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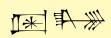
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AMERICAN FOUNDING AND CONSTITUTION

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Edited and with an Introduction by Richard B. Vernier Foreword by Joyce Appleby

lexander Hamilton, trusted military aid and secretary to General George Mashington, 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.

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

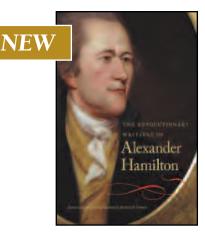
James McClellan (1937–2005) was James Bryce Visiting Fellow in American Studies at the Institute of United States Studies, University of London

THE PACIFICUS-HELVIDIUS DEBATES OF 1793–1794

By Alexander Hamilton (Pacificus) and James Madison (Helvidius) Edited and with an Introduction by Morton J. Frisch

he 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.

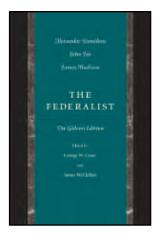
Morton J. Frisch (1923–2006) was Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Northern Illinois University.



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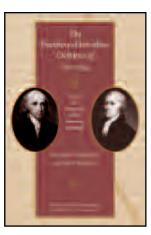
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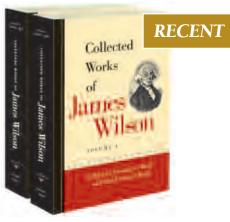
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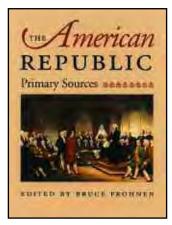
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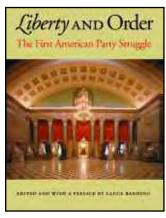
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James Wilson (1742–1798) emigrated from Scotland in 1765 and was one of the major architects of the American judicial system.

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 in 1954.

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Bruce Frohnen is Associate Professor of Law at the Ave Maria School of Law in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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

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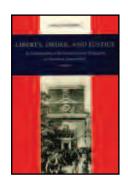
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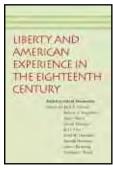
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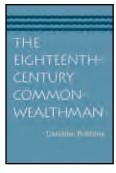
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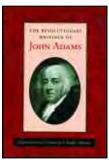
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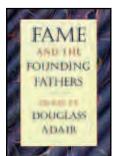
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This collection illustrates that it was Adams who, before the Revolution, wrote some of the most important documents on the nature of the British Constitution and the meaning of rights, sovereignty, representation, and obligation.

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*.

THE SPUR OF FAME

Dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, 1805-1813

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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.

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Douglass Adair (1912–1968) was a Professor of History and editor of the William and Mary Quarterly.

Trevor Colbourn is President Emeritus at the University of Central Florida.

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

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

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Edited by Colleen A. Sheehan and Gary L. McDowell

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Colleen A. Sheehan is Professor of Political Science at Villanova University.

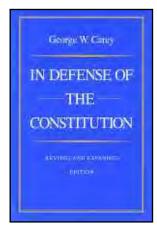
Gary L. McDowell is the Tyler Haynes Interdisciplinary Professor of Leadership Studies, Political Science, and Law at the University of Richmond in Virginia. From 1992 to 2003 he was the Director of the Institute of United States Studies in the University of London.



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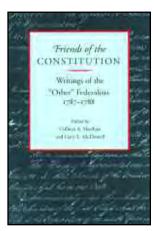
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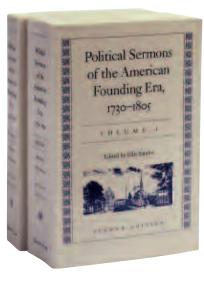
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Ellis Sandoz is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Eric Voegelin Institute at Louisiana State University.

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—Professor Jack Greene, Johns Hopkins University

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.

AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE OF THE HONOURABLE MAJOR-GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

By David Humphreys Foreword by William C. Dowling

General Israel Putnam is remembered to history and legend as exclaiming to the American soldiers at the Battle of Bunker Hill, "Don't fire 'til you see the whites of their eyes!"

David Humphreys wrote the biography of Israel Putnam 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."

As 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."

William C. Dowling is Professor of English at Rutgers University.



In Two Volumes

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" and presented his findings in *The American Commonwealth*, first published in London in three volumes in 1888. This 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.

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

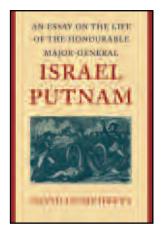
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By Trevor Colbourn

In a landmark work, a leading scholar of the eighteenth century uses diaries, personal correspondence, newspapers, and legislative records to examine the ways in which an understanding of the nature of history influenced the thinking of the Founding Fathers.

Trevor Colbourn is President Emeritus at the University of Central Florida.



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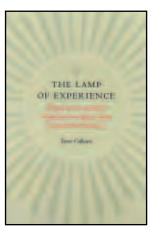


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Introduction, publisher's note, preface to the first edition, preface to the edition of 1910.

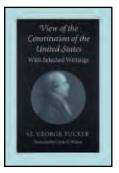
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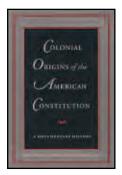
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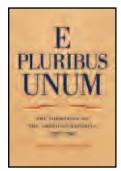
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Clyde N. Wilson is Professor of History and editor of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun* at the University of South Carolina.

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

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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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AMERICAN HISTORY

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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.

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

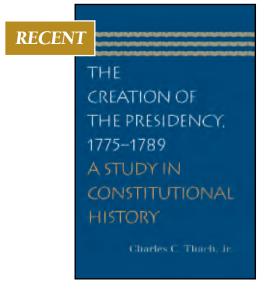
Edited and with an Introduction by John Caldwell

illiam Findley was an important, if lesser-known, politician during the early national period of American history. He was a captain in the Revolutionary army, an Anti-Federalist, and a forty-year veteran politician of both state and national office. In the Pennsylvania ratifying convention he had vigorously opposed the approval of the proposed Constitution because he felt that it did not guarantee the protection of some basic liberties such as jury trial; religious freedom; and freedom of speech, assembly, press, etc. After the Bill of Rights was adopted, Findley became a strong supporter of the Constitution.

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.

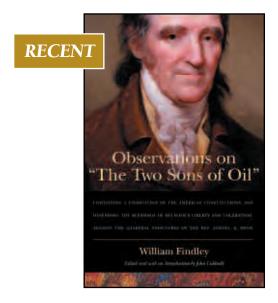
William Findley was born in Ireland and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1763. He served in the Second through the Fifth Congresses, and again in the Eighth through the Fourteenth Congresses, earning the designation "Father of the House" before he retired from Congress in 1817.

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).



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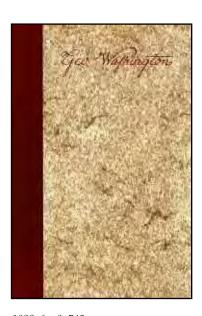
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Robert Faulkner is Professor of Political Science at Boston College.

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

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W. B. Allen is Professor of Political Philosophy and Director of the Program in Public Policy and Administration at Michigan State University.

ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1759–1766

By Bernhard Knollenberg Edited and with a Foreword by Bernard W. Sheehan

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rigin of the American Revolution is the first of Bernhard Knollenberg's two-part history concerning the basis of the conflict between England and its North American colonies from 1759 to 1766.

In this first volume, *Origin of the American Revolution*, Knollenberg knits together the most important and coincident prerequisite conditions that made the colonial break with England inevitable. The book is in great measure a work of imperial history, in that it views the advent of the American Revolution within the context of the first British Empire. In this context, Knollenberg views the movement toward independence as the failure of the British to solve the problem of empire.

Although Knollenberg does not primarily deal with intellectual history, he describes the basic divergence in political principles between England and its North American colonies. In keeping with the style of the time in which he wrote, Knollenberg stresses politics and economics over social and cultural history.

Bernhard Knollenberg (1892–1973) practiced law for twenty-two years before becoming Librarian at the Yale University Library in 1938.

Bernard W. Sheehan is Professor Emeritus of History at Indiana University and past editor of the Indiana Magazine of History.

GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1766–1775

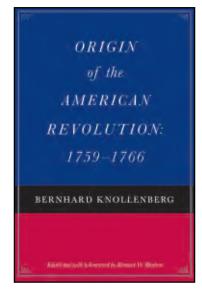
By Bernhard Knollenberg Edited and with a Foreword by Bernard W. Sheehan

"Very strongly recommended for academic and community library American History collections, **Growth of the American Revolution**: 1766–1775 . . . is an impressively in-depth and informative study of American revolutionary history."

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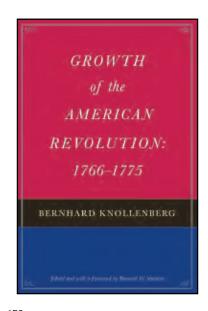


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Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations In Two Volumes

By Mercy Otis Warren Edited and Annotated by Lester H. Cohen

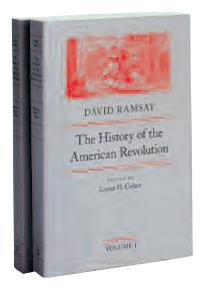
"Even without [Lester] Cohen's excellent additions Warren's work would be enjoyable to read. Her style is lively and her assessment of the importance of events and of the character of the participants remains generally insightful."

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Tercy Otis Warren has been described as perhaps the most formidable M 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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avid 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

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.

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F. A. Hayek, (1899–1992) was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1974 and the Medal of Freedom in 1991 and was one of the leading Austrian economists and political philosophers of the twentieth century.

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THE FORTUNES OF LIBERALISM: ESSAYS ON AUSTRIAN ECONOMICS AND THE IDEAL OF FREEDOM

By F. A. Hayek

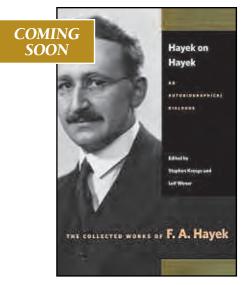
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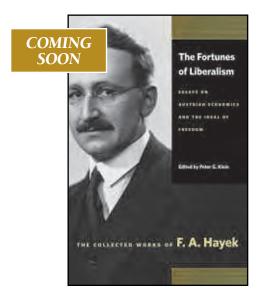
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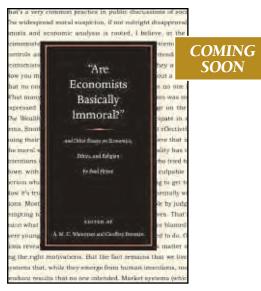
In this collection of essays, some of which appear here in English for the first time, F. A. Hayek traces his intellectual roots to the Austrian School. *The Fortunes of Liberalism: Essays on Austrian Economics and the Ideal of Freedom* also links the Austrian School to the modern rebirth of classical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



Available November 2008. 6 x 9. 177 pages. Editorial foreword by Stephen Kresge and Leif Wenar, introduction by Stephen Kresge, index of persons and places. Paperback only. ISBN 978-0-86597-740-2. \$12.00 / £ 8.95.



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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, Geoffrey Brennan and A. M. C. Waterman, 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.

Heyne's writings are unique in that he takes the critics of the free market order seriously and addresses their arguments diretly, showing how they are defective in their understanding of economics and in their ethical and theological underpinnings. The engaging style of Heyne's essays makes them accessible to students as well as to scholars. Even in discussions of topics well beyond the fundamental level, Heyne still succeeds in providing students with an appreciation of basic economic principles.

Paul Heyne (1931–2000) taught at Valparaiso University (1957–66), Southern Methodist University (1966–76), and the University of Washington (1976–2000).

COMMERCE AND GOVERNMENT

Considered in Their Mutual Relationship

By Étienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac

Translated by Shelagh Eltis with an Introduction by Shelagh Eltis and Walter Eltis

In Commerce and Government: Considered in Their Mutual Relationship, published in the same year as Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, 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.

In this first English translation, the discussion by Shelagh and Walter Eltis of Condillac's life and his contribution to economics enhances this introduction to his thought.

Étienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac (1714–1780) was one of the preeminent French philosophers of the Enlightenment and wrote on a wide range of subjects, including metaphysics, epistemology, politics, and economics.

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 CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ECONOMICS

Edited by David R. Henderson

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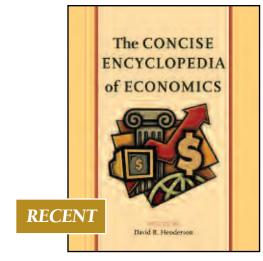
David R. Henderson is a Research Fellow with Stanford University's Hoover Institution and an Associate Professor of Economics at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. He was formerly a Senior Economist with the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

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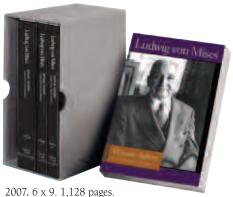
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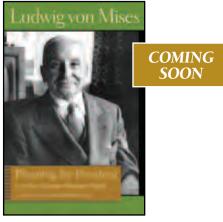




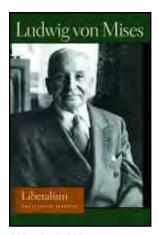


Editor's note, foreword to the fourth edition, foreword to the third edition, introduction, supplementary editorial footnotes and translations of foreign-language terms, appendix: "A Critique of Böhm-Bawerk's Reasoning in Support of His Time Preference Theory," glossary, index.

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HUMAN ACTION

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By Ludwig von Mises Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves Glossary prepared by Percy L. Greaves, Jr.

ccording to Ludwig von Mises, it is individual choices in response to Apersonal subjective value judgments that ultimately determine market phenomena—supply and demand, prices, the pattern of production, and even profits and losses. Although governments may presume to set "prices," it is individuals who, by their actions and choices through competitive bidding for money, products, and services, actually determine "prices." Thus, Mises presents economics—not as a study of material goods, services, and products—but as a study of human actions.

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 resident scholar and trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and was a senior staff member from 1951 to 1999.

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.

LIBERALISM

The Classical Tradition

By Ludwig von Mises Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

This book presents the theoretical and practical arguments for liberal-I ism 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. Liberalism is not a political party; it is a system of social organization. Mises is more specific here than elsewhere in applying the liberal program to economic policy, domestic and foreign. Also in this book, Mises contrasts liberalism with other conceivable systems of social organization such as socialism, communism, and fascism.

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.

Writing in an age of exuberant socialism, Ludwig von Mises here lucidly demonstrates how the efficiencies of private ownership and control of public good production ultimately trump the guesswork of publicly administered "planning" through codes and "officialdom."

ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND INTERVENTIONISM

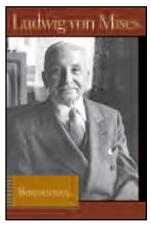
An Anthology of Articles and Essays
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

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.

THE ANTI-CAPITALISTIC MENTALITY

By Ludwig von Mises Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

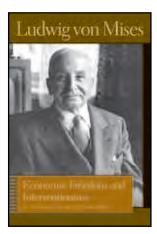
In *The Anti-capitalistic Mentality*, the respected economist Ludwig von Mises plainly explains the causes of the irrational fear and hatred many intellectuals and others feel for capitalism. In five concise chapters, he traces the causation of the misunderstandings and resultant fears that cause resistance 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.



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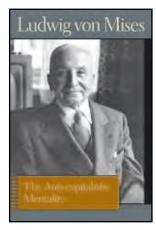
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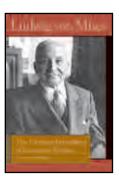
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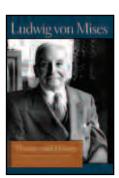
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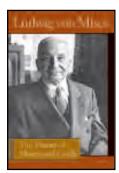
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NATION, STATE, AND ECONOMY

Contributions to the Politics and History of Our Time

By Ludwig von Mises

Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

ssential to Mises's concept of a classical liberal economy is the absence **L**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."

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.

THEORY AND HISTORY

An Interpretation of Social and Economic Evolution

By Ludwig von Mises

Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

heory 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 with history, the record of the past actions of individuals.

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 tradecycle theories.

SOCIALISM

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.

BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

Monetary Disorder, Interventionism, Socialism, and the Great Depression

Volume 2 of Selected Writings of 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 second volume in the resulting *Selected Writings of Ludwig von Mises* series from Liberty Fund represents a treasure trove of important essays.

Richard Ebeling was the Ludwig von Mises Professor of Economics at Hillsdale College and chairman of the economics and business administration department at Hillsdale before his appointment as president of the Foundation for Economic Education. He has served as the editor or co-editor for twenty other books, including *The Age of Economists: From Adam Smith to Milton Friedman* and *Human Action: A 50-Year Tribute.*

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTERNATIONAL REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION

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After he fled Austria, Ludwig von Mises arrived in the United States and continued to write essays on economics. Among those included in volume 3 are:

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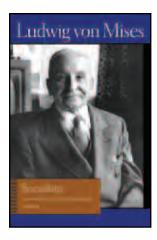
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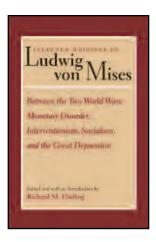


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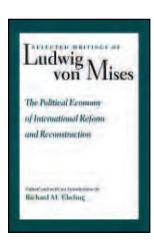
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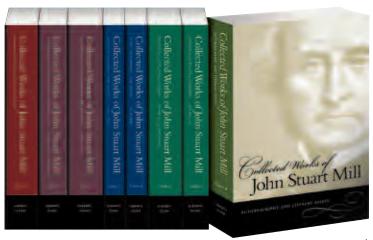
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Liberty Fund is pleased to make available in paperback eight of the original thirty-three hardcover volumes of the *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* that were first published by the University of Toronto Press that remain most relevant to liberty 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.

This collection includes Mill's *Autobiography*, which 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.

These volumes also include *Principles of Political Economy*, 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.

Mill's primary distinction as a pedagogical writer came from his ability to lucidly articulate the economic and social thoughts of other thinkers, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, John Locke, and Jeremy Bentham and to build further upon the foundation of these thinkers' work. Over the last century and a half, much of Mill's thought has been criticized thoroughly and some of his theories have not been borne out by historical experience, but his writings are still for the most part as lively and as interesting today as when they were first published, and all of his works are an invaluable part of the history of modern economic, political, social, and philosophical thought.

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 there for thirty-eight years. He is also the author of *On Liberty* (1859), *Utilitarianism* (1861), and *The Subjection of Women* (1869).

THE WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID RICARDO

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Edited by Piero Sraffa and with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb

avid 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. It implies that countries best serve themselves when they trade with other countries abiding by their respective scales of efficiency. Besides being the most efficient method of international commerce, the comparative-advantage mode of trade also encourages international stability through multilateral business interests and global interdependencies. As Frédéric Bastiat, the French journalist and politician, wrote, "If goods do not cross borders, armies will."

Throughout the years, several economists have elaborated on fundamental Ricardo themes and developed compelling theorems. Using Ricardo's assertions about the interrelationships among capital, labor, output, and investment, the Nobel laureate F. A. Hayek posed the Ricardo effect, a retort to John Maynard Keynes's accelerator principle. Robert Barro of Harvard University used Ricardo's equivalence theorem to argue that the distinction between government taxing its citizens or deficit spending on credit is inconsequential to the long-term aggregate economy. Gordon Tullock, one of the founders of the public choice school, built upon Ricardo's rent theory to explain his "rent-seeking" phenomenon, which illuminates the inequitable and monopolistic distribution of excessive gains derived through discriminate government subsidies.

This eleven-volume set of *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. The edition has been 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. It contains a general index and includes four volumes dedicated to his personal correspondence with such economic luminaries as Malthus, Jean-Baptiste Say, and James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill. This publication is an affordable paperback version of the hardcover edition prepared under the auspices of the Royal Economic Society by Piero Sraffa and printed by Cambridge University Press in 1951–1973. Complete sets of the edition have not been available for many years.



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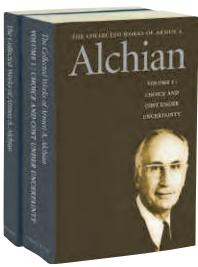
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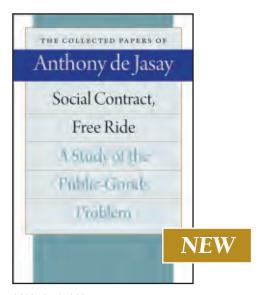
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Armen A. Alchian is Professor Emeritus of Economics at UCLA.

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

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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.

This book provides a novel account of the public-goods dilemma. The author shows how the social contract, in its quest for fairness, actually helps to breed the parasitic "free riding" it is meant to suppress. Jasay also shows how, in the absence of taxation, many public goods would be provided by spontaneous group cooperation. This would, however, involve some degree of free riding. Unwilling to tolerate such unfairness, cooperating groups would eventually drift from voluntary to compulsory solutions, heedless of the fact that this must bring back free riding with a vengeance. The author argues that the perverse incentives created by the attempt to render public provision assured and fair are a principal cause of the poor functioning of organized society.

Anthony de Jasay is an independent theorist living in France. He trained as an economist in Australia and then at Oxford University. He worked in finance in Paris before retiring and becoming an independent scholar. Anthony de Jasay is the author of *Against Politics: On Government, Anarchy and Order* (Routledge, 1997); *The State* (Basil Blackwell, 1985; Liberty Fund, 1998), and *Justice and its Surroundings* (Liberty Fund, 2002).

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Henry C. Clark is Professor of History at Canisius College.



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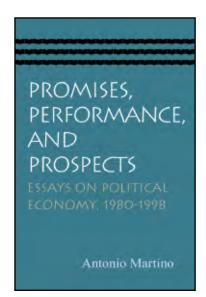
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As Dwight Lee comments in his foreword to the volume, "From Adam Smith to James Buchanan, the insights of political economists have been motivated by, and illustrated with, contemporary concerns that keep recurring in only slightly different guises."

Antonio Martino, author of 13 books and more than 150 papers, is a member of the Mont Pelerin Society, and a former Defense Minister of Italy.



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Tullock followed a unique path in his academic career. His exposure to formal economic training was limited to one course taught by Henry Simons as part of the law curriculum at the University of Chicago. Although Tullock does not hold a degree in economics, he is one of the most respected and widely cited economists of the modern age. His influence on modern political economy is simply immense. As Rowley points out in his introduction to the first volume of this series, "Gordon Tullock is an economist by nature rather than by training." Assuredly, his "outsider" perspective and his intellectual brilliance cultivate an uncommon ability to think "outside the box" and to explain scientifically phenomena that are often intuitively obvious but not readily demonstrated.

Tullock and his 1962 coauthor, Nobel laureate James M. Buchanan, are widely recognized as cofounders of public choice, a field that systematically applies the rational choice approach of economics to the analysis of political markets. Public choice analysts evaluate the impact on political outcomes exercised by voters, special interests, bureaucrats, legislators, and presidents on the assumption that each such actor pursues his own self-interest. In so doing, public choice demonstrates that the "invisible hand," identified by Adam Smith as associating self-interest in the private market-place with the wealth of a nation, does not necessarily hold in political markets, where the "visible boot" of government, unless carefully checked, may result in economic ruin.

Tullock has made pathbreaking contributions to constitutional political economy, the vote motive, rent-seeking theory, bureaucracy, law and economics, and bioeconomics. He has expanded the frontiers of political economy, widely defined.

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, clear, and unambiguous. His brilliant mind is surprisingly accessible to us all.

Gordon Tullock is one of the living legends in the field of political economics. The Selected Works of Gordon Tullock provides an entree to the mind of an original thinker. Professor Rowley provides a deliberately sparse contextual introduction to each volume, opting to allow the very able and eloquent Tullock to speak for himself.

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

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rthur Seldon was born in 1916 and lived through the most dynamic $oldsymbol{\Lambda}$ and volatile century in the history of humankind. His advocacy of and undeterred belief in classical liberalism have sought to combat the intoxicating and deceptive "comfort" of collectivism created by the instability of two world wars and unprecedented technological and sociological change.

From the late 1950s Seldon's partnership with Ralph Harris (later Lord Harris), as Editorial Director and General Director respectively, made the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) the bellwether for classical liberal thought throughout England and eventually the world. In their early years, when very few people dared dispute Keynesian thought, Harris and Seldon argued against its determined centralization and its consequent collectivist tendencies. In the face of the status quo, the IEA provided astute defenses of market solutions to various societal problems. Their arguments, always coherent, were often bolstered by case studies and compelling empirical evidence. They sought market alternatives to government-manipulated programs concerning such issues as public pensions, public education, public health care, social welfare, and corporate welfare.

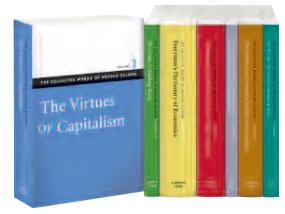
Gradually, as collectivist programs started to break down of their own weight, IEA's writings provided the intellectual underpinnings to alternative solutions to the welfare state. In the early 1980s, IEA's various themes on smaller government became a substantive part of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's reforms. Such reforms led to the privatization of nationalized corporations, labor union reorganization, and abolition of exchange controls. IEA's efforts for change did not stop in England. According to Nobel laureate Milton Friedman, the influence of IEA has "contributed greatly to the change in the intellectual climate of opinion around the world."

Seldon's writings are clear and accessible. He had the uncommon ability to translate complex information, often fraught with esoteric philosophical and technical jargon, into understandable prose for both intellectual and lay consumption.

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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.



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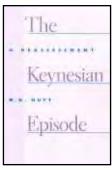
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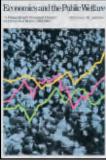
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Arthur Kemp was Professor Emeritus of Economics at Claremont McKenna College.

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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.



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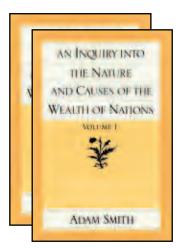
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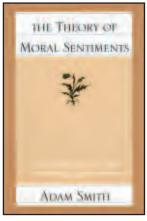
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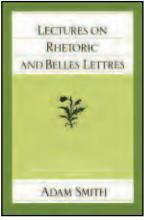
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Criticizing mercantilists who sought to use the state to increase their nations' supply of precious metals, Smith points out that a nation's wealth should be measured by the well-being of its people. Prosperity in turn requires voluntary exchange of 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.

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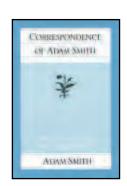
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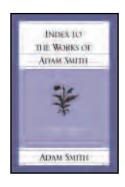
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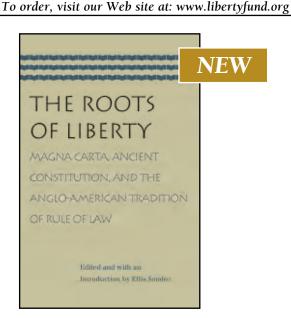
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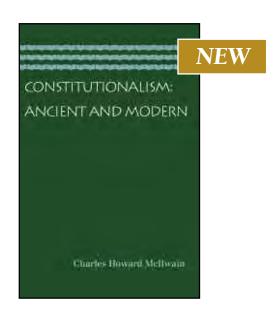


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Ellis Sandoz is Professor of Political Science at Louisiana State University, and he founded and is also the Director of the Eric Voegelin Society at Louisiana State University.

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Charles Howard McIlwain was the president of the American Historical Association from 1935 to 1936 and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1924 for his constitutional analysis of the American Revolution. After briefly serving at Princeton University as one of Woodrow Wilson's preceptors, he spent the rest of his career as a chaired professor in Harvard's department of government and some time as a visiting professor at Oxford after his retirement.

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A. V. Dicey (1835–1922) was an English jurist, Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford University, and author of, among other works, *The Law of the Constitution*.

Richard VandeWetering is an Adjunct Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario.

THE "HIGHER LAW" BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

By Edward S. Corwin

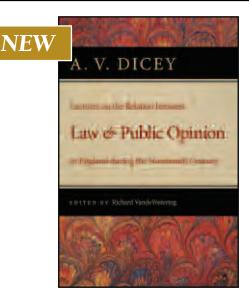
Having written extensively on various aspects of the American constitutional order, Edward S. Corwin is considered a leading constitutional scholar of the twentieth century. Alpheus Mason described Corwin's writings as "sources of learning and understanding—hallmarks to emulate and revere."

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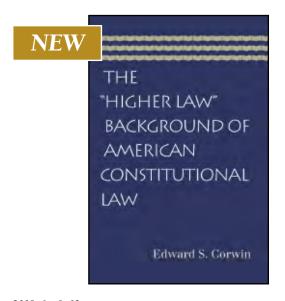
Edward S. Corwin (1878–1963) served as the McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University from 1908 to 1946.



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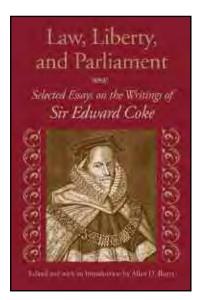
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Steve Sheppard teaches at the School of Law, University of Arkansas. He writes on constitutional history and theory, legal history, property law, and general jurisprudence; and he has edited The History of Legal Education (Salem Press, 1998).

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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.

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Charles J. Reid, Jr., is Associate Professor at the Saint Thomas University School of Law.

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Heinrich A. Rommen (1897–1967) taught in Germany and England before concluding his distinguished scholarly career at Georgetown University.

Russell Hittinger is Professor of Philosophy and Law at the University of Tulsa.

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Foreword by Stephen Presser

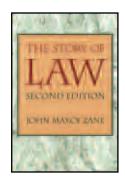
Roscoe Pound, former dean of Harvard Law School, delivered a series of lectures at the University of Calcutta in 1948. In these lectures, he criticized virtually every modern mode of interpreting the law because he believed the administration of justice had lost its grounding.

Roscoe Pound, considered by many to be the Dean of American jurisprudence, served as Dean of Harvard Law School from 1916 to 1936.



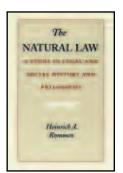
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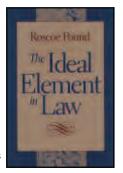
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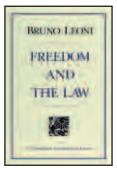
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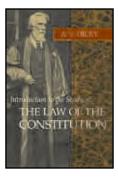
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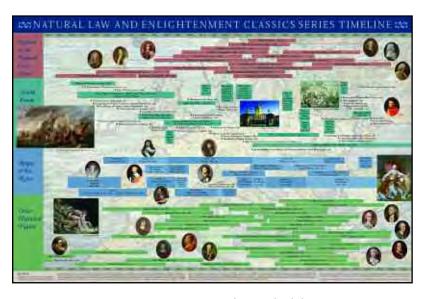
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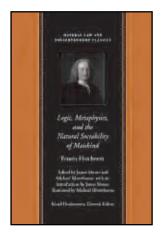
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Johann Gottlieb Heineccius (1681–1741) studied theology at Leipzig and later law at the newly founded (1694) University of Halle, where he became a pupil of Christian Thomasius.

Thomas Ahnert is a Lecturer in History at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Peter Schröder is a Senior Lecturer in the History Department at University College, London.

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Translated by Michael Silverthorne

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Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he assumed the chair of moral philosophy in 1729.

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.

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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.

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Jean Louis De Lolme (1741–1806) was born in Geneva and became an advocate there. Criticism of the political authorities led him to seek refuge in England, where he lived as an author and journalist.

David Lieberman is Jefferson E. Peyser Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley.

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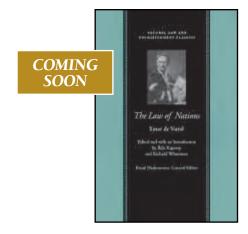
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Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) was a German philosopher and legal theorist.

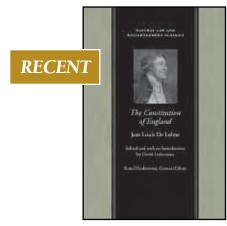
Ian Hunter is Australian Professorial Fellow at the Centre for the History of European Discourses, University of Queensland, Australia.

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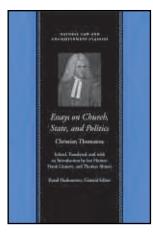
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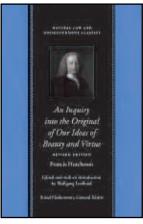
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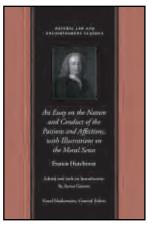
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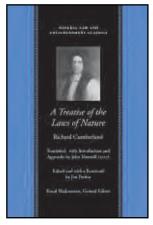
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Wolfgang Leidhold is Professor of Political Science at the University of Cologne.

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Aaron Garrett is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Boston University.

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Richard Cumberland (1632–1718) was bishop of Peterborough.

Jon Parkin is a Lecturer in Politics at the University of York.

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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 recently completed his doctorate in history at the University of British Columbia.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL AND POLITIC LAW

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The year 1694 saw the death of Samuel Pufendorf, who, with Hugo Grotius, was the foremost representative of the modern tradition of natural law theory, and the birth of Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, who helped transform the tradition and convey it to new generations.

As professor of natural law in Geneva, Burlamaqui used Pufendorf's works on natural law but taught and wrote on the subject in the vernacular, not in the traditional university Latin. By making natural jurisprudence more accessible, Burlamaqui helped make it part of civic education.

Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui (1694–1748) was a Swiss jurist. His chief works are Principes du droit naturel (Principles of Natural Law) (1747) and Principes du droit politique (Principles of Political Law) (1751).

Petter Korkman is a Fellow at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies and is a Postdoctoral Researcher in Philosophy at the Academy of Finland.

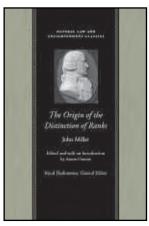


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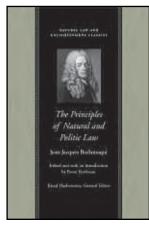
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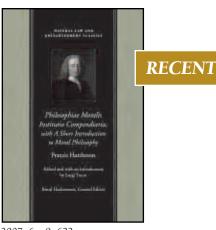
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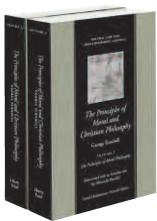
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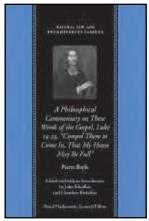
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Luigi Turco is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Bologna.

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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.

George Turnbull (1698–1748) taught at Marischal College, Aberdeen.

Alexander Broadie is Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at the University of Glasgow.

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

Pierre Bayle's *Philosophical Commentary* deals with church and state, religious toleration, legal enforcement of religious practices, and religiously motivated violence. If the orthodox have the right and duty to persecute, then every sect will persecute since every sect considers itself orthodox. Bayle rejects coercion because, even when effective, it ignores the indispensability of the free conscience.

Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) was a Protestant philosopher and critic.

John Kilcullen is Senior Research Fellow, Humanities, at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia.

Chandran Kukathas is Chair in Political Theory at The London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London.

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Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782) was one of the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment.

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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

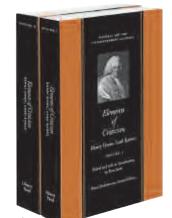
The *Essays* is commonly considered Kames's most important philosophical work. In the first part, he sets forth the principles and foundations of morality and justice, attacking Hume's moral skepticism and addressing the controversial issue of the freedom of human will. In the second part, Kames focuses 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.

Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782) was one of the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Mary Catherine Moran taught in the Department of History at Columbia University.



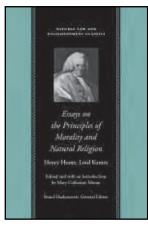
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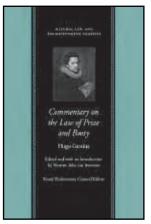
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Since the nineteenth century, Hugo Grotius's *Rights of War and Peace* has been the classic work in modern international law, laying the foundation for a universal code of law. However, in the seventeenth century and during the Enlightenment, it was considered a major defense of the rights of states and private persons to use their power to secure themselves and their property.

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

The history of *Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty* is complex. When Grotius's personal papers were auctioned in The Hague in 1864, scholars discovered that *Mare Liberum* was just one chapter in a manuscript of 163 folios, written in justification of the capture of the Portuguese merchantman *Santa Catarina* in the Strait of Singapore in February 1603. Robert Fruin persuaded the scholar H. G. Hamaker to transcribe and publish it in 1868.

The Liberty Fund edition 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

The freedom of the oceans of the world and coastal waters has been a contentious issue in international law for the past four hundred years. The most influential argument in favor of freedom of navigation, trade, and fishing was that put forth by the Dutch theorist Hugo Grotius in his 1609 *Mare Liberum* (*The Free Sea*).

Liberty Fund's new 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 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 Professor of History at Harvard University.

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7 indiciae 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.

OBSERVATIONS UPON LIBERAL EDUCATION

By George Turnbull

Edited and with an Introduction by Terrence O. Moore, Jr.

riginally published in 1742, Observations upon Liberal Education is a significant contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment and the moralsense 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 in Ohio.

THE PRESENT STATE OF GERMANY

By Samuel Pufendorf

Translated by Edmund Bohun (1696)

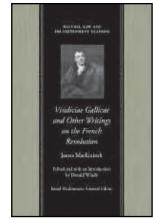
Edited and with an Introduction by Michael J. Seidler

amuel 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 Liberty Fund edition carefully compares Edmund Bohun's translation of 1696 with Pufendorf's 1667 Latin original and with Gundling's edition of 1706, the main alterations being noted directly in the text. The prefaces to the two Latin editions have been translated into English for the first time.

Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) taught natural law and was court historian in both Germany and Sweden.

Michael J. Seidler is Professor of Philosophy at Western Kentucky University.



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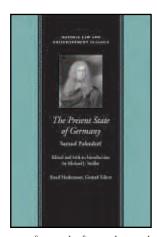
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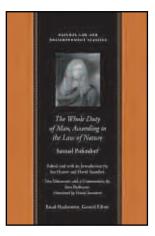


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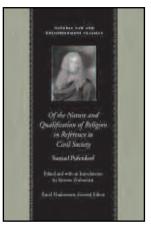
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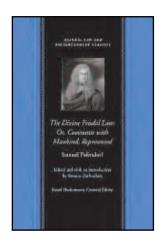
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THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF NATURE

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. At the same time, he distanced himself from Hobbes's deduction of such needs from self-interest.

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.

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

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 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.

Simone Zurbuchen is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

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

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.

Although he argued in *Of the Nature* that maintaining peace and order in the state does not require all subjects to share one belief, Pufendorf also believed that "true" Christianity was beneficial to society. For that reason he advocated a reunion of the confessions on the basis of fundamental truths that he believed were contained in the Bible, saying a conciliation should be enforced not by law but by mutual agreement of the dissenting parties. Therefore, the reunion of the confessions must be accompanied by toleration.

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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.

David Fordyce (1711–1751) taught at Marischal College, Aberdeen.

Thomas D. Kennedy is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Valparaiso University.

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

n Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature is a concerted A 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 is Professor Emeritus of English, University of Toronto.

NATURAL RIGHTS ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT

The Writings of Gershom Carmichael

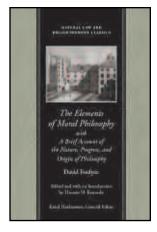
By Gershom Carmichael Edited by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, with a Foreword by James Moore Translated by Michael Silverthorne

ershom Carmichael defended a strong theory of rights and drew Tattention to Grotius, Pufendorf, and Locke. Natural Rights includes Supplements and Observations on Pufendorf (1724), Natural Theology (1729), Logic (1722), two theses, and a manuscript on teaching.

Gershom Carmichael (1672–1729) was the first professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, preceding Hutcheson, Smith, and Reid.

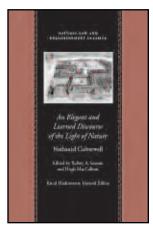
James Moore is Professor of Political Science at Concordia University in Montreal.

Michael Silverthorne is Honorary University Fellow in the School of Classics at the University of Exeter.



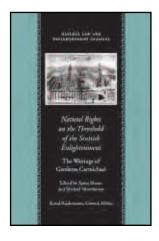
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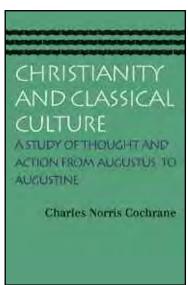
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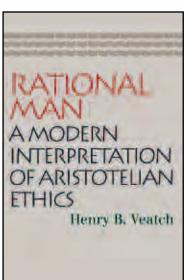
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W. H. Auden wrote of an earlier edition in *The New Republic*: "Since the appearance of the first edition in 1940, I have read this book many times, and my conviction of its importance to the understanding not only of the epoch with which it is concerned, 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

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With a Preface and Annotated Bibliography by Douglas B. Rasmussen

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Henry Babcock Veatch (1911–1999) was born in Evansville, Indiana, and he taught at Georgetown, Indiana University, Northwestern, Haverford, and the University of Minnesota. Besides *Rational Man*, he was the author of *Intentional Logic*; *Realism and Nominalism Revisited*; *Aristotle*: *A Contemporary Appreciation*; and many other books.

Douglas B. Rasmussen is Professor of Philosophy at St. John's University in New York City. He is coauthor of *Liberty and Nature: An Aristotelian Defense of Liberal Order* and *Liberalism Defended: The Challenge of Post-Modernity*.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Three-Volume Slipcased Set

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, Rousseauesque view of the Revolution.

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.

Mona Ozouf is research director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris and received the Dr. A. H. Heineken Prize for History in 1998.

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.



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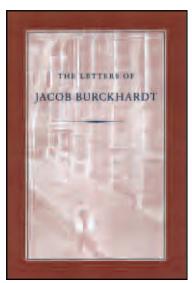
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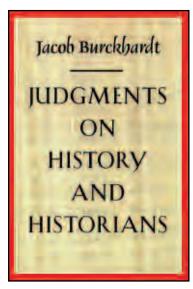
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THE LETTERS OF JACOB BURCKHARDT

Selected, Edited, and Translated by Alexander Dru Foreword by Alberto R. Coll

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. It was in his letters, rather than in his lectures or longer works, that Burckhardt most directly addressed the currents of intellectual thought and social and political order—or disorder—of Europe in the nineteenth century.

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.

Not only are the letters addressed to some of the most important thinkers of the time (Nietzsche, Burckhardt's younger colleague at the University of Basel, among them), but also they address some of the most pressing issues and the most important personages of the era. As the translator notes, the "letters, written from 1838 to 1897, have a lightness of touch, an informality and humor, and a breadth of vision that make one realize why he was the most civilized historian of his century. Their contents range across a vast field of interests. Art, architecture, history, poetry, music, religion—all stirred him to contagious enthusiasm."

Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897), a professor at the University of Basel, was especially knowledgeable about the Renaissance. His most notable work is The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy.

Alberto R. Coll is Associate Professor of Law at DePaul University.

JUDGMENTS ON HISTORY AND HISTORIANS

By Jacob Burckhardt Translated by Harry Zohn Foreword by Alberto R. Coll

nenowned 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.

As Walter Goetz observed of the work a generation ago, "It is impossible to imagine a more profound introduction to world history and its driving forces."

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This famed Payne edition of *Select Works of Edmund Burke* is universally revered by students of English history and political thought. Volume 1 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). Volume 2 consists of Burke's renowned *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. 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.

In the companion volume, 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 is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Fordham University.

FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

By Edmund Burke Edited by Daniel E. Ritchie

"This anthology contains some of Burke's most perceptive reflections on the historical origins and development of Western civilization, on the differences between revolution and reform, on international law, liberty, justice, order and constitutional government. . . ."

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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.



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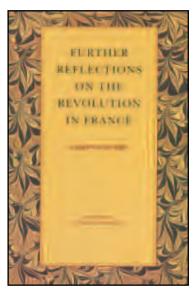
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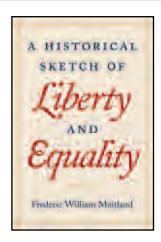
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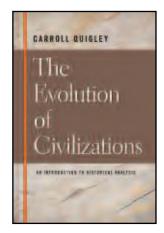
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Lord Acton declared Maitland to be "the ablest historian in England." In 1875, at only twenty-five years of age, Maitland, in pursuit of a fellowship in Cambridge University, submitted a remarkable work titled in full "A Historical Sketch of Liberty and Equality as Ideals of English Political History from the Time of Hobbes to the Time of Coleridge."

Frederic William Maitland (1850-1906) was the Downing Professor of the Laws of England at the University of Cambridge and an unparalleled scholar of medieval law.

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.

The first edition in English of History as the Story of Liberty appeared in London in 1941. The 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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he 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."

Hugh Trevor-Roper, Lord Dacre (1914–2003) was Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford.

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Joyce Lee Malcolm is Professor of History at Bentley College.

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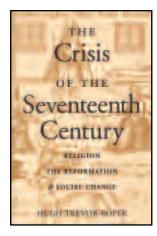
By David Hume

Foreword by William B. Todd

"Hume's History deserves to be ranked with such works as Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War and Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." -The Political Science Reviewer

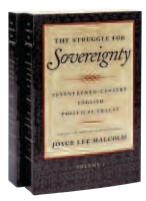
he *History* covers almost 1,800 years. Hume saw English history as an evolution from a government of will to a government of law. Advanced in Hume's masterly prose, this argument continues to make the History a valuable study for the modern reader.

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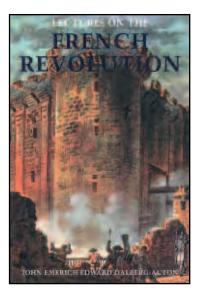
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By John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton Foreword by Stephen J. Tonsor

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.

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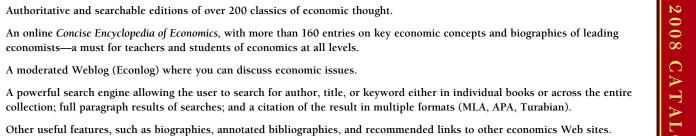
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Available December 2008. 6 x 9. Approx. 800 pages. Editor's introduction, note on the present edition, editor's footnotes, bibliography, index.

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"Liberty! Let us repeat her name with so much the more energy, that the men who should pronounce it, at least as an apology, keep it at a distance through flattery: let us repeat it without fear of wounding any power that deserves respect; for all that we love, all that we honor, is included in it. Nothing but liberty can arouse the soul to the interests of social order."

-Madame de Staël

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

By Germaine de Staël

Edited and with an Introduction by Aurelian Craiutu

Few individuals have left as deep an influence on their time as did Germaine de Staël, one of the greatest intellectuals of her age, whose works have influenced entire cultures, eras, and disciplines. Soon after its publication, posthumously in 1818, *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution* 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.

As a representative of classical liberal opinion, de Staēl's voice, which Napoleon Bonaparte tried to silence by censorship and banishment, is a unique and important contribution to revolutionary historiography. *Considerations* is considered de Staēl's magnum opus and sheds renewed light on the familiar figures and events of the Revolution, among them, the financier and statesman Jacques Necker, her father. Editor Aurelian Craiutu states that *Considerations* explores "the prerequisites of liberty, constitutionalism and rule of law, the necessary limits on power, the relation between social order and political order, the dependence of liberty on morality and religion, and the question of the institutional foundations of a free regime."

Madame de Staël's unique perspective combined a sharp intellect with an elegant style that illustrates the French tradition at its best. *Considerations* was rightly hailed as a genuine hymn to freedom based on a perceptive understanding of what makes freedom possible and on a subtle analysis of the social, historical, and cultural context within which political rights and political obligation exist.

Madame de Stael conceived of this volume in six parts: parts 1 through 4 reflect on the history of France, the state of public opinion in France at the Accession of Louis XVI, and Necker's plans of finance and administration. Other topics discussed in this section of the book include the conduct of the Third Estate in 1788 and 1789, the fall of the Bastille, the decrees of the Legislative Assembly, the overthrow of the monarchy, the war between France and England, the Terror of 1793–94, the Directory, and the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte. Parts 5 and 6 contain a vigorous defense of representative government in France, with a detailed examination of the English political system. Part 6, in particular, offers memorable political insights on liberty and public spirit among the English and discusses the relation between economic prosperity and political freedom and the seminal influence of religion and morals on liberty.

Germaine de Staël (1766–1817) rose to fame as a novelist, critic, political thinker, sociologist of literature, and autobiographer. She experienced first-hand many important events of the French Revolution, which she followed closely from Paris and, later, from exile in Switzerland, where she lived between 1792 and 1795. Her salon was famous for hosting Benjamin Constant, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Lord Byron, and other luminaries, before and after her exile by Napoleon.

Aurelian Craiutu is Associate Professor of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington.

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THE MORAL FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY

By John H. Hallowell

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ith *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. Hallowell reminds us, instead, of the uniqueness and sanctity of the individual human being. Examining the role that morals and the nature of man play in the development of a civil, democratic society has renewed significance today, when so many nations are embarking on the road to democratic self-government. By probing enduring truths about the nature of man and democratic self-government, this work offers insight into challenges facing today's democracies.

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. In addition to this work, Hallowell also wrote The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology (1943) and Main Currents in Modern Political Thought (1950).

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

By William Paley Foreword by D. L. Le Mahieu

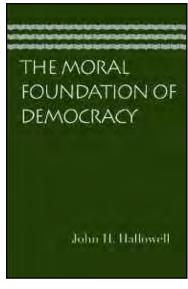
his classic work by William Paley was one of the most popular texts in England and America in the early nineteenth century. Its significance lies in the fact that it marks an important point at which eighteenth century "whiggism" began to be transformed into nineteenth century "liberalism."

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.

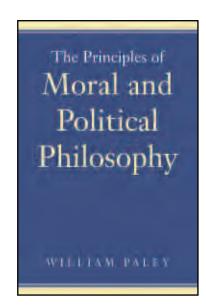
As editor D. L. Le Mahieu points out, Paley's political theories rejected social contract theory and substituted instead a natural history of civil society. His opposition to electoral reform, and later, the French Revolution, "became part of a larger ideological discourse that helped the British elites withstand the revolutionary currents of the 1790s."

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.

William Paley (1743–1805) was born in Peterborough and educated at Cambridge, where he was a lecturer on moral philosophy, divinity, and the Greek Testament.



2007. 6 x 9. 138 pages. Foreword, acknowledgments, index. Quality paperback. ISBN 978-0-86597-669-6. \$10.00 / £6.95



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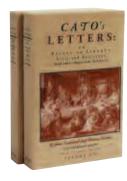
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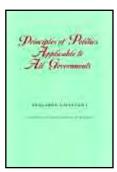
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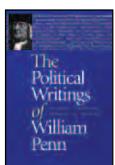
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CATO: A TRAGEDY, AND SELECTED ESSAYS

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.

CATO'S LETTERS

Essays on Liberty Four Volumes in Two

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 (c. 1695–1750) was a tutor in languages, publisher, and pamphleteer.

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

PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS APPLICABLE TO ALL GOVERNMENTS

By Benjamin Constant Translated by Dennis O'Keeffe 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.

THE POLITICAL WRITINGS OF WILLIAM PENN

Introduction and Annotations by Andrew R. Murphy

William Penn played a crucial role in the articulation of religious liberty as a philosophical and political value during the second half of the seventeenth century. Penn oversaw a great colonizing endeavor that attempted to instantiate his tolerationist commitments in practice. His thought has relevance for scholars of English political and religious history.

William Penn (1644–1718) worked as a preacher, writer, and spokesman to advance the interests of the Quakers in the American colonies and to promote religious liberty.

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HOBBES ON CIVIL ASSOCIATION

By Michael Oakeshott Foreword by Paul Franco

This new collection presents Michael Oakeshott's four principal essays I on Hobbes and the nature of civil association as it pertains to ordered liberty. The foreword by Paul Franco remarks the place of these essays within Oakeshott's entire corpus: "Introduction to Leviathan" (1946); "The Moral Life in the Writings of Thomas Hobbes" (1960); "Dr. Leo Strauss on Hobbes" (1937); and "Leviathan: A Myth" (1947).

Michael Oakeshott (1901-1990) was Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics and a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

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 as 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

y 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.

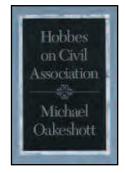
RATIONALISM IN POLITICS AND OTHER ESSAYS

By Michael Oakeshott Foreword by Timothy Fuller

"It is the breadth of Oakeshott's critique of rationalism, the scope of his skepticism about the role of self-conscious ideals, principles, and purposes in politics, that in many ways distinguishes it from the critiques of his contemporaries."

—The Political Science Reviewer

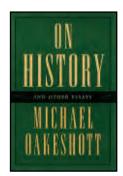
n ationalism in Politics established the late Michael Oakeshott as the leading conservative political theorist in modern Britain. This expanded collection of essays astutely points out the limits of "reason" in rationalist politics and criticizes ideological schemes to reform society according to supposedly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



2000. 51/2 x 81/4. 184 pages.

Foreword, preface, author's note, index.

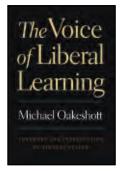
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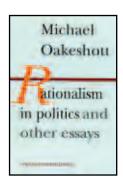
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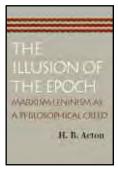
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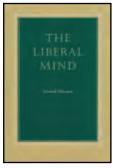


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By H. B. Acton

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 Marxian views."

Acton points out that some things Marx said are true, generally those things that were already widely known and accepted in his own time and indeed had been long understood before Marx. On the other hand, Acton shows that in many cases Marx either is simply wrong or has stated his views so as to render his theories immune to disproof.

H. B. Acton (1908–1974) taught at Bedford College (London), the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Chicago.

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.

JUSTICE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

By Anthony de Jasay

"Anyone with interests in philosophy, economics, political theory, or rational-choice analysis will profit from close reading and long pondering of de Jasay's arguments."

—The Independent Review

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.

Anthony de Jasay is the author also of *Social Contract*, *Free Ride* (1989); *Choice, Contract, Consent* (1991); *Against Politics* (1997); and *The State* (1985).

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 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."

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.

TWILIGHT OF AUTHORITY

By Robert Nisbet Foreword by Robert G. Perrin

66 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.

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.

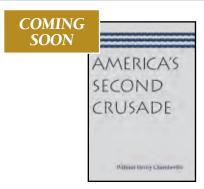
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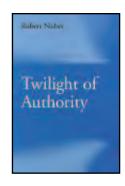
By John Passmore

Passmore's brilliant exposition of the implications of perfectibility on individual liberty and responsibility is now available with a preface by Passmore himself.

John Passmore is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at the Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.

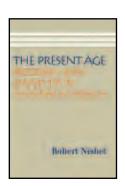


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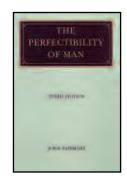
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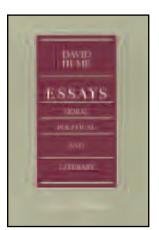
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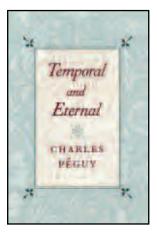


1985. (Revised, 1987). 6 x 9. 736 pages. Foreword, editor's note, glossary, variant readings, index. Hardcover. ISBN 978-0-86597-055-7. \$25.00 / £17.95. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-86597-056-4. \$12.00 / £. 8.95.

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By David Hume

Edited by Eugene F. Miller

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—Donald Livingston, Emory University

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.

This revised edition reflects changes based on further comparisons with eighteenth-century texts and an extensive reworking of the index.

Eugene F. Miller is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Georgia.

DAVID HUME

Prophet of the Counter-revolution Second Edition

By Laurence L. Bongie Foreword by Donald Livingston

As Laurence L. 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. These vitally important writings have been translated by the author into English for the Liberty Fund second edition.

Laurence L. Bongie is Professor Emeritus of French at the University of British Columbia.

Donald Livingston is Professor of Philosophy at Emory University.

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. The Liberty Fund 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. In these essays Péguy develops his theme of *la mystique*—that which a person or a nation is—and *la politique*—mere policy.

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By Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury Foreword by Douglas Den Uyl

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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, Inc.

POLITICAL WRITINGS

By Samuel Johnson Edited by Donald J. Greene Volume 10 of The Yale Johnson

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.

POLITICA

By Johannes Althusius

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

rawing 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 is 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.

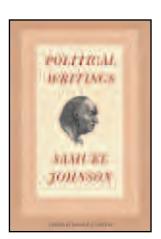


2001. 53/4 x 91/2. 815 pages.

Foreword, note on the text, Shaftesbury's index, index to this edition.

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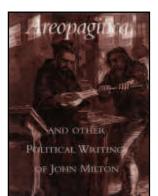
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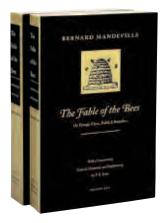
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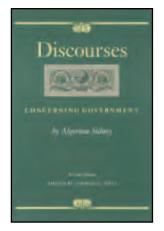
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AREOPAGITICA AND OTHER POLITICAL WRITINGS OF JOHN MILTON

Foreword by John Alvis

During the crises that wracked English life and liberties during the seventeenth century, John Milton was one of the indispensable voices and pens. He published several revolutionary manifestos, two works defending regicide, and of course the famous *Areopagitica*, or defense of freedom of expression and the press against censorship.

John Alvis has collected into a superb one-volume edition all of Milton's political writings of enduring importance.

John Alvis is Professor of English at the University of Dallas and the Institute for Philosophic Studies.

THE FABLE OF THE BEES

or Private Vices, Publick Benefits In Two Volumes

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.

DISCOURSES CONCERNING GOVERNMENT

By Algernon Sidney Edited by Thomas G. West

"Sidney's **Discourses Concerning Government** was a major inspiration to those who fought for the freedom and independence of Americans. It is a crime that the work and its author should have gone so long in hibernation."

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"This new edition arrives just as scholars are rediscovering the real Algernon Sidney. If there is any more important tract on liberty from this period not readily available in print, I do not know it. It has been unobtainable for decades. This new edition, attractively presented with helpful annotations, is thus more than usually welcome."

—John Morrill, Cambridge University

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 Professor of Politics at the University of Dallas.

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.

Bertrand de Jouvenel was an author and teacher, first publishing *On Power* in 1945.

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.

John Gray is a Professor 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.

THE PURE THEORY OF POLITICS

By Bertrand de Jouvenel Foreword by Daniel J. Mahoney

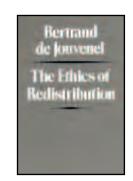
This is the concluding volume in Jouvenel's magnum opus, the trilogy that begins with *On Power*, moves to *Sovereignty*, and concludes with *The Pure Theory of Politics*. In this final volume, Bertrand de Jouvenel proposes to remedy a serious deficiency in political science: "the lack of agreement on 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.



1993. 6 x 9. 466 pages.

Foreword, translator's note, index.

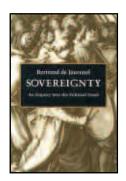
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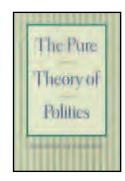
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Hardcover. ISBN 978-0-86597-084-7. \$15.00 / £10.95. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-86597-085-4. \$10.00 / £ 6.95.



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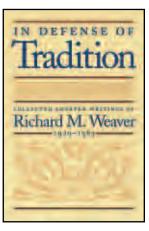


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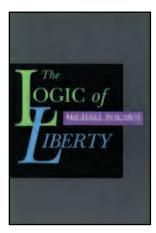


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LEISURE THE BASIS OF CULTURE

By Josef Pieper Translated by Alexander Dru Introduction by T. S. Eliot

"Pieper now has many more books in English, but **Leisure** has remained his most famous; it came to be regarded as a classic precisely because it so freshly articulated a classic notion of philosophy."

—First Things

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

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Ted J. Smith III was Professor of Mass Communications at Virginia Commonwealth University.

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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.

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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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hen 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 Scholar, Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and a consultant in philanthropy.

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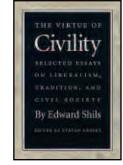
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By Irving Babbitt Foreword by Russell Kirk

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rving 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.

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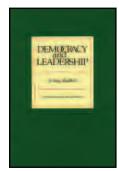
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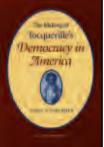


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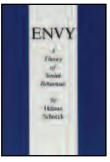
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James T. Schleifer is Professor of History and Director of the Gill Library at the College of New Rochelle.

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[ilaire 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 100 books and articles, Belloc was a journalist, polemicist, social and political analyst, literary critic, poet, and novelist.

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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.



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F. Thornton Miller is Associate Professor of History at Missouri State University.

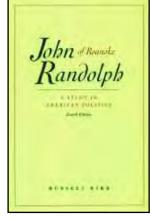
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Shirley Robin Letwin (1924–1993) was a Professor of Political and Legal Philosophy at Harvard, Cambridge, and the London School of Economics.

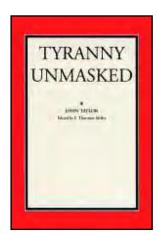


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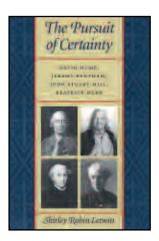


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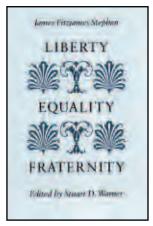
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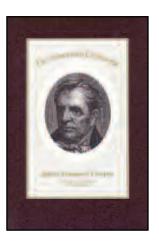
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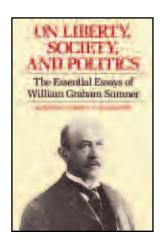
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William Graham Sumner is the "forgotten man" of American intellectual history. Too often dismissed or only superficially understood, his interpretations are now attracting closer scrutiny and appreciation. He is remembered chiefly as one of the founding fathers of sociology. He was also a strong supporter of classical liberalism during a time when liberalism was being transformed into a belief in statism.

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

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

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By Wilhelm von Humboldt Edited by J. W. Burrow

he Limits of State Action, by "Germany's greatest philosopher of 👢 freedom," as F. A. Hayek called Humboldt, 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.

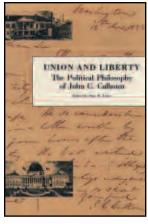
THE MAN VERSUS THE STATE

With Six Essays on Government, Society, and Freedom

By Herbert Spencer Introduction by Albert Jay Nock Foreword by Eric Mack

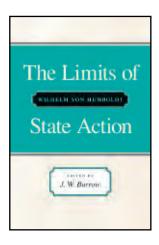
pencer develops various specific disastrous ramifications of the wholesale substitution of the principle of compulsory cooperation—the statist principle—for the individualist principle of voluntary cooperation. His theme is that "there is in society . . . that beautiful self-adjusting principle which 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, English philosopher and social reformer, was born in Derby in 1820, coming from a family of nonconformist Dissenters. In 1837 he joined the staff of the London and Birmingham Railway as an engineer and in 1848 took a position as editor of The Economist. He died in 1903 and his autobiography was published in 1904.

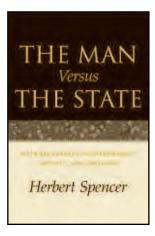


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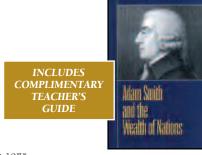
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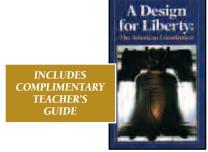
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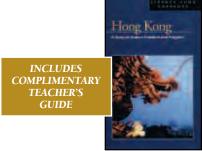
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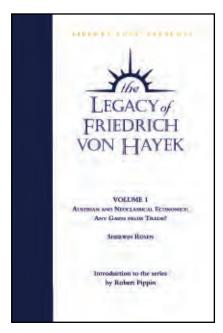
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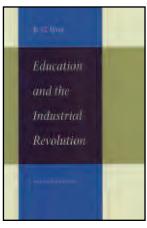
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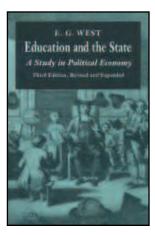
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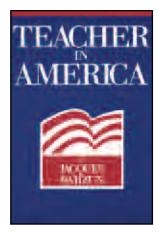
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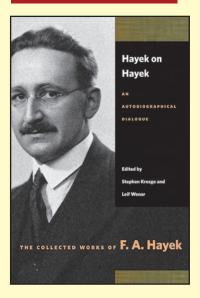
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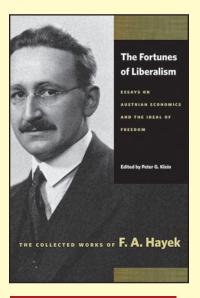


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