pedagogy.
AdamSmithWorks [adamsmithworks.org]

Liberty, as understood through free markets, limited government, and the rule of law, is exemplified in the writings of Adam Smith. Explore the life and ideas, read the writings, and access educational materials to learn about and teach concepts central to Adam Smith. Visit the Interactive Pin Factory to learn about Smith's concept of the division of labor. Watch and discuss the video series "An Animal that Trades." Read new and engaging research, participate in online reading groups, and join a community of others interested in the works, life, and times of Adam Smith.

Econlib [econlib.org]

Econlib is dedicated to advancing the study of economics, markets, and liberty. Econlib offers a unique combination of resources for students, teachers, researchers, and aficionados of economic thought. Features include a moderated blog (EconLog), a weekly podcast (EconTalk), an online encyclopedia of economics (CEE), monthly collections of book reviews and articles discussing current economics topics, classic economics books, and a growing collection of complementary learning resources (Guides).

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The Ideal Element in Law

By Roscoe Pound
Foreword by Stephen Presser

Roscoe Pound, former dean of Harvard Law School, delivered a series of lectures at the University of Calcutta in 1948. In these lectures, he criticized virtually every modern mode of interpreting the law because he believed the administration of justice had lost its grounding and recourse to enduring ideals.

Now published in the U.S. for the first time, Pound’s lectures are collected in Liberty Fund’s The Ideal Element in Law, Pound’s most important contribution to the relationship between law and liberty.

The Ideal Element in Law was a radical book for its time and is just as meaningful today as when Pound’s lectures were first delivered. Pound’s view of the welfare state as a means of expanding government power over the individual speaks to the front-page issues of the new millennium as clearly as it did to America in the mid-twentieth century.

Pound argues that the theme of justice grounded in enduring ideals is critical for America. He views American courts as relying on sociological theories, political ends, or other objectives, and in so doing, divorcing the practice of law from the rule of law and the rule of law from the enduring ideal of law itself.

Roscoe Pound is universally recognized as one of the most important legal minds of the early twentieth century. Considered by many to be the dean of American jurisprudence, Pound was a former Justice of the Supreme Court of Nebraska and served as dean of Harvard Law School from 1916 to 1936.

The Story of Law

By John M. Zane
Foreword, Annotations, and Bibliographies by Charles J. Reid, Jr.

Written for the layman as well as the attorney, The Story of Law is the only complete outline history of the law ever published. “It is,” too, noted journalist William Allen White of the original edition, “the sort of book that any lawyer could take home and give to his children in their teens and twenties as a justification of his career.” Moreover, The Story of Law has well been termed “the perfect book for introducing the beginning law student to the origin and history of the law.” John M. Zane lucidly describes the growth and improvement of the law over thousands of years, and he points out that an increasing awareness of the individual as a person who is responsible for decision and action gradually transformed the law. Professor Charles J. Reid, Jr., of Emory University School of Law, has contributed an unsurpassed forty-page “Selected Bibliography on Legal History” that will be of enormous interest to academics, students, practicing attorneys, and general readers alike.

John M. Zane (1863–1937) was a distinguished attorney.

Charles J. Reid, Jr. is Professor at the School of Law, University of Saint Thomas.
Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics Series

The history of liberty has not been a matter of simple, steady progress from one level of achievement to the next. The intellectual struggle to articulate the theory of classical liberalism was often as hard fought as the physical battle for its political realization.

The Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics Series presents not only some of the most famous figures from this history but also the lesser-known theorists who contributed their part to the contest of ideas. Through some of the Enlightenment’s most significant and most unusual works on natural law, moral philosophy, political theory, jurisprudence, and theology, the series offers readers a far deeper and more nuanced understanding of classical liberal ideas and their development than has been possible until now.

Under the general editorship of Knud Haakonssen, this series includes works by Hugo Grotius, Samuel Pufendorf, Richard Cumberland, Francis Hutcheson, George Turnbull, Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, Emer de Vattel, Jean Louis De Lolme, and many others. Distinguished scholars from all over the world have edited these volumes, providing concise introductions to place the work in context. Each text also has annotations, an index, and, when necessary, supplemental appendixes. As appropriate, the series includes specially commissioned translations of Latin texts that have never before been published in English.

The series comprises over forty volumes spanning the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To the scholar the series is an indispensable reference, to the student an enlightening education, to the citizen of the world a source of insight and inspiration.

Knud Haakonssen, Series General Editor, is Professor Emeritus of Intellectual History at the University of Sussex, England, and visiting Professor at the Max Weber Centre for Advanced Study at the University of Erfurt, Germany.
A Philosophical Commentary on These Words of the Gospel, Luke 14:23, “Compel Them to Come In, That My House May Be Full”

By Pierre Bayle
Edited and with an Introduction by John Kilcullen and Chandran Kukathas

On Temporal and Spiritual Authority

On Laymen or Secular People

On the Temporal Power of the Pope. Against William Barclay

On the Primary Duty of the Supreme Pontiff

By Robert Bellarmine
Edited, Translated, and with an Introduction by Stefania Tutino

Robert Bellarmine was one of the most original and influential political theorists of his time. His writings present coherent definitions of the nature and aim of temporal authority and its relationship to spiritual authority.

This fresh translation will be interesting to a wide readership of both scholars of political thought and the educated general public.

Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) was a Jesuit cardinal.

Stefania Tutino is a Professor of History and Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara.

The Principles of Natural and Politic Law

By Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui
Translated by Thomas Nugent (1763)
Edited and with an Introduction by Petter Korkman

Born in 1694, Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui helped transform the modern tradition of natural law and convey it to new generations.

Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui (1694–1748) was a Swiss jurist.

Petter Korkman is a Fellow at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies and is a Postdoctoral Researcher in Philosophy at the Academy of Finland.

Natural Rights on the Threshold of the Scottish Enlightenment

The Writings of Gershom Carmichael

By Gershom Carmichael
Edited by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, with a Foreword by James Moore
Translated by Michael Silverthorne

Gershom Carmichael (1672–1729) was the first professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, preceding Hutcheson, Smith, and Reid. He defended a strong theory of rights and drew attention to Grotius, Pufendorf, and Locke.

James Moore is Professor of Political Science at Concordia University in Montreal.

Michael Silverthorne is Honorary University Fellow in the School of Classics at the University of Exeter.
An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature

By Nathaniel Culverwell
Edited by Robert A. Greene and Hugh MacCallum
Foreword by Robert A. Greene

An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature is a concerted effort at intellectual mediation in the deep religious dispute of the English civil war in the seventeenth century. On one side was the antinomian assertion of extreme Calvinists that the elect were redeemed by God’s free grace and thereby free from ordinary moral obligations. Opposite to that was the Arminian rejection of predestination and assertion that Christ died for all, not just for the elect.

Robert A. Greene is Professor of English at the University of Massachusetts at Boston.

Hugh MacCallum was Professor Emeritus of English at the University of Toronto.

The Constitution of England

By Jean Louis De Lolme
Edited and with an Introduction by David Lieberman

In the vein of Charles Louis Montesquieu’s Spirit of the Laws (1748) and William Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England (1765–1769), De Lolme’s account of the English system of government exercised an extensive influence on political debate in Britain, on constitutional design in the United States during the Founding era, and on the growth of liberal political thought throughout the nineteenth century.

David Lieberman is Jefferson E. Peyser Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley.

A Treatise of the Laws of Nature

By Richard Cumberland
Translated, with Introduction and Appendix, by John Maxwell (1727)
Edited and with a Foreword by Jon Parkin

A Treatise of the Laws of Nature, originally titled De Legibus Naturae, first appeared in 1672 as a theoretical response to a range of issues that came together during the late 1660s. It conveyed a conviction that science might offer a more effective means of demonstrating both the contents and the obligatory force of the law of nature.

Jon Parkin is a Lecturer in Politics at the University of York, United Kingdom.

The Elements of Moral Philosophy, with A Brief Account of the Nature, Progress, and Origin of Philosophy

By David Fordyce
Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas D. Kennedy

Though little known today, David Fordyce was an important figure in the Scottish Enlightenment and closely associated with liberal Dissenters in England. His Elements of Moral Philosophy was a notable contribution to the curriculum in moral philosophy and one of the most widely circulated texts in moral philosophy in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Thomas D. Kennedy is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Valparaiso University.
The Rights of War and Peace
By Hugo Grotius
Edited and with an Introduction by Richard Tuck

Since the nineteenth century, Hugo Grotius’s Rights of War and Peace has been the classic work in modern international law, laying the foundation for a universal code of law.

Grotius’s continuing influence owed much to the eighteenth-century French editor Jean Barbeyrac, whose extensive commentary was standard in most editions, including the classic English one (1738), the basis for the Liberty Fund edition, which includes the Prolegomena to the first edition (1625); this document has never before been translated into English.

Richard Tuck is a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Professor of Government at Harvard University.

Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty
By Hugo Grotius
Edited and with an Introduction by Martine Julia van Ittersum

This Liberty Fund edition of Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty is based on the one prepared by Gwladys L. Williams and Walter H. Zeydel for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It combines the original text and new material.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) was a lawyer and legal theorist, diplomat and political philosopher, ecumenical activist and theologian.

Martine Julia van Ittersum is a Lecturer in History at the University of Dundee.

The Free Sea
By Hugo Grotius
Translated by Richard Hakluyt
Edited and with an Introduction by David Armitage

Liberty Fund’s edition of The Free Sea is the only translation of Grotius’s masterpiece undertaken in his own lifetime, left in manuscript by the English historian, Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616). It also contains William Welwod’s critique of Grotius (reprinted for the first time since the seventeenth century) and Grotius’s reply to Welwod. These documents provide an indispensable introduction to modern ideas of sovereignty and property as they emerged from the early-modern tradition of natural law.

David Armitage is the Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History at Harvard University.

The Truth of the Christian Religion with Jean Le Clerc’s Notes and Additions
By Hugo Grotius
Translated by John Clarke (1743)
Edited and with an Introduction by Maria Rosa Antognazza

Grotius’s The Truth of the Christian Religion was first published in Leiden in 1627 in Latin. Written in plain and direct language for his countrymen, this short work aimed to show those who would encounter pagans, Muslims, and Jews that the Christian religion was the true revealed religion. In addition to “fortifying” the beliefs of his fellow Christians, the treatise intended to convince non-Christians of “the reasonableness of believing and embracing the Christian Religion above any other.”

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) was a lawyer and legal theorist, diplomat and political philosopher, ecumenical activist and theologian.

Maria Rosa Antognazza is Professor of Philosophy and Department Head at King’s College London.

This title is available as an ebook for purchase on Amazon, Barnes and Noble, and iTunes.
A Methodical System of Universal Law
Or, the Laws of Nature and Nations; With Supplements and a Discourse by George Turnbull
By Johann Gottlieb Heineccius
Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas Ahnert and Peter Schröder

George Turnbull’s eighteenth-century translation of A Methodical System of Universal Law was his major effort to convey continental natural law to Britain, thus making Heineccius’s natural jurisprudence more accessible to English-speaking audiences. Turnbull includes extensive comments on Heineccius’s text and also presents his own philosophical work, A Discourse upon the Nature and Origin of Moral and Civil Laws.

Johann Gottlieb Heineccius (1681–1741) studied theology at Leipzig and later law at the newly founded (1694) University of Halle, where he became a pupil of Christian Thomasius.

Thomas Ahnert is a Lecturer in History at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Peter Schröder is Senior Lecturer in the History Department at University College, London.

An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense
By Francis Hutcheson
Edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett

In An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense, Francis Hutcheson answers the criticism that had been leveled against his first book, Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue (1725). Together the two works constitute the great innovation in philosophy for which Hutcheson is most well known.

Professor Garrett has constructed a critical variorum edition of this great work. Because there are no manuscripts of the work, this could be done only by comparing all extant lifetime editions. Three such editions exist: those of 1728, 1730 (chiefly a reprint of the 1728 edition), and 1742. The Liberty Fund edition collates the first edition with Hutcheson’s revision of 1742.

Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he assumed the chair of moral philosophy in 1729.

Aaron Garrett is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Boston University.
Logic, Metaphysics, and the Natural Sociability of Mankind
By Francis Hutcheson
Edited by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, with an Introduction by James Moore
Translated by Michael Silverthorne

Until the publication of this Liberty Fund edition, all but one of the works contained in Logic, Metaphysics, and the Natural Sociability of Mankind were available only in Latin. This milestone English translation will provide a general audience with insight into Hutcheson's thought.

James Moore is Emeritus Professor of Political Science at Concordia University in Montreal.

Michael Silverthorne is Honorary University Fellow in the School of Classics at the University of Exeter.

The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
Translated by Francis Hutcheson and James Moor
Edited and with an Introduction by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne

This 1742 translation is a collaborative work by Francis Hutcheson and a colleague at Glasgow University, the classicist James Moor. Although Hutcheson was secretive about the extent of his work on the book, he was clearly the leading spirit of the project.

This influential classical work offers a vision of a universe governed by a natural law that obliges us to love mankind and to govern our lives in accordance with the natural order of things.

In many ways, Hutcheson and Moor's The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus is a companion volume to Hutcheson's Latin work on ethics, released in the same year, Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria. In the latter volume, which is also available from Liberty Fund, Hutcheson continues a theme that proffered his ethics as a modern and, not least, Christianized version of Stoicism.

Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he assumed the chair of moral philosophy in 1729.

Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria, with A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy
By Francis Hutcheson
Edited and with an Introduction by Luigi Turco

In this new, dual-language edition, Hutcheson’s Latin Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria is presented on facing pages with its English translation, A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, together with all the relevant alterations of the 1745 edition relating to the 1742 edition of the Institutio, including all the omissions and additions by the translator in the Short Introduction.

Luigi Turco is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Bologna.
An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue

By Francis Hutcheson
Edited and with an Introduction by Wolfgang Leidhold

Francis Hutcheson's first book, An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, was published in 1725, when its author was only thirty-one, and went through four editions during his lifetime. This seminal text of the Scottish Enlightenment is now available for the first time in a variorum edition based on the 1726 edition.

The Inquiry was written as a critical response to the work of Bernard Mandeville and as a defense of the ideas of Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury. It consists of two treatises exploring our aesthetic and our moral abilities.

Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he assumed the chair of moral philosophy in 1729.

Wolfgang Leidhold is Professor of Political Science at the University of Cologne.

Elements of Criticism

By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter Jones

Elements of Criticism is Kames's most influential work. When it first appeared, in 1762, it was the most comprehensive philosophical work on "criticism" in English, and it was published in five editions during Kames's lifetime and another forty editions over the next century. In Elements, Kames sets out his argument that the "science of criticism" is a "rational science;" it is "a subject of reasoning as well as of taste." Volume one explores the nature and causes of the emotions and passions. Volume two delineates principles of rhetoric and literary appreciation, ending with a discussion of the formation of a standard of taste. Kames illustrated both volumes with a vast range of examples from classical literature and the arts of his own day.

Peter Jones is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh.

Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion

By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by Mary Catherine Moran

The Essays is commonly considered Kames's most important philosophical work. In the first part, he sets forth the principles and foundations of morality and justice, attacking Hume's moral skepticism and addressing the controversial issue of the freedom of human will. In the second part, Kames focuses on questions of metaphysics and epistemology to offer a natural theology in which the authority of the external senses is an important basis for belief in the Deity.

Mary Catherine Moran taught in the Department of History at Columbia University.
Historical Law-Tracts
By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by James A. Harris

Historical Law-Tracts is one of the earliest contributions to the Scottish Enlightenment project of a historical science of society. Kames’s goal in this work is to show the study of law as a genuinely scientific inquiry and not a mere collection of facts for the lawyer to memorize. He deployed a large range of ancient, medieval, and early-modern sources to trace the development of law and to explain that development in terms of interactions between principles of human nature and political, economic, and social circumstance. One of Kames’s principal objectives was to expose and discredit the continuing influence of feudal principles in eighteenth-century Scots law and, as such, Historical Law-Tracts can be read as a manifesto for a modern, commercial, Scotland. The work found an international readership as well, especially in America, where it was read as an object lesson in understanding the role of law in a free society.

In Historical Law-Tracts, Kames combined a natural law framework that underlies his Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion with the “conjectural,” or philosophical, approach to history that would receive its fullest treatment in his Sketches of the History of Man to offer a history of law as a history of the progress of mankind from savage to civil society.

The Liberty Fund edition supplements Kames’s original text with a new introduction providing historical context and biographical information, expansion of Kames’s footnotes to explain the often rather obscure system of reference used in the book, translation of the Latin passages, and explanatory annotations relating to important changes that Kames made to the text, including variant readings from earlier editions.

Principles of Equity
By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by Michael Lobban

As a lawyer and, after 1752, as a judge on the Court of Session in Edinburgh, Kames made many of his most distinctive contributions through his works on the nature of law and legal development.

Principles of Equity, first published in 1760, is considered his most lasting contribution to jurisprudence and is still cited. In his jurisprudence, Kames specifically sought to explain the distinction between the nature of equity and common law and to address related questions, such as whether equity should be bound by rules and whether there should be separate courts of law and equity.

Michael Lobban is Professor of Legal History at Queen Mary, University of London.

Sketches of the History of Man
By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by James A. Harris

Divided into three books, Kames’s Sketches of the History of Man draws together the concerns of many of his earlier works. The first book considers man in the private sphere, while the second explores man in the public sphere. The final book is an account of progress in the sciences of logic, morals, and theology. Throughout the entire work, Kames expounds on his fundamental hypothesis that, at the beginning of the history of the human race, savagery was ubiquitous and that the human story is one of an emergence out of barbarism and toward maturity.

Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782) was one of the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment.

James A. Harris is a Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland.
Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution
By James Mackintosh
Edited and with an Introduction by Donald Winch

_Vindiciae Gallicae_ was James Mackintosh's first major publication, a contribution to the debate begun by Edmund Burke's _Reflections on the Revolution in France_. The success of Mackintosh's defense of the French Revolution propelled him into the heart of London Whig circles. Following the September 1792 massacres Mackintosh, along with other moderate Whigs, revised his opinions and moved closer to Burke's position. The Liberty Fund edition also includes Mackintosh's _Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations_, _Letter to William Pitt_, and _On the State of France in 1815_.

James Mackintosh (1765–1832) was a prominent Scottish Whig. Donald Winch is Research Professor in the School of Humanities at the University of Sussex and a Fellow of the British Academy.

An Historical View of the English Government
By John Millar
Edited by Mark Salber Phillips and Dale R. Smith, with an Introduction by Mark Salber Phillips

_An Historical View of the English Government_ traces the development of the "great outlines of the English constitution"—the history of institutions of English liberty from Saxon antiquity to the revolution settlement of 1689. Millar demonstrates serious concern for the maintenance of liberties achieved through revolution and maintains that the manners of a commercial nation, while particularly suited to personal and political liberty, are not such as to secure liberty forever.

John Millar (1735–1801) attended Adam Smith's lectures at the University of Glasgow and later became a distinguished professor of law there. Mark Salber Phillips is Professor of History at Carleton University in Ottawa. Dale R. Smith completed his doctorate in history at the University of British Columbia.
**The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks**
By John Millar
Edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett

Millar's *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* is one of the major products of the Scottish Enlightenment and a masterpiece of jurisprudence and social theory. Drawing on Adam Smith's four-stages theory of history and the natural law's traditional division of domestic duties into those toward servants, children, and women, Millar provides a rich historical analysis of the ways in which progressive economic change transforms the nature of authority.

**Two Books of the Elements of Universal Jurisprudence**
By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by William Abbott Oldfather (1931)
Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas Behme

Pufendorf's *Two Books of the Elements of Universal Jurisprudence* was Pufendorf's first work, published in 1660. Its appearance effectively inaugurated the modern natural-law movement in the German-speaking world, establishing Pufendorf as a key figure and laying the foundations for his later major works.

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**The Present State of Germany**
By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Edmund Bohun (1696)
Edited and with an Introduction by Michael J. Seidler

Pufendorf's *The Present State of Germany* was first published in 1667 (under the pseudonym Severinus de Monzambano) and immediately became one of the most notorious works in Europe for the next half century. Its trenchant critique of previous theories of the Holy Roman Empire elicited both attacks and defenses, and it also anticipated many elements in Pufendorf's subsequent writings on natural law, history, and religion.

**The Divine Feudal Law: Or, Covenants with Mankind, Represented**
By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Theophilus Dorrington (1703)
Edited and with an Introduction by Simone Zurbuchen

Pufendorf's *The Divine Feudal Law* sets forth Pufendorf's basis for the reunion of the Lutheran and Calvinist confessions. This attempt to seek a "conciliation" between the confessions complements the concept of toleration discussed in *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Reference to Civil Society*.

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This title is available as an ebook for purchase on Amazon and Barnes & Noble, for purchase on Amazon, Barnes & Noble, and iTunes.
An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe

By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Jodocus Crull (1695)
Edited and with an Introduction by Michael J. Seidler

Samuel Pufendorf was a pivotal figure in the early German Enlightenment. His version of voluntarist natural law theory had a major influence both on the European continent and elsewhere in the English-speaking world, particularly Scotland and America. Pufendorf’s *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe* (1682) became one of his most famous and widely reprinted works.

This book will be of interest to anyone concerned with the history of international law and the development of historiography during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It makes available to contemporary scholars and students a carefully edited, helpfully annotated, and historically situated English version of one of Pufendorf’s most popular and influential works.

**Jodocus Crull** (d. 1713/14) was a German émigré to England, a medical man, and a translator and writer.

**Michael J. Seidler** is Professor of Philosophy at Western Kentucky University.

**Knud Haakonssen** is Professor of Intellectual History at the University of Sussex, England.

Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Reference to Civil Society

By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Jodocus Crull (1698)
Edited and with an Introduction by Simone Zurbuchen

Samuel Pufendorf’s *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion* (published in Latin in 1687) is a major work on the separation of politics and religion. Written in response to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the French king Louis XIV, Pufendorf contests the right of the sovereign to control the religion of his subjects, because state and religion pursue wholly different ends. He concludes that, when rulers transgress their bounds, subjects have a right to defend their religion, even by the force of arms.

Pufendorf’s ideas on natural law and toleration were highly influential in both Europe and the British Isles.

**Samuel Pufendorf** (1632–1694) taught natural law and was court historian in both Germany and Sweden.

**Simone Zurbuchen** is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.
The Whole Duty of Man, According to the Law of Nature

By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Andrew Tooke et al. (1735)
Edited and with an Introduction by Ian Hunter and David Saunders
Two Discourses and a Commentary by Jean Barbeyrac (translated by David Saunders)

Samuel Pufendorf’s *The Whole Duty of Man, According to the Law of Nature* suggested a purely conventional basis for natural law. Rejecting scholasticism’s metaphysical theories, Pufendorf found the source of natural law in humanity’s need to cultivate sociability.

*Samuel Pufendorf* (1632–1694) taught natural law and was court historian in both Germany and Sweden.

*Ian Hunter* is Australian Professorial Fellow in the Centre for the History of European Discourses, University of Queensland.

*David Saunders* is Professor Emeritus in the Faculty of Arts at Griffith University.

Selections from Three Works

*A Treatise on Laws and God the Lawgiver*

*A Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith*

*A Work on the Three Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope, and Charity*

By Francisco Suárez
Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas Pink

Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) was the greatest metaphysician and moral theorist of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholasticism. Suárez is of particular importance as a theorist of natural law and of rights, for his work combines expertise in moral theory with a mastery of civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence and a sophisticated theory of the human person.

The bulk of the selections in this volume are from *A Treatise on Laws and God the Lawgiver* (1612), “one of the major works of scholastic moral and legal theory,” writes volume editor Thomas Pink. In the *Treatise*, working within the framework originally elaborated by Thomas Aquinas, Suárez presented a systematic account of human moral activity in all its dimensions, synthesizing the entire scholastic heritage of thinking on this topic and identifying the key issues of debate and the key authors who had formulated the different positions most incisively. Then he went beyond this heritage of authorities to present a new account of human moral action and its relationship to the law.

*Thomas Pink* is Professor of Philosophy at King’s College London. Some of his publications include *Free Will: A Very Short Introduction* and *The Will and Human Action: From Antiquity to the Present Day.*
Essays on Church, State, and Politics

By Christian Thomasius
Edited, Translated, and with an Introduction by Ian Hunter, Thomas Ahnert, and Frank Grunert

The works found in Essays on Church, State, and Politics, which originated as disputations, theses, and pamphlets, were direct interventions in the unresolved issue of the political role of religion in Brandenburg-Prussia, a state in which a Calvinist dynasty ruled over a largely Lutheran population and nobility as well as a significant Catholic minority.

Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) was a German philosopher and legal theorist. Ian Hunter is Australian Professorial Fellow at the Centre for the History of European Discourses, University of Queensland, Australia. Thomas Ahnert is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Edinburgh. Frank Grunert is Scientific Collaborator at the Institut für Deutsche Philologie, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich.

Institutes of Divine Jurisprudence, with Selections from Foundations of the Law of Nature and Nations

By Christian Thomasius
Edited, Translated, and with an Introduction by Thomas Ahnert

Christian Thomasius’s natural jurisprudence is essential to understanding the origins of the Enlightenment in Germany, where his importance was comparable to that of John Locke’s in England.

First published in 1688, Thomasius’s Institutiones jurisprudentiae divinae (Institutes of Divine Jurisprudence) attempted to draw a clear distinction between natural and revealed law and to emphasize that human reason was able to know the precepts of natural law without the aid of Scripture. Thomasius also argued that his orthodox Lutheran opponents had failed to understand this distinction and thereby had confused reason and Scripture.

This volume also contains significant selections from his Fundamenta juris naturae et gentium (Foundations of the Law of Nature and Nations), published in 1705. In Foundations Thomasius significantly revised the theory he had put forward in the Institutes, and much of the Foundations therefore is a paragraph-by-paragraph commentary on his earlier ideas.

Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) was a German philosopher and legal theorist. Thomas Ahnert is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Edinburgh.
Liberty Fund Books

**Education for Life**

**Correspondence and Writings on Religion and Practical Philosophy**

By George Turnbull
Edited and with an Introduction by M. A. Stewart and Paul Wood
Texts translated from the Latin by Michael Silverthorne

George Turnbull belongs with a group of early Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, including Francis Hutcheson, who found their native Calvinism too repressive. They sought to relocate religion within a context of reason and science and to establish a tolerant and humane ethic upon values rooted in classical ideals.

In a distinctive voice, Turnbull presented natural-law theory “scientifically,” harnessed the arts to promote moral and civil virtue, and extolled reason as the foundation of liberty. The works in this volume exhibit the close interrelations between these concerns and show him as a paradigmatic “Enlightenment” figure. This extremely rare material includes two Aberdeen graduation theses, three tracts on religion, various writings on education and art, and, for the first time in print, the correspondence of Turnbull.

George Turnbull (1698–1748) was born in Scotland and ordained into the Church of England in 1739. A key figure in the Scottish Enlightenment, he taught moral philosophy at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where one of his pupils was Thomas Reid, who became the main representative of the Scottish Common Sense philosophy.

M. A. Stewart is Honorary Research Professor in the History of Philosophy at the Universities of Lancaster and Aberdeen.

Paul Wood is Professor of History at the University of Victoria.

**The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy**

By George Turnbull
Edited and with an Introduction by Alexander Broadie

The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy presents the first masterpiece of Scottish Common Sense philosophy. This two-volume treatise is important for its wide range of insights about the nature of the human mind, the foundations of morals, and the relationship between morality and religion.

The first volume presents a detailed study of the faculties of the human mind and their interrelations. The second volume presents arguments for the existence of God and for God’s infinite perfection. The underlying notion is God’s moral government of the world, in which there is recompense for good and evil deeds.

Alexander Broadie is Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at the University of Glasgow.

**Observations upon Liberal Education**

By George Turnbull
Edited and with an Introduction by Terrence O. Moore, Jr.

Originally published in 1742, Observations upon Liberal Education is a significant contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment and the moral-sense school of Scottish philosophy.

In Observations, Turnbull applies the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment to the education of youth. He shows how a liberal education fosters true “inward liberty” and moral strength and thus prepares us for responsible and happy lives in a free society.

Terrence O. Moore, Jr., is Principal of Ridgeview Classical Schools in Fort Collins, Colorado, and was formerly Assistant Professor of History at Ashland University.
The Law of Nations
By Emer de Vattel
Edited and with an Introduction by Béla Kapossy and Richard Whatmore

The great eighteenth-century theorist of international law Emer de Vattel (1714–1767) was a key figure in sustaining the practical and theoretical influence of natural jurisprudence through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. Coming toward the end of the period when the discourse of natural law was dominant in European political theory, Vattel’s contribution is cited as a major source of contemporary wisdom on questions of international law in the American Revolution and even by opponents of revolution, such as Cardinal Consalvi, at the Congress of Vienna of 1815.

The significance of The Law of Nations resides in its distillation from natural law of an apt model for international conduct of state affairs that carried conviction in both the Old Regime and the new political order of 1789–1815.

The Liberty Fund edition is based on the anonymous English translation of 1797, which includes Vattel’s notes for the second French edition (posthumous, 1773).

Emer de Vattel (1714–1767) was a Swiss philosopher and jurist in the service of Saxony.

Béla Kapossy is Professeur Suppléant of History at the University of Lausanne.

Richard Whatmore is a Reader in Intellectual History at the University of Sussex.

The Law of Nations Treated According to the Scientific Method
By Christian Wolff
Translated by Joseph H. Drake (1934)
Translation revised by Thomas Ahnert
Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas Ahnert

Christian Wolff’s The Law of Nations is a cornerstone of eighteenth-century thought. A treatise on the philosophy of human action, on the foundations of political communities, and on international law, it influenced philosophers throughout the eighteenth-century Enlightenment world. According to Knud Haakonssen, general editor of the Natural Law and Enlightenment series, “before Kant’s critical philosophy, Wolff was without comparison the most influential German thinker for several decades as well as a major European figure.”

One of the most striking features of The Law of Nations is Wolff’s single-minded dedication to what he calls the “scientific method.” Though different from what we understand by that today, Wolff’s method still focuses on the illumination of truth via a step-by-step, logical examination of what is already known in order to explain what is unknown. The work examines the full gamut of national functions: what duties nations have to themselves and to each other, how national ownership should be viewed, how treaties should be formed, and how nations should act in both war and peace.

The Liberty Fund edition of The Law of Nations is the first in English since the 1934 translation by Joseph H. Drake. Thomas Ahnert has revised and corrected that translation for readability and accuracy and has also added footnotes that explain the many references and technical terms Wolff uses throughout the text.

Thomas Ahnert is Reader and Head of History at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. Among his publications are The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1690–1805, an edition of Thomasius’s Institutes of Divine Jurisprudence, and Religion and the Origins of the German Enlightenment.
The History of England
From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688
By David Hume
Foreword by William B. Todd

David Hume's enduring reputation as the first modern thinker to develop a systematically naturalistic philosophy tends to obscure the fact that he was more famous among his contemporaries as a historian. Covering almost 1,800 years, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688* was the work that established Hume's reputation in his own time.

Hume saw English history as a process of the evolution from a government of will to a government of law. He believed that political, social, and economic liberty was neither inevitable nor necessary, but contingent and dependent for its preservation on an understanding of the conditions that gave rise to it and the institutional arrangements that sustain it. This argument, which runs through all six volumes, expressed in Hume's masterful prose, continues to make the *History* a valuable study for the modern reader.

This Liberty Fund edition is based on the edition of 1778, the last to contain corrections by Hume. The typography has been modernized for ease of reading. Hume's own index to the entire work may be found at the conclusion of Volume VI.

The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century
Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change
By Hugh Trevor-Roper

*The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* collects nine essays by Trevor-Roper on the themes of religion, the Reformation, and social change.

In his longest essay, "The European Witch-craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Trevor-Roper points out that "in England the most active phase of witch-hunting coincided with times of Puritan pressure—the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the period of the civil wars—and some very fanciful theories have been built on this coincidence. But... the persecution of witches in England was trivial compared with the experience of the Continent and of Scotland. Therefore... [one must examine] the craze as a whole, throughout Europe, and [seek] to relate its rise, frequency, and decline to the general intellectual and social movements of the time."

Because Trevor-Roper believes that "the English Revolution of the seventeenth century cannot be isolated from a general crisis in Europe," he devotes the longest of his essays to the European Witch-craze. Events in England—and the intellectual currents from which they emerged and to which they gave impetus—cannot be understood apart from events and intellectual currents on the Continent.

Trevor-Roper acknowledges that the belief in witches, and the persecution of people believed to be witches, may be, to some at least, "a disgusting subject, below the dignity of history." However, he goes on, "[i]t is also a historical fact, of European significance, and its rise precisely in the years of the Renaissance and Reformation is a problem which must be faced by anyone who is tempted to overemphasize the 'modernity' of that period."

Hugh Trevor-Roper, Lord Dacre (1914–2003) was Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford.
The History of Civilization in Europe
By François Guizot
Translated by William Hazlitt
Edited and with an Introduction by Larry Siedentop

Originally given as a series of lectures at the Sorbonne, François Guizot’s *History of Civilization in Europe* was published to great acclaim in 1828 and is now regarded as a classic in modern historical research. *History* was particularly influential on Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, and Alexis de Tocqueville. Tocqueville, in fact, requested that a copy of *History* be sent to him when he arrived in the United States.

This volume offers what Guizot himself describes as a “philosophic history” of Europe, one which searches for the underlying general causes and effects of particular events. Guizot considers European civilization in its broadest senses, encompassing not merely political, economic, and social structures, but also the ideas, faculties, and sentiments of “man himself.” Guizot understood a two-way relationship between external conditions (i.e., social, political, and economic conditions) and the inner man: external conditions affect the inner man, whose moral and intellectual development eventually shapes social and other external conditions.

Guizot’s *History* describes the development of European civilization in terms of the inevitable advance of equality of conditions, due to many factors, including a new emphasis on the individual. The author explores the decentralization of power that characterized feudalism, the centralization of power after the fifteenth century, and finally the rebuilding of local autonomy necessary for representative and free government.

Larry Siedentop was educated at Hope College, Harvard, and Oxford. He is Emeritus Fellow of Keble College, Oxford, and was for many years faculty lecturer in political thought in the university. His publications include *The Nature of Political Theory*, *Tocqueville*, and most recently, *Democracy in Europe*.

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The History of the Origins of Representative Government in Europe
By François Guizot
Translated by Andrew R. Scoble
Introduction by Aurelian Craiutu

The French political philosopher and historian François Guizot (1787–1874) was one of the French Doctrinaires, thinkers who sought to avoid the interpretations of the Revolution advanced by either extreme of Left or Right. He argued that in order to understand the nature of political institutions it is necessary to study first the society, its composition, mores, and the relation between various classes. At the very center of his theory lies the principle of the sovereignty of reason.

Aurelian Craiutu, Associate Professor of Political Science at Indiana University, writes in the Introduction: “A cursory look at the table of contents shows the originality of this unusual book: it combines lengthy narrative chapters full of historical details with theoretical chapters in which Guizot reflects on the principles, goals, and institutions of representative government.” The first part of the book covers the period from the fifth to the eleventh centuries and such topics as the “true” principles of representative government and the origin and consequences of the sovereignty of the people. The second part spans the Norman Conquest to the reign of the Tudors in England and analyzes the architecture of the English Constitutional monarchy.

François Guizot (1787–1874) was a French historian, political philosopher, and politician.

Aurelian Craiutu is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington.
The Evolution of Civilizations

An Introduction to Historical Analysis

By Carroll Quigley
Foreword by Harry J. Hogan
Selective Bibliography by William Marina

Carroll Quigley was a legendary teacher at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. His course on the history of civilization was extraordinary in its scope and in its impact on students.

Like the course, *The Evolution of Civilizations* is a comprehensive and perceptive look at the factors behind the rise and fall of civilizations. Quigley examines the application of scientific method to the social sciences, then establishes his historical hypotheses. He poses a division of culture into six levels from the abstract to the more concrete. He then tests those hypotheses by a detailed analysis of five major civilizations: the Mesopotamian, the Canaanite, the Minoan, the classical, and the Western.

Quigley defines a civilization as "a producing society with an instrument of expansion." A civilization's decline is not inevitable but occurs when its instrument of expansion is transformed into an institution—that is, when social arrangements that meet real social needs are transformed into social institutions serving their own purposes regardless of real social needs.

The French Revolution

By Hippolyte Taine
Translated by John Durand
Introduction by Mona Ozouf

Hippolyte Taine's *The French Revolution*, which is written from the viewpoint of conservative French opinion, is a unique and important contribution to revolutionary historiography.

Taine condemns the radicals of the French Revolution, unhesitatingly contradicting the rosy, Rousseau-esque view of the Revolution. Taine approached the Revolution in the same way that a medical doctor approaches a disease. Indeed, he described his work not so much as a history as a "pathology" of the Revolution. His method constitutes his principal contribution to study of the subject. This method began with an examination, not of the French, but of the English. As Professor Mona Ozouf observes, Taine "maintained [that] the history of the Revolution depended on the definition of the French spirit." He had, in an earlier account of English literature, defined "a unique explanatory principle" for investigation of the contrasting societies of the French and the English. This principle among the English, he reported, is "the sense of liberty," or what he described as the English conviction that "man, having conceived alone in his conscience and before God the rules of his conduct, is above all a free, moral person." In contrast to the English ability to conserve and even to expand liberty through gradual adaptation to changing circumstances, Taine identified a "French spirit" that became, Ozouf emphasizes, "his central explanation of the French revolutionary phenomenon." This phenomenon explained, Taine argued, why France "had demolished its national community well before the Revolution"—thus making the Revolution not only inevitable, but also inevitably terrible.

Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893) was a historian and philosopher who was one of the primary figures in French Positivism.
Select Works of Edmund Burke

By Edmund Burke
Compiled and with a Foreword and Notes by Francis Canavan

Originally published by Oxford University Press in the 1890s, the famed three-volume Payne edition of Select Works is universally revered by students of English history and political thought. Faithfully reproduced in each volume are E. J. Payne’s notes and introductory essays. Francis Canavan, one of the great Burke scholars of the twentieth century, has added forewords.

Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents and The Two Speeches on America

By Edmund Burke
Compiled and with a Foreword and Notes by Francis Canavan

Volume 1, Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents and The Two Speeches on America, contains Burke’s brilliant defense of the American colonists’ complaints of British policy, including “Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents” (1770), “Speech on American Taxation” (1774), and “Speech on Conciliation” (1775).

Reflections on the Revolution in France

By Edmund Burke
Compiled and with a Foreword and Notes by Francis Canavan

Volume 2 consists of Burke’s most renowned work, Reflections on the Revolution in France. In it, he excoriates French revolutionary leaders for recklessly destroying France’s venerable institutions and way of life. He attempts not only to explain the events of the new revolution to his readers but also to persuade them that the revolution menaces the civilization of Europe in general and that of Britain in particular. In addition, he articulates a coherent political countertheory that organizes his own beliefs about God, humanity, and society.

This is Burke’s most famous work, for over two centuries read, discussed, and pondered by thousands of students and general readers as well as by professional scholars.

Francis Canavan (1917–2009) was Professor of Political Science at Fordham University from 1966 until his retirement in 1988.
Letters on a Regicide Peace
By Edmund Burke
Compiled and with a Foreword and Notes by Francis Canavan

Volume 3 presents Burke’s Four Letters on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France—generally styled Letters on a Regicide Peace (1795–1796). The Letters, Payne believed, deserve to “rank even before [Burke’s] Reflections, and to be called the writer’s masterpiece.” Faithfully reproduced in each volume are E. J. Payne’s notes and introductory essays. Francis Canavan, one of the great Burke scholars of the twentieth century, has added forewords and a biographical note on Payne.

Miscellaneous Writings
By Edmund Burke
Compiled and with a Foreword and Notes by Francis Canavan

In the companion volume Miscellaneous Writings, Canavan has collected seven of Burke’s major contributions to English political thinking on representation in Parliament, on economics, on the political oppression of the peoples of India and Ireland, and on the enslavement of African blacks. The volume concludes with a select bibliography on Edmund Burke.

Francis Canavan (1917–2009) was Professor of Political Science at Fordham University from 1966 until his retirement in 1988.
Further Reflections on the Revolution in France
By Edmund Burke
Edited by Daniel E. Ritchie

In his famous Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), Edmund Burke excoriated French revolutionary leaders for recklessly destroying France’s venerable institutions and way of life. But his war against the French intelligentsia did not end there, and Burke continued to take pen in hand against the Jacobins until his death in 1797.

This collection brings together for the first time in unabridged form Burke’s writings on the French Revolution that anticipate, refine, and summarize the works in his famous Reflections on the Revolution in France. There are seven items in the collection. Included are “Letter to a Member of the National Assembly,” “Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs,” and “A Letter to a Noble Lord.” A foreword and headnotes to each selection point the reader to some of the key issues.

Daniel E. Ritchie is Professor of English Literature at Bethel College.

A Vindication of Natural Society
By Edmund Burke
Edited and with an Introduction by Frank N. Pagano

This is a new edition of Edmund Burke’s first work, originally issued anonymously in 1756 as a letter attributed to “a late noble writer.” In 1757 Burke produced a revised version with a new preface but still did not attach his name to the work.

This Liberty Fund edition is based on the 1757 revision. The Vindication is a political and social satire ridiculing the popular enlightenment notion of a pre-civil “natural society.”

Frank N. Pagano is a Tutor at St. John’s College at Santa Fe.

The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman
Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II Until the War with the Thirteen Colonies
By Caroline Robbins

In this volume, Caroline Robbins adeptly presents a history of the Commonwealthmen, “a gifted and active minority of the population of the British Isles, who kept alive, during an age of extraordinary complacency and legislative inactivity, a demand for increased liberty of conscience.”

Caroline Robbins (1903–1999) taught history at Bryn Mawr College from 1929 to 1971 and was chairman of the department from 1957 to 1969.
Selected Writings of Lord Acton

By John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton
Edited by J. Rufus Fears

Lord Acton was among the most illustrious historians of nineteenth-century England, a man of great learning with a deep devotion to individual liberty and a profound understanding of history. Liberty Fund is proud to offer the most complete collection of Acton essays ever published.

**Volume I: Essays in the History of Liberty**

Included are his two famous essays on the history of freedom (“The History of Freedom in Antiquity” and “The History of Freedom in Christianity”) as are writings on the tradition of liberty in England, America, and Europe.

**Volume II: Essays in the Study and Writing of History**

Volume II brings together Acton’s distinguished writings on history. Included is his famous Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge, “The Study of History.”

**Volume III: Essays in Religion, Politics, and Morality**

Included are three important essays, “Human Sacrifice,” “George Eliot’s Life,” and “Buckle’s Philosophy of History.” Nearly two hundred pages of excerpts from Acton’s remarkable letters and unpublished notes are also included.

J. Rufus Fears has taught classical history at Indiana University, Boston University, and the University of Oklahoma.

Lectures on the French Revolution

By John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton
Foreword by Stephen J. Tonsor

This collection of the lectures of Lord Acton on the French Revolution comprises a disciplined, thorough, and elegant history of the actual events of the bloody episode. It is as thorough a record as could be constructed in Acton’s time of the actions of the government of France during the Revolution.

Delivered at Cambridge University between 1895 and 1899, *Lectures on the French Revolution* is a distinguished account of the entire epochal chapter in French experience by one of the most remarkable English historians of the nineteenth century. In contrast to Burke a century before, Acton is not concerned with condemning the Revolution, but in providing an accurate history of its advent, its bloody action, and its aftermath.

There are twenty-two essays in the collection, commencing with “The Heralds of the Revolution,” in which Acton presents a taxonomy of the intellectual ferment that preceded and prepared the Revolution. An important appendix explores “The Literature of the Revolution,” offering assessments of the accounts of the Revolution written during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by, among others, Burke, Guizot, and Taine.

Stephen J. Tonsor is Professor Emeritus in History at the University of Michigan. He is a longtime student of the history of Germany and of Lord Acton.
Judgments on History and Historians
By Jacob Burckhardt
Translated by Harry Zohn
Foreword by Alberto R. Coll

Renowned for his *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* and *Reflections on History*, Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) has well been described as "the most civilized historian of the nineteenth century." *Judgments on History and Historians* consists of records collected by Emil Dürr from Burckhardt's lecture notes for history courses at the University of Basel from 1865 to 1885. The 149 brief sections span five eras: Antiquity, the Middle Ages, History from 1450 to 1598, the History of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and the Age of Revolution.

*Jacob Burckhardt* (1818–1897) has been called "the most civilized historian of the nineteenth century," and he was certainly one of the greatest historians of art and culture of his time. A professor at the University of Basel, Burckhardt was especially knowledgeable about the Renaissance, and his best-known work is *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*.

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The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt
By Jacob Burckhardt
Selected, Edited, and Translated by Alexander Dru

As a rule, an author's correspondence possesses only a secondary interest, but Jacob Burckhardt's letters are of primary interest to students of history because of the nature of the man and of his major writings. *Judgments on History and Historians*, for example, consists not of Burckhardt's own lectures, but of notes on his lectures by one of his greatest students. It is because Burckhardt was a remarkably private man who believed that contemplation was the key to insight into the nature of man and history, and because his approach to the study of history was reflective rather than systematic or dogmatic, that his letters possess a singular significance. For it is in his letters that Burckhardt provides additional and even personal observations on his learned explorations of antiquity, the Renaissance, and modern Europe, and it is in his letters that Burckhardt muses on the consequences that he believed—and feared—awaited a Europe that had given itself almost wholly to a rationalistic and materialistic understanding of history and destiny.
**History as the Story of Liberty**
By Benedetto Croce
Translated by Sylvia Sprigge
Foreword by Claes G. Ryn

Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), who is perhaps best known as the author in 1902 of *Aesthetics*, wrote *History as the Story of Liberty* in 1938, when the Western world had succumbed to the notion that history is a creature of blind force. A reviewer at the time noted the importance of Croce’s belief that “the central trend in the evolution of man is the unfolding of new potentialities, and that the task of the historian is to discover and emphasize this trend: the story of liberty.” As Croce himself writes, “Even in the darkest and crassest times liberty trembles in the lines of poets and affirms itself in the pages of thinkers and burns, solitary and magnificent, in some men who cannot be assimilated by the world around them.” The first edition in English of *History as the Story of Liberty* appeared in London in 1941. The new Liberty Fund edition includes modest improvements to the translation by Folke Leander and arranged by Claes Ryn.

Claes G. Ryn is Professor of Politics at the Catholic University of America.

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**A Historical Sketch of Liberty and Equality**
By Frederic William Maitland

*A Historical Sketch of Liberty and Equality* is a window to one of the most important historians of all time.


A historian’s historian, F. W. Maitland was never to be caught indulging in fanciful speculation about times long past. Rather, he said, “We shall have to think away distinctions which seem to us as clear as the sunshine; we must think ourselves back into a twilight.” To achieve this discipline, Maitland chose his tools of historical analysis with a lawyer’s care. For example, to decipher works of medieval law written in Anglo-French patois, he became “grammarian, orthographer, and phonetician.”

Thus did none other than Lord Acton declare Maitland to be “the ablest historian in England.” In 1875, at only twenty-five years of age, Maitland, in pursuit of a fellowship in Cambridge University, submitted a remarkable work entitled “A Historical Sketch of Liberty and Equality as Ideals of English Political History from the Time of Hobbes to the Time of Coleridge.”

F. W. Maitland (1850–1906) was the Downing Professor of the Laws of England at the University of Cambridge and an unparalleled scholar of medieval law.
The Struggle for Sovereignty
Seventeenth-Century English Political Tracts
Edited by Joyce Lee Malcolm

For much of Europe the seventeenth century was, as it has been termed, an "Age of Absolutism" in which single rulers held tremendous power. Yet the English in the same century succeeded in limiting the power of their monarchs. The English Civil War in midcentury and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 were the culmination of a protracted struggle between kings eager to consolidate and even extend their power and subjects who were eager to identify and defend individual liberties. The source and nature of sovereignty was of course the central issue. Did sovereignty reside solely with the Crown—as claimed theorists of "the divine right"? Or did sovereignty reside in a combination of Crown and Parliament—or perhaps in only the House of Commons—or perhaps, again, in the common law, or even in "the people"?

To advance one or another of these views, scholars, statesmen, lawyers, clergy, and unheralded citizens took to their books—and then to their pens. History, law, and scripture were revisited in a quest to discover the proper relationship between ruler and ruled, between government and the governed. Pamphlets abounded as never before. The political tracts of the English peoples in the seventeenth century established enduring principles of governance and of liberty that benefited not only themselves but the founders of the American republic. These writings, by the renowned (Coke, Sidney, Shaftesbury) and the unremembered ("Anonymous") therefore constitute an enduring contribution to the historical record of the rise of ordered liberty.


Joyce Lee Malcolm is Professor of History at Bentley College.
Education and the Industrial Revolution
By E. G. West

In *Education and the Industrial Revolution*, West writes about an Educational Revolution during the Industrial Revolution. This book adds important historical context to E. G. West's better-known *Education and the State*. Taken together, the two books make a very strong case not only for the separation of state and education, but also the robustness of the market in providing educational services, even in such a difficult period as the Industrial Revolution. West unearthed a large and growing market for education going hand in hand with the rise of industrialism and occurring prior to government intervention. His views were not very palatable to the educational establishment because they contradicted the long-held view that the Industrial Revolution was a disaster and that only government intervention and "compulsion" brought the joys of education to people.

Since the inadequacies of the Industrial Revolution remain a key factor in most critiques of capitalism and individual liberty, *Education and the Industrial Revolution* makes an important contribution to a better understanding of the period. West's skills as a researcher, economist, and historian give breadth to his work. By taking on such issues as supposed educational deficiency, market provision, actual literacy rates, theories of educational reform in the nineteenth century, and the realities of educational intervention, West helps us come to a richer understanding of liberty—one that is little-known today but every bit as relevant as the day it was written.

Edwin G. West is Professor Emeritus of Economics at Carleton University, Ottawa.

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Education and the State
A Study in Political Economy
By E. G. West
Foreword by Arthur Seldon
Introduction by Myron Lieberman

*Education and the State* first appeared in 1965 and was immediately hailed as one of the century's most important works on education. In the thirty years that followed, the questions this book raised concerning state-run education have grown immeasurably in urgency and intensity. *Education and the State* re-examines the role of government in education and challenges the fundamental statist assumption that the state is best able to provide an education for the general population. West explores the views on education of the nineteenth-century British reformers and classical economists who argued the necessity of state education. He demonstrates that by the Foster Act of 1870 the state system of education was superimposed upon successful private efforts, thereby suppressing an emerging and increasingly robust structure of private, voluntary, and competitive education funded by families, churches, and philanthropies.

This new and expanded edition of *Education and the State* addresses the American situation in education, applying the lessons learned from the study of British institutions. It also broadens their application from education to the conduct of democracy as a political system.
Teacher in America
By Jacques Barzun
With a New Introduction by the Author

With his customary wit and grace, Dr. Barzun contrasts the ritual of education with the lost art of teaching. Twenty-one chapters deal with three major issues: the practice of teaching, the subject matter to be taught, and the institutional and cultural aspects of teaching.

Jacques Barzun is a renowned scholar, teacher, and author who lectures widely since his retirement in 1993.

1981 | 5½ x 8¼ | 502 pages
Preface, introduction, bibliographical note, index, biographical note

Hardcover
$24.00 | £19.95

Paperback
$14.50 | £10.95

Education in a Free Society
Edited and with an Introduction by Anne Husted Burleigh

A position paper by Benjamin A. Rogge and Pierre F. Goodrich leads off this fine collection advocating an educational system based strictly on private and voluntary institutions.

Anne Husted Burleigh is a writer and a contributing editor for Crisis.

1973 | 5½ x 8¼ | 272 pages
Foreword, introduction, biographies of the authors, index

Hardcover
ISBN 978-0-913966-00-6
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Obras filosóficas y políticas
Por Abû Nasr al-Fârâbî

Abû Nasr al-Fârâbî (ca. 871–950) puede ser considerado como el verdadero fundador del sistema filosófico árabe. Representante de la Falsafa, movimiento filosófico que floreció y maduró en el mundo islámico como continuación del pensamiento griego, sus Obras filosóficas y políticas provienen de la preocupación por las dificultades políticas en el Estado islámico y se destacan por el intento de introducir una consideración racional de la realidad en una sociedad estrictamente religiosa como la musulmana. Desde un espíritu reformador, al-Fârâbî propone un orden social, el ideal o virtuoso, en el que los ciudadanos puedan encontrar las mejores condiciones para que cada uno, en la medida de sus capacidades, logre su perfección última.

Discurso de la servidumbre voluntaria
Por Étienne de la Boétie

Étienne de La Boétie (1530–1563) ofrece en su Discurso de la servidumbre voluntaria una reflexión esencial sobre los origines de la dominación. Ajeno a la intención clásica de fundamentar y legitimar algún tipo de orden político o forma de gobierno, la fuerza del Discurso está en su descubrimiento de esa inmensa paradoja en que consiste el concepto de «servidumbre voluntaria»: la irresoluble tensión entre la natural libertad del hombre y su inquebrantable voluntad de someterse a un amo. La elucidación emprendida por La Boétie de este «concepto inconcebible» arroja una luz nueva sobre la naturaleza de todo fenómeno de orden político.
Vindicación de la sociedad natural
Por Edmund Burke
Edición de Frank N. Pagano
Traducción de Javier Alcoriza, Antonio Lastra

La Vindicación de la sociedad natural, publicada anónimamente en 1756, señala el principio de la carrera literaria de Edmund Burke (1729–1797). En esta obra, el futuro adversario de los derechos del hombre y defensor de los derechos de los ingleses advierte los efectos de los pensadores de la Ilustración sobre la Constitución británica y apunta al peligro que supone, para la sociedad, la crítica de la religión. Sin embargo, Burke se tomó muchas molestias para que su primera pieza fuera una obra maestra de ocultación de los motivos que le habían llevado a escribirla y que se proyectan sobre el resto de su escritura.

De la religión considerada en sus fuentes, formas y desarrollo
Por Benjamin Constant
Presentación de Tzvetan Todorov, Étienne Hofmann
Traducción de Agustín Neira

Las investigaciones sobre la religión acompañaron a Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) durante más de cuarenta años, a pesar de inevitables interrupciones, debidas a la existencia agitada del hombre político, del periodista y del pensador. Obra de una vida, aunque muy pronto caída en el olvido, De la religión combina la afirmación del sentimiento religioso como inherente a la especie humana con la indagación de su perfeccionamiento en las formas históricas del fetichismo, el politeísmo y el teísmo. Obra también de un activo y hábil opositor liberal, es un hito en la historia de la mirada crítica dirigida al fenómeno religioso y un texto indispensable para entender la formación de la antropología de las religiones.
La libertad moderna y los límites del gobierno
Por Charles Fried
Traducido por Estela Otero

El tema de este libro es la libertad individual. Pero no se trata de la libertad individual como problema abstracto y universal, sino de sus posibilidades y límites en el marco del Estado de bienestar. A partir de la premisa de que el Estado de bienestar moderno redefinió la noción que teníamos de la libertad individual, se trata de interrogar la naturaleza y el alcance de los cambios ocurridos: ¿somos libres de expresarnos mediante el discurso? ¿Y en el trabajo? ¿Y a través del sexo? Charles Fried afirma que la igualdad y el comunitarismo son los rivales más poderosos de la libertad, y demuestra cómo la red de regulaciones gubernamentales -cada vez más enmarañada- a la vez apoya y amenaza las libertades personales. Según el autor, los temas que en última instancia definirán a nuestras sociedades son cuestiones como éstas: ¿puede un ciudadano quemar la bandera de su país? ¿Puede mirar -o producir- películas pornográficas? ¿Y mantener una relación abierta con una persona de su mismo sexo? ¿O conservar una porción de sus ingresos suficiente para llevar el tipo de vida que desea para sí y para su familia? Abordar esas cuestiones significa, de hecho, preguntarse cuánto le debemos al Estado -y debemos conservar- y cuándo podemos decirle a nuestro gobierno que nos deje en paz. La riqueza y la lucidez del análisis que Charles Fried hace en esta obra permitirán afrontar mejor los desafíos que -por izquierda o por derecha- intentarán limitar nuestra libertad en nombre de la presuntamente virtuosa búsqueda de la igualdad o de la gloria nacional.

Ensayos morales, políticos y literarios
Por David Hume
Traducción de Carlos Martín Ramírez Edición, Introducción y Notas de Eugene F. Miller

Esta edición contiene los treinta y nuevo ensayos incluidos en los Ensayos, Morales, Políticos y Literarios que conformaron el primer volumen de los Ensayos y Tratados sobre muchos asuntos publicado en 1777. También incluye diez ensayos que Hume decidió retirar o dejar sin publicar por varias razones.
La ética de la redistribución
Por Bertrand de Jouvenel
Introducción de John Gray
Traducido por Stella Mastrangelo

La economía política del siglo XX ha estado sometida a la tensión entre las teorías de la igualdad y las teorías de la eficiencia. Si unas proponen que la riqueza se redistribuya por la acción de los gobiernos, las otras sugieren que la presión fiscal que obtiene recursos de algunos para asignarlos a otros genera importantes desincentivos para el trabajo, el ahorro y la inversión. Suponiendo que la redistribución no introdujera desincentivos para la creación de riqueza, ¿se convertiría entonces en un objetivo deseable, y no habría por tanto ningún argumento en su contra? Estas preguntas de Bertrand de Jouvenel encuentran respuesta en La ética de la redistribución. Al aislar la discusión de la objeción práctica más fuerte y habitual (la "ineficiencia" que introduce en la economía), De Jouvenel crea las condiciones para tratar la cuestión en sus bases éticas mismas. Y sus conclusiones no son alentadoras: según el filósofo francés, el principal efecto de las políticas gubernamentales no radica en obtener ingresos de la población rica para asignarlos a la población más pobre, sino en transferir el poder de la población -y especialmente el de la población más pobre- al Estado: cuando es el Estado el que asigna recursos, los individuos pierden su capacidad de decidir y de planificar sus propias vidas. Ante el hecho de que las burocracias públicas no dejan de crecer a expensas de la sociedad civil, La ética de la redistribución recrea las bases para una discusión que debe ser renovada en nuestro tiempo.

La democracia en América
Por Alexis de Tocqueville
Edición crítica y traducción de Eduardo Nolla

En 1831, y a pedido del gobierno francés, Alexis de Tocqueville y Gustave de Beaumont dedicaron nueve meses en los Estados Unidos al estudio de su sistema penitenciario. Su investigación también incluyó diversos aspectos de la vida pública y privada de la joven nación: políticos, económico, religiosos, culturales, y sobre todo sociales. Democracia en América fue el resultado de las copiosas notas tomadas por Tocqueville en el transcurso de esa investigación.
La crisis del siglo XVII
Por Hugh Trevor-Roper
Traducido por Lilia Mosconi

El tema de este libro es la crisis general que aquejó al período “moderno temprano” de la historia, crisis que no fue sólo política y económica, sino también social e intelectual, y que no se limitó a un solo país sino que se hizo sentir en toda Europa. Según el autor, la crisis que a mediados del siglo XVII se produjo en el gobierno, en la sociedad y en las ideas, tanto en la Europa continental como en Inglaterra, constituye el crisol de los sucesos revolucionarios de ese siglo. A través del estudio de la caza de brujas (“un tema que debe enfrentar quienquiera sienta el impulso de poner demasiado énfasis en la modernidad de aquel periodo”), a través de la crítica de la interpretación weberiana de la relación entre calvinismo y capitalismo (“si los historiadores sociológicos prodigaran una mirada general al calvinismo y examinaran el capitalismo en general, creo que se verían obligados a modificar esta fórmula apasionante pero simple que Weber formuló”), y por medio del retrato de “tres extranjeros” -Samuel Hartlib, John Dury y Comenio-, tres hombres que “por su experiencia y sus ideas pertenecían a esa Internacional europea, y que pasaron a ser los filósofos de la revolución puritana inglesa en su combinación de reacción intelectual y novedosa utopía social”, o dedicando un capítulo al estudio de “los orígenes religiosos de la Ilustración”, Hugh Trevor-Roper descubre nuevos caminos para la comprensión de un momento seminal de la historia de Occidente: el momento en que se sentaron las bases institucionales e intelectuales de la comprensión moderna de la libertad, de la que somos herederos y beneficiarios.
Política
De Johannes Althusius

Importante teórico do consentimento, do contrato, do federalismo e do corporativismo, o alemão Althusius (1557–1638) conciliou ideias bíblicas, aristotélicas e neocalvinistas em um original sistema político, baseado em princípios das leis natural e contratual. A recuperação de seu pensamento se deve, sobretudo, a dois aspectos, sintetizados na Política: sua filosofia do direito e seu federalismo. Apesar da moldura teológica, fundada na religião calvinista, trata-se do primeiro livro a apresentar uma teoria abrangente do federalismo republicano, enraizada no conceito de associação simbiótica e na idéia do consenso. Pensador seminal, Althusius foi resgatado por teóricos alemães que, no século XIX, lutaram pela unificação da Alemanha segundo princípios federativos.

Seu pensamento também foi assimilado pelos americanos, que construíram o federalismo moderno com base no individualismo e reintroduziram a idéia do Estado como associação política, mais que como instituição reificada. No século XX, a importância do autor foi observada pelo teórico liberal alemão Carl Friedrich, que em 1932 relançou a edição de 1614 da Política acrescentando elucidativo prefácio sobre a vida e a obra do autor. Hoje, quando os cientistas sociais se preocupam em investigar o problema da liberdade em relação com a família, as comunidades étnicas e outras formas de associação, as idéias de Althusius sobre o constitucionalismo e a regulação filosófica dos processos políticos voltam a ganhar atualidade.
Democracia e Liderança
De Irving Babbitt
Prefácio Russell Kirk
Tradução Joubert de Oliveira Brízida
Quando Democracia e Liderança foi publicado em 1924, o crítico Herbert Read afirmou, com justiça, que a motivação de Irving Babbitt (1865–1933) era “o restabelecimento de padrões humanistas no lugar das confusões utilitárias humanitárias ou românticas”, então muito em voga. O livro tornou-se um marco do pensamento político moderno, o mais representativo do pensador da cultura e ensaísta americano, que não deixou uma obra extensa porque gastou grande parte da sua vida em controvérsias públicas, contestando os valores e convicções mais arraigados nos meios acadêmicos de sua época e atacando filósofos como Rousseau, Francis Bacon, Karl Marx e John Dewey. Babbitt nunca hesitou em remar contra a corrente dos movimentos intelectuais de seu tempo, submetendo a exame crítico implacável todas as convicções morais e estéticas de seus contemporâneos. Combateu o marxismo, o freudismo, o instrumentalismo e o naturalismo. Desdenhava o sucesso fácil e a popularidade. Já na estética, opôs-se violentamente às diversas doutrinas que defendiam a arte pela arte, atraindo o propósito moral e a dimensão ética da experiência artística. Como teórico da educação, combatou com fervor a decadência da universidade americana. Seu diagnóstico da erosão dos padrões éticos e culturais da América e sua defesa do autodomínio moral contra o culto à despreocupação são temas que permanecem atuais.

História como História da Liberdade
De Benedetto Croce
Prefácio Claes G. Ryn
Na opinião de Evaldo Cabral de Mello, Croce “é o pensador moderno que reatualizou a lição de um dos pais fundadores da filosofia da história, Giambattista Vico”; e, para Otto Maria Carpeaux, esta obra – que a Topbooks lança pela primeira vez em língua portuguesa, numa parceria com o Liberty Fund – “é talvez o mais belo entre muitos livros belos do grande filósofo, historiador e crítico”. Segundo Wilson Martins, Croce dizia que ‘história como história da liberdade’ era expressão muito usada, mesmo por pensadores ilustres, sem no entanto ser inteiramente compreendida: “Sob esta expressão não se trata do nascimento, crescimento e maturidade definitiva da liberdade, porque a história da liberdade é um processo em permanente desenvolvimento, sem começo nem fim. Vivendo sob um regime fascista – do qual, aliás, foi o opositor mais eminente – Croce sabia do que estava falando”, completa Martins. “A história”, escreve Croce neste livro, “não é um idílio nem tampouco uma tragédia. É um drama no qual todas as atividades, todos os personagens, todos os ‘componentes do coro’, no sentido aristotélico, são influenciados pelo bem e pelo mal. (...) Esse drama é a obra da liberdade, que está se esforçando para restabelecer as condições sociais e políticas para se tornar mais intensa”.

2003
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2006
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**Escritos políticos**
De Samuel Johnson

Este livro reúne 24 ensaios do famoso Dr. Johnson (como ficou conhecido internacionalmente) sobre os principais problemas de seu tempo, incluindo os panfletos "O alarme falso", "Reflexões sobre a coroação" e "O patriota" - um dos mais célebres do autor, produzido durante a Revolução Americana. Como afirma Donald Greene na Introdução ao volume, se é certo que Johnson se dedicou bastante a questões políticas, por outro lado é difícil classificar politicamente suas ideias: seus estudos são pragmáticos, não se prendendo a qualquer ilusão idealista ou romântica, embora ele defenda a ação política como ferramenta para desenvolver a condição humana e combater abusos e injustiças. Filho de um livreiro, Samuel Johnson nasceu em Lichfield em 18 de setembro de 1709. Aos 19 anos foi enviado ao Pembroke College, em Oxford, mas teve que abandonar a instituição, um ano depois, por falta de recursos financeiros. Aos 27, partiu para Londres na companhia de seu pupilo, David Garrick, decidido a tornar-se escritor. Nos anos seguintes, escreveu, por dinheiro, pequenas biografias, sátiras políticas, reportagens e poemas, entre os quais o consagrado *The vanity of human wishes*, de 1749. Por quase três décadas viveu exclusivamente de sua pena, tornando-se celebridade nacional. Segundo o prestigiado crítico Harold Bloom, "ele é para a Inglaterra o mesmo que Emerson para os Estados Unidos, Goethe para a Alemanha e Montaigne para a França: o sábio nacional".
A Conversation with Armen A. Alchian
Interviewed by Daniel K. Benjamin

Armen A. Alchian is one of the twentieth century’s great teachers of economic science and the co-author, with William R. Allen, of the classic textbook University Economics. Born in 1914 in Fresno, California, he studied at Stanford, finishing his Ph.D. dissertation in 1943. He became a full professor at UCLA in 1958. He is known as the founder of the “UCLA tradition” in economics, which emphasizes that individual behavior is self-seeking and rational and that this can have many unanticipated consequences. Alchian has become recognized as one of the most influential voices in the areas of market structure, the theory of the firm, law and economics, resource unemployment, monetary theory, and monetary policy.

A Conversation with Jacques Barzun

Jacques Barzun is one of our most distinguished cultural historians. Born in 1907 in France, he emigrated to America at a young age and attended Columbia University, remaining there, as a student and then as a teacher, for the rest of his academic career. He is one of the most influential writers on liberal education in America, and his books include The House of Intellect, Teacher in America, The American University, and The Modern Researcher. As a cultural historian, he has written widely, including his recently published From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life. A prize-winning bestseller, the work is destined to become a classic in its field.

A Conversation with Manuel Ayau
Interviewed by John Blundell

Manuel Ayau is the founder and former rector and teacher of economics at Universidad Francisco Marroquin. Begun as an alternative to the prevailing statist views of higher education in Guatemala, Francisco Marroquin is now regarded as that country’s finest university. In addition to being a successful businessman, Ayau is a former Chairman of the Guatemala Stock Exchange, was a member of the Guatemala House of Representatives, and served as President of the Mont Pelerin Society.

A Conversation with Lord Peter Thomas Bauer
Interviewed by John Blundell

Lord Peter Thomas Bauer has been one of the twentieth century’s leading thinkers on the relationship between free trade and the economics of developing countries. Born in Budapest, Hungary, in 1915, he emigrated to the United Kingdom to study at Cambridge in the 1930s. Through more than forty years of prolific writing, he presented a new view of the role of government intervention in the development of so-called “third world” economies, demonstrating that private entrepreneurs were more likely to be engines of development and that Western aid was often more likely to perpetuate poor government policies and corruption. Lord Bauer taught at the London School of Economics from 1960 through 1983. In 1983, he became a life peer in the House of Lords in recognition of his distinguished service.
A Conversation with Gary S. Becker

Gary Becker is one of the most original and pathbreaking economists in recent times. When he was named the 1992 Nobel laureate in Economic Sciences, it was for “having extended the domain of microeconomic analysis to a wide range of human behaviour and interaction, including nonmarket behaviour.” Becker’s work led directly to the development of “human capital” theory and the economic analysis of discrimination, crime and punishment, marriage and the family, and the formation of habits. His studies have yielded fresh perspectives on the central problems in these areas, as well as new approaches to solving those problems. Becker is the University Professor of Economics and Sociology at the University of Chicago, and the Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Profiles in Liberty: Raoul Berger

Raoul Berger was the foremost scholar of constitutional law to defend the doctrine of originalism in our day. His works Impeachment, Executive Privilege, and Government by Judiciary set the standards for subsequent work in the field of constitutional interpretation and influenced both expert and public opinion during some of the worst constitutional crises of the late twentieth century. In this program, Berger’s thought is set in the context of his long and rich life from his earliest days as a young Russian emigre in Chicago, to his first career in music, and his eventual fascination with the legal underpinnings of a free society. Combining original footage of his life, his personal reflections, and commentary, Liberty Fund presents a Profile in Liberty: Raoul Berger.

A Conversation with James M. Buchanan

In 1986, James M. Buchanan was awarded the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences. Universally respected as one of the founders of the “public choice” school of economics, he is the author of numerous books and hundreds of articles in the areas of public finance, public choice, constitutional economics, and economic philosophy. He is best known for such works as The Calculus of Consent, The Limits of Liberty, The Power to Tax, and The Reason of Rules. Buchanan has devoted himself to the study of the contractual and constitutional basis for the theory of economic and political decision making. In part one of this conversation, Buchanan discusses the theory of public choice, his exchange theory of economics, and constitutional thought. In part two, the conversation turns to such topics as the work ethic, the logic of free markets, subjectivism, anarchy, federalism, the Nobel Prize in Economics, and Buchanan’s personal experiences and philosophy.
A Conversation with George W. Carey
Interviewed by Bruce Frohnen

One of the most influential contributors to American political thought in the last half-century, George W. Carey speaks here about some of his primary and abiding concerns, including: the foundations of political order, the origins and intent of the American republic, and the ultimate crisis of "derailment" befalling the republic.

Author of The Federalist: Design for a Constitutional Republic and In Defense of the Constitution and subject of the festschrift Defending the Republic, Carey has taught at Georgetown University since 1961, where he is Professor of Government. He founded the legendary journal Political Science Reviewer in 1971, and served as its editor for thirty-four years.

On the Georgetown campus in Washington, D.C., Carey talks with Bruce Frohnen, who has described him as "one of the preeminent interpreters of the nature and history of the American experiment in ordered liberty and self-government."

2010 | 76 minutes
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A Conversation with Ronald H. Coase
Interviewed by Richard E. Epstein

Ronald H. Coase received the 1991 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences. His articles "The Problem of Social Cost" and "The Nature of the Firm" are among the most important and most often cited works in the whole of economic literature. He has taught at the University of Chicago since 1964 and was editor of the very influential Journal of Law and Economics from 1964 until 1982. He recounts how he used the journal during that time to encourage "economists and lawyers to write about the way in which actual markets operate and about how governments actually perform in regulating or undertaking economic activities."

2002 | 62 minutes
DVD
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A Conversation with Richard Cornuelle
Interviewed by William C. Dennis

Richard Cornuelle has greatly impacted how we think about voluntary institutions in the United States. Through such works as Reclaiming the American Dream and De-Managing America, and through his work with the Foundation for Economic Education and the Volker Fund, he has called important attention to the needs and possibilities of those organizations that exist to address social problems through nongovernmental means. His latest work points to what he believes is a great liberating social transformation that is already under way.

2002 | 60 minutes
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A Conversation with Harold Demsetz

A professor at the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago in the 1960s and a primary figure in the Chicago School of Economics and in the field of Law and Economics, Harold Demsetz has contributed original research on the theory of the firm, regulation in markets, industrial organization, antitrust policy, transactions costs, externalities, and property rights. A member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a Director of the Mont Pelerin Society, Demsetz is Arthur Andersen UCLA Alumni Emeritus Professor of Business Economics.

A Conversation with Milton Friedman

Recipient of the 1976 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, Milton Friedman has long been recognized as one of our most important economic thinkers and a leader of the Chicago school of monetary economics. A senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution since 1977, he is also the Paul Snowden Russell Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of Chicago, where he taught from 1946 to 1976. He is the author of many books and articles in economics, including A Theory of the Consumption Function: The Optimum Quantity of Money and Other Essays; A Monetary History of the United States (with A. J. Schwartz); Monetary Statistics of the United States; and Monetary Trends in the United States and the United Kingdom. Friedman has also written extensively on public policy, always with a primary emphasis on the preservation and extension of individual freedom. His most important books in this field are Capitalism and Freedom (with Rose D. Friedman, University of Chicago Press, 1962); Bright Promises, Dismal Performance (Thomas Horton and Daughters, 1983), which consists mostly of reprints of columns he wrote for Newsweek from 1966 to 1983; Free to Choose (with Rose D. Friedman, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980); and Tyranny of the Status Quo (with Rose D. Friedman, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984). Friedman was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1988 and received the National Medal of Science the same year.

A Conversation with M. Stanton Evans

M. Stanton Evans is the former editor of The Indianapolis News and founding director of the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C. The Journalism Center is dedicated to teaching young journalists not only the technical skills of their trade but also a deep understanding of the issues they will be covering. More than 1,300 young journalists have trained at the center and have gone on to jobs at all the major news channels, magazines, and newspapers across the country. Evans has been a columnist for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate and a commentator for CBS radio-TV, NPR, and the Voice of America. He is the author of seven books, the latest entitled The Theme Is Freedom.
A Conversation with Arnold Harberger

Distinguished Professor of Economics at UCLA and the Gustavus F. and Ann M. Swift Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus in Economics at the University of Chicago, Arnold C. Harberger has been a dominant force in the development of global economic policies. From India to Chile, from Panama to Azerbaijan, Harberger’s research and on-the-ground engagement with leaders of finance, industry, and government have shown the efficacy and wide-ranging importance of his approach to economics. Continually focused on the professionalism of his chosen discipline, Harberger is an exemplar of its application, and he remains a highly respected and relevant economist in the twenty-first century.

A Conversation with Lord Ralph Harris and Arthur Seldon

In 1956 in London, England, Ralph Harris became the Director of the newly formed Institute of Economic Affairs, or IEA. The IEA, originally created by Antony Fisher, is dedicated to improving public understanding of the fundamental institutions of a free society, especially the role of markets in solving economic and social problems. In 1957, Arthur Seldon joined Harris as the IEA’s Editorial Director. Together, Harris and Seldon began publishing what were at the time rarely heard views of economic reform based on free-market principles. Through their efforts, the IEA has had enormous influence on governments, public policy, and economic thought and has been the model for organizations like it around the world. In December 1993, the Economist summed up the IEA’s influence as follows: “Governments in search of advice looked to think tanks such as the Institute of Economic Affairs in Britain . . . rather than to Oxford or Harvard.”

2009 | 92 minutes

DVD
$22.00 | £17.95

2001 | 56 minutes

DVD
$22.00 | £17.95
A Conversation with Max Hartwell

Max Hartwell is among the twentieth century’s foremost historians of the Industrial Revolution. Born in New South Wales, Australia, he emigrated to England for his graduate training and taught in Nuffield College, at Oxford University, for many years. His research set in motion the continuing debate about the quality of life and standard of living for those who lived through the industrialization of the West, as well as the causes and explanations for that “great discontinuity.” In addition to being a prolific writer in economic history, Hartwell served as president of the Mont Pelerin Society and has written an important history of that influential body of thinkers.

Profiles in Liberty: The Life and Thought of Friedrich A. Hayek

The twentieth century witnessed the unparalleled expansion of government power over the lives and livelihoods of individuals. Much of this was the result of two devastating world wars and totalitarian ideologies that directly challenged individual liberty and the free institutions of the open society. Other forms of expansion in the provision of social welfare and the regulation of the economy, while more benign in their objectives, nevertheless posed significant challenges to personal freedom. Few individuals did more to both extend our understanding of the economic processes of the free society and alert us to the dangers inherent in the growth of political power than the Nobel laureate economist and social theorist Friedrich A. Hayek. In over half a century of writing and teaching, he showed why national socialism was the very antithesis of capitalism, why communism was an economic and political philosophy ultimately doomed to failure, and why we must be wary of government intervention if we are to preserve the freedoms that make democracy and prosperity possible.

Over the course of his intellectual career, Hayek set out an inspiring vision for a free society, based on principles elaborated in such works as The Constitution of Liberty and Law, Legislation, and Liberty.

In a life that spanned almost the entire twentieth century, he went from being dismissed, ridiculed, and ignored to being recognized and acclaimed as perhaps this century’s most significant social scientist and philosopher. To a remarkable degree, his story is the story of the twentieth century.
A Conversation with John Hospers
Interviewed by Tibor R. Machan

John Hospers is Professor Emeritus in Philosophy at the University of Southern California and author of such important philosophical texts as: *Meaning and Truth in the Arts*, *Human Conduct*, and *An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis*. His numerous philosophical essays are well known for their clear and careful style. As editor of *The Personalist*, John Hospers opened the pages of that highly respected philosophy journal to a generation of young thinkers interested in basic questions of liberty. He also authored a now classic statement on behalf of liberty in his work *Libertarianism*. In 1972, John Hospers served as the first Libertarian Party candidate for president. He has served from then until now as a reference point and inspiration for scholars interested in basic questions of liberty.

A Conversation with Anthony de Jasay
Interviewed by Hartmut Kliemt

Anthony de Jasay is among the most original and independent thinkers on the relationship between the individual and the state. Through his published works he has challenged the reigning paradigms justifying modern democratic government. His deeply challenging theoretical works include *The State*, published in 1985; it is an analysis that views the state as acting primarily in its own interests and often in opposition to the interests of both society and individuals. He subsequently published a number of additional works, including *Social Contract*, *Free Ride: A Study of the Public Goods Problem*, *Choice, Contract, Consent; Before Resorting to Politics*; and *Against Politics*. His work has become known for its insightful, individualistic, and unconventional analysis of power, politics, and freedom.

A Conversation with Harry Jaffa
Interviewed by Tibor R. Machan

Harry Jaffa is a leading political philosopher and among the most influential scholars on Abraham Lincoln. His classic *Crisis of the House Divided* is a study of the Lincoln-Douglas debates that examines closely Lincoln's defense of the principles of the American Founding and Union. Jaffa's recent sequel to that work, *A New Birth of Freedom*, explores further the basis for American republican government. His other books include *Thomism and Aristotelianism; The Conditions of Freedom; How to Think about the American Revolution; and Original Intent and the Framers of the Constitution: A Disputed Question*. Jaffa is Distinguished Fellow of the Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy, and the Henry Salvatori Research Professor in Political Philosophy, Emeritus 1989, at Claremont McKenna College and the Claremont Graduate School.
A Conversation with Israel Kirzner
Interviewed by Tibor R. Machan

Israel Kirzner is among the foremost scholars in the continuing development of the Austrian School of economic theory. His works comprise such classics in the field as *The Economic Point of View* (1960), *Competition and Entrepreneurship* (1973), *Perception, Opportunity, and Profit* (1979), and *The Meaning of Market Process* (1992). In each he has extended our understanding of the workings of a free society, illuminated the role of entrepreneurs in the process of economic discovery, and shed new light on the dynamics of market forces. Of particular interest is his keen understanding of the differences between the Austrian School and the reigning neoclassical paradigm, and how Austrian economics affords new and exciting avenues for future work. In this interview, Professor Kirzner explores these subject areas, as well as his experiences as a student of the renowned teacher and scholar Ludwig von Mises, his interaction with such Austrian greats as Friedrich von Hayek, and his career as a professor of economics at New York University.

2001 | 61 minutes
DVD
ISBN 978-0-86597-603-0
$22.00 | £17.95

A Conversation with Leonard Liggio
Interviewed by John Blundell

Leonard Liggio was one of the early leaders of the classical liberalism revival movement and was one of the most ardent defenders of the tenets of personal liberty worldwide. He was Executive Vice President of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Distinguished Senior Scholar of the Institute for Humane Studies, and a research professor at George Mason University. He also served on the Editorial Board of the *American Journal of Jurisprudence* in the Law School at Notre Dame University, and he was President of both the Mont Pelerin Society and the Philadelphia Society and a member of the Board of Directors of Liberty Fund, Inc.

His teaching and lectures took him from Virginia to South America, Africa, Europe, and Asia, and he used his vast knowledge of the history of liberty and capitalism to illuminate twentieth-century applications and beyond—with an all-encompassing method of observation that is unequalled in economic and academic fields.

2006 | 95 minutes
DVD
ISBN 978-0-86597-693-1
$22.00 | £17.95
A Conversation with Henry Manne
Interviewed by Fred S. McChesney

Henry Manne was one of the early proponents of the study of law and economics. He founded the Center for Law and Economics, now at George Mason University, and has directed scores of law and economics seminars attended by economists, judges, lawyers, educators, and policy makers.

Manne’s book Wall Street in Transition redefined the commonly held theory of the corporate firm and brought unprecedented criticism from the Securities and Exchange Commission, which later came to embrace some of his views. His book Insider Trading and the Stock Market jolted the conventional wisdom of its day. His articles in Barron’s and the Wall Street Journal sparked debate of governmental policy, and his remaining canon traces a true portrait in the quest for classical liberty.

A Conversation with Forrest McDonald

One of the most original and influential historians writing on the American founding period, Forrest McDonald speaks here about his life and the development of his work. In candid reflections, McDonald analyzes his intellectual formation in Texas in the 1950s and how he came to write his landmark We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution, which upset the dominant, long-standing theory proposed by Charles A. Beard. His experience in the 1960s at Brown University and Wayne State University reveals a dramatic portrait of the American cultural tumult of the time.

From his home in Alabama, not far from the university where he spent the last phase of his teaching career, McDonald discusses the motivations and the theories behind several of his most celebrated books, including Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution and E Pluribus Unum: The Formation of the American Republic, and offers radical reinterpretations of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, among other founding figures. In conversation with Bill Jersey, he articulates his sense of the nature of the American republic, the role of the Presidency, the status of the Bill of Rights, the interaction between economics and history, and the effects his reading of history has had on the field and on his legacy.

A Conversation with Paul W. McCracken

Paul W. McCracken’s influence on how we think about economic policy has reached from the academy to the popular press to the highest reaches of government. He served as a member of the President’s Council of Economic Advisors under President Eisenhower and as its Chairman under President Nixon. He was also a member of President Reagan’s Economic Policy Advisory Board and was the author of a regular and influential column for the Wall Street Journal. He is Edmund Ezra Day Distinguished University Professor of Business Administration at the University of Michigan, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1948.
**A Conversation with Ralph McInerny**

Ralph McInerny is among the most noted Catholic philosophers and authors of our day. He has taught at the University of Notre Dame since 1955, and since 1978 has been the Michael P. Grace Professor of Medieval Studies. He also serves as Director of the Jacques Maritain Center at Notre Dame. McInerny has written a number of important works on St. Thomas Aquinas and helped found *Crisis* magazine, a publication that addresses problems facing contemporary society from the standpoint of the Catholic tradition. Alongside his academic work, McInerny authored the best-selling and internationally acclaimed Father Dowling Mysteries, which were also made into a series for public television, and he was appointed to President Bush's Council for Arts and the Humanities.

**2002 | 65 minutes**

**DVD**
ISBN 978-0-86597-605-4
$22.00 | £17.95

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**A Conversation with Steve Pejovich**

One of the most dynamic and insightful theorists writing on property rights, Svetozar "Steve" Pejovich reflects here on his experience in economics. With characteristic sagacity and humor, he demonstrates the power that empirical cases can bring to bear on theoretical problems. Born in Belgrade, Pejovich is Professor Emeritus at Texas A&M University, where he taught for over twenty years, and is the author of many influential articles and books including *The Economics of Property Rights: Towards a Theory of Comparative Systems and Law; Informal Rules;* and *Economics Performance: The Case for Common Law.* In the late 1970s, he was Professor and Chair of the Department of Economics at the University of Dallas, where he also served as President.

In conversation with Bill Jersey, Pejovich speaks openly about his life, which began under the tyranny of the Nazis, was lived into maturity subject to the despotism of the Communists, and was eventually transformed by a move to the United States. Under a government based on ideas of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," he found a new home in Texas—an expansive land where his vision of economic freedom and cultural vitality was realized.

**2010 | 52 minutes**

**DVD**
$22.00 | £17.95
A Conversation with Anna Schwartz

In one of the most long-lasting and influential careers in economics, Anna Schwartz has made profound contributions to statistics, economic history, monetary policy, and international monetary arrangements.

Coauthor with Milton Friedman of *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960*, Schwartz transformed our understanding of the causes of the Great Depression and radically altered our outlook on the effects of monetary policy. Born in 1915, a graduate of Barnard and Columbia, she has worked at the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York City since 1941.

In conversation with Bill Jersey, Schwartz reflects on a lifetime of first-hand experiences in economics, offering critical insights on the policies of Roosevelt and Reagan, Milton Friedman, and the recession of 2008.

A Conversation with Ljubo Sirc

Trained in both economics and law, Ljubo Sirc combines the perspective of a scholar with his firsthand observations of the dangers of communist regimes. Born in Kranj, Slovenia, he participated in the Resistance and served in the Yugoslav Army between 1941 and 1945. In 1947, due to his political opposition and friendship with Western diplomats, he was sentenced to death. His sentence was ultimately commuted to twenty years in prison, of which he served seven, much of it in solitary confinement. In his various teaching posts since then, including twenty years at the University of Glasgow, Sirc has been a leading expert on socialist economics and communist regimes. Since 1983, he has served as Director of the Centre for Research into Post-Communist Economies in London. He is the author of numerous books and articles in a variety of languages. His autobiography, *Between Hitler and Tito*, was published in 1989.
A Conversation with Ernest van den Haag

Interviewed by Tibor R. Machan

Ernest van den Haag was born in Holland and came to the United States in 1940. He has published a number of works, including The Fabric of Society; The Jewish Mystique; and Political Violence and Civil Disobedience. In 1975, he published Punishing Criminals: Concerning a Very Old and Painful Question, which established van den Haag as one of the leading voices in American criminology and led to his appointment as a visiting professor of Criminal Justice at the State University of New York in Albany and as the John M. Olin Professor of Jurisprudence and Public Policy at Fordham University. Professor van den Haag continues to pursue his concerns in criminal law and criminology as part of his greater interest in the free society.

A Conversation with Richard Ware

A self-described "broker of ideas," Richard Ware has been deeply influential in his role as a discoverer and supporter of intellectuals interested in the foundations of a free society. During World War II, Ware served with the lend/lease administration in the Pentagon. Following the war, he began work with the Earhart Foundation, becoming President and Trustee of the Foundation in 1970. As President, his guidance helped the Earhart Foundation pursue its mission of sponsoring the study of modern political systems by providing funds for the development of both scholars and scholarly works. As such, Dick Ware developed a unique perspective on the influence of intellectual thought on political systems.

A Conversation with Sir Alan Walters

Interviewed by John Blundell

As economic advisor to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Sir Alan Walters was an important figure in the transformation of economic policy, and resulting unprecedented boom, that took place in the United Kingdom during the 1980s. Walters also served as an economic advisor to Prime Minister Edward Heath and has served as an advisor to the World Bank. He has written influential articles on public-sector pricing, economic statistics, and cost-benefit analysis, and has taught at the University of Birmingham, the London School of Economics, and Johns Hopkins University.
The Legacy of Friedrich von Hayek

In celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Friedrich von Hayek’s birth, Liberty Fund and the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago present The Legacy of Friedrich von Hayek, a DVD series of seven lectures from outstanding scholars of Hayek’s work. The host and moderator for the lectures is the Chairman of the Committee on Social Thought, Professor Robert Pippin.

Austrian and Neoclassical Economics
Any Gains from Trade?
By Sherwin Rosen

One of the leading microeconomists in the United States, Rosen’s research included theoretical and empirical work on income distribution, dynamics of professional labor markets, health economics, social security, and group decision-making. Rosen received his Ph.D. in economics from the University of Chicago in 1966. He was elected to the Mont Pelerin Society in 1988 and to the National Academy of Sciences in 1988. Rosen was President of the American Economic Association at the time of his death, in 2001.

Sherwin Rosen, the Edwin A. and Betty L. Bergman Distinguished Service Professor in the Department of Economics, the University of Chicago

Hayekian Socialism
By Richard E. Epstein

Epstein is one of the most influential contemporary proponents of law and economics. He has written on a variety of legal topics from a perspective that seeks to blend concerns about individual liberty with the need for collective social control. Among his books are Bargaining with the State (1993); Forbidden Grounds: The Case against Employment Discrimination Laws (1992); and, perhaps his best-known work, Takings: Private Property and the Power of Eminent Domain (1985).

Richard Epstein, the James Parker Hall Distinguished Service Professor, the Law School, the University of Chicago

Hayek, Practitioner of Social Justice
By Michael Novak

Novak is the author of twenty-five books and over five hundred articles in the philosophy and theology of culture, including The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism (1982), for which he was awarded the Antony Fisher Prize by Margaret Thatcher. Novak has served as Ambassador of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and as head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He was awarded the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion in 1994.

Michael Novak, George Frederick Jewett Scholar in Religion and Public Policy and Director of Social and Political Studies, American Enterprise Institute
Hayek, Radical Reactionary
By Lord Ralph Harris

Lord Harris was born in London in 1924 and graduated from Cambridge in 1947. He lectured at St. Andrews University until 1957. He then became the General Director of the Institute of Economic Affairs and was joined in 1958 by Arthur Seldon as Editorial Director. Together they wrote studies of advertising, hire purchase, state and private welfare, and other applications of classical liberal analysis to public policy. They helped rehabilitate the classical liberal tradition of market microanalysis. In 1979, he was made a life peer by Margaret Thatcher, and he sits on the cross-benches as Lord Harris of High Cross.

Lord Ralph Harris, Founder President, Institute of Economic Affairs

Hayek and the Fate of Liberty in the Twentieth Century
By Kenneth Minogue

Minogue was born in New Zealand and educated in Australia. He is the author of The Liberal Mind (1963), Nationalism (1967), The Concept of a University (1974), Alien Powers: The Pure Theory of Ideology (1985), and Politics: A Very Short Introduction (1995). Minogue has lectured at major universities and research institutes worldwide. He is currently a director of the Centre for Policy Studies, for which he has written “The Egalitarian Conceit” and “The Constitutional Mania.”

Kenneth Minogue, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, the London School of Economics, and Senior Research Fellow with the Social Affairs Unit in London

Morality and Community in the Extended Market Order
By James M. Buchanan

Buchanan is a pioneer of the theory of public choice, extending models of economic exchange to the realm of political decision making. Buchanan's work on the constitutional and contractual bases of collective political action has contributed new insights into the relationships between taxation, public expenditure, and public finance. Buchanan earned his Ph.D. in economics from the University of Chicago in 1948 and was awarded the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986.

James M. Buchanan, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Economics and Advisory General Director, Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University
Adam Smith and the Wealth of Nations

In 1776, Adam Smith, the great Scottish economist and moral philosopher, published his classic work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. This DVD is an introduction to modern economics and the importance of free markets. The DVD is narrated by Dr. Benjamin A. Rogge of Wabash College and was prepared with the advice of Professors Ronald H. Coase of the University of Chicago and E. G. West of Carleton University.

Examining the events and influences that made Adam Smith the father of economics, this DVD traces Smith’s life from his childhood in Scotland through his university days in Oxford and on to his academic career.

The DVD delineates the original brilliance of Adam Smith’s ideas that culminated in his masterwork, *The Wealth of Nations*, and they see how those concepts made our modern world possible.

Design for Liberty

*The American Constitution*

This DVD, using pictures and quotations from the Founding period of the United States, discusses the idea of liberty as it was understood by the revolutionary generation and how the concern for the preservation of liberty culminated in the writing of the Constitution in 1787. The DVD brings the story to life and introduces the viewer to the sights of eighteenth-century America.

The Industrial Revolution

*A Program in Three Parts*

Contrary to a prevalent belief, the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century dramatically improved the standard of living of the people. The three parts of this DVD attempt to show how this remarkable transformation came about.

*The Industrial Revolution* DVD focuses on England’s transformation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which initiated a process of economic growth and social and political change that some call the greatest economic discontinuity in economic history. This DVD explains the significance of the Industrial Revolution by showing what it was, what caused it, and what were its consequences. Part 1: *The Great Discontinuity* identifies and defines the Industrial Revolution. Part 2: *Freedom under the Law* explains why the Industrial Revolution began in England in the eighteenth century—the economic, social, and historical factors that gave rise to our modern age. Part 3: *A Magnificent Century* identifies the social, political, and economic effects of industrialization for the mass of the population. This DVD objectively presents the great debate about the triumphs and tragedies of industrialization.

Hong Kong

*A Story of Human Freedom and Progress*

This DVD shows how the economic transformation of Hong Kong from a modest trading center to a modern industrial and free-trade economy (prior to China’s annexation) came about through a reliance on the market and economic liberty rather than on central planning through government direction.
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