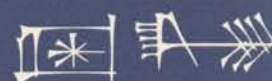
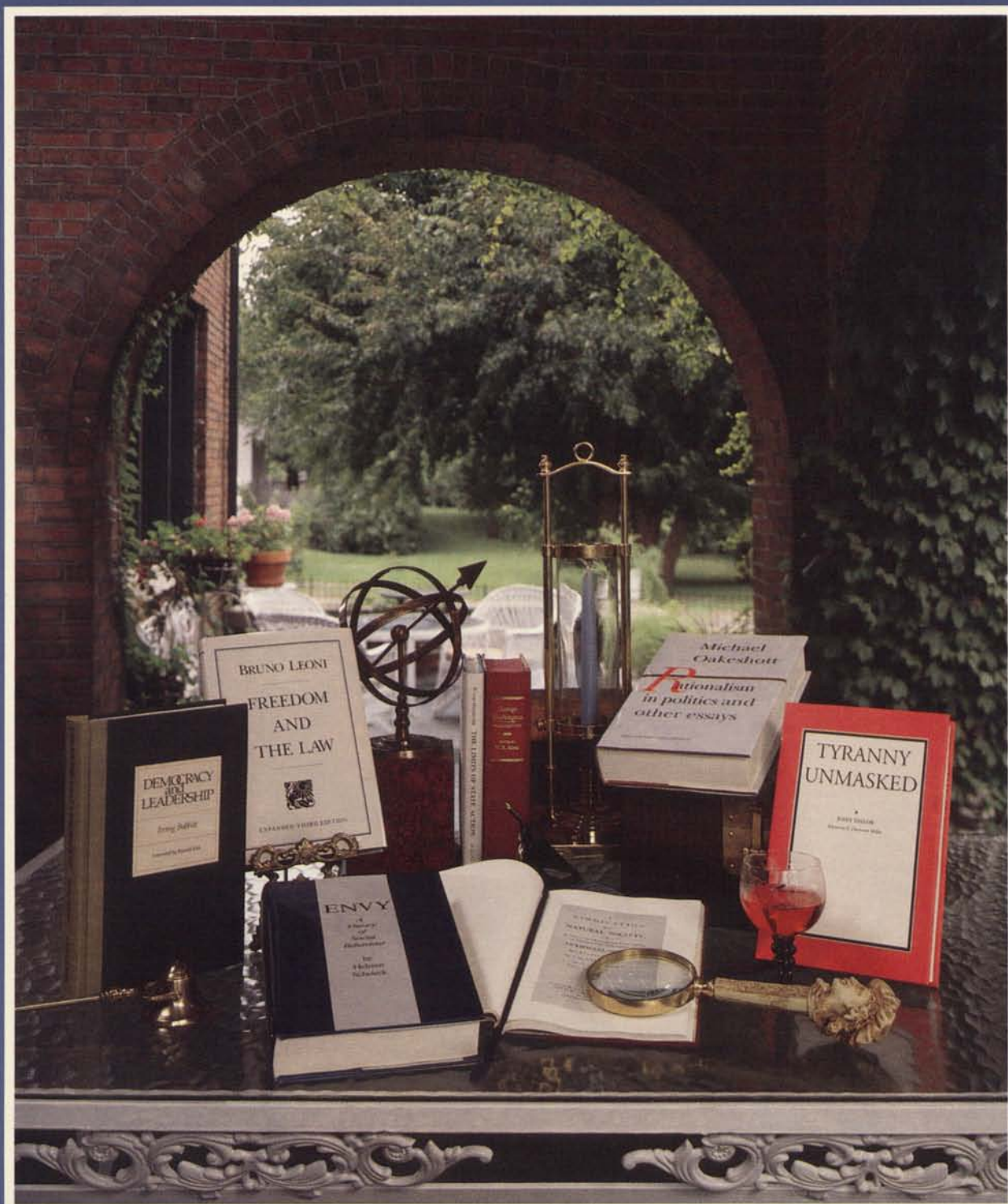


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—James M. Buchanan,
Nobel Laureate
in Economics, 1986

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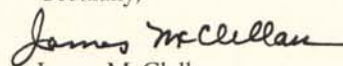
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Director of Publications

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The cuneiform inscription that serves as our logo and as the design motif for our endpapers is the earliest known written appearance of the word "freedom" (*ama-gi*), or "liberty." It is taken from a clay document written about 2300 B.C. in the Sumerian city-state of Lagash.



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New

ON POWER

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ITS GROWTH

By Bertrand de Jouvenel

Foreword by D. W. Brogan

Translated by J. F. Huntington

This is one of the classics of political philosophy. Bertrand de Jouvenel provides us with an analytical and historical account of all of the factors that have helped and continue to help expand the power of the state and of the ways in which state power is inevitably abused. Jouvenel has done for the twentieth century what Tocqueville did for the nineteenth.

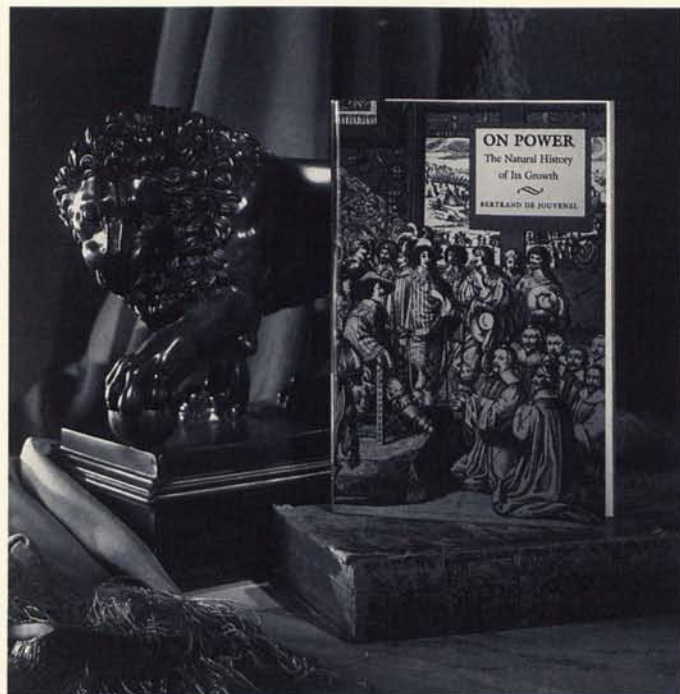
—Dr. Nicholas Capaldi,

McFarlin Professor of Philosophy, University of Tulsa

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. This development Jouvenel traces all the way back to the days of royal absolutism, which established large administrative bureaucracies and thus laid the foundation of the modern omnipotent state.

On Power is an important work, which Professor Angelo M. Petroni of the Luigi Einaudi Center for Research in Torino, Italy, has said is "simply a book that no serious scholar of political science or political philosophy can afford to ignore."

Bertrand de Jouvenel was born in Paris in 1903; he travelled widely, becoming an astute observer of British and American institutions. Later in life, he was an author and teacher, first publishing **On Power** in



1945. Jouvenel died in 1987. Among his other books, besides **The Ethics of Redistribution**, are **Sovereignty: An Inquiry into the Political Good** (1957) and **The Pure Theory of Politics** (1963).

444 + xxii pages. Foreword, translator's note, index.

Hardcover \$25.00

0-86597-112-9

Paperback \$ 8.50

0-86597-113-7

LibertyClassics, 1993

THE ETHICS OF REDISTRIBUTION

By Bertrand de Jouvenel

Introduction by John Gray

Only Hayek has rivaled Bertrand de Jouvenel in demonstrating why redistributionism in the democracies inexorably results in the atrophy of personal responsibility and the hypertrophy of bureaucracy and the centralized state instead of in relief to the hapless minorities it is pledged to serve.

—Robert Nisbet,

author of **The Quest for Community**

In this concise and elegant classic, 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.

A new introduction relates Jouvenel's arguments to current discussions about the redistributionist state and draws out many of the points of affinity with the works of Buchanan, Hayek, Rawls, and others.

John Gray is a Fellow at Jesus College, Oxford.

100 + xviii pages. Foreword and preface to the first edition, introduction, appendix, index.

Hardcover \$12.00

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Paperback \$ 5.00

0-86597-085-8

LibertyPress, 1990

Forthcoming

POLITICS

By Johannes Althusius

Translated and with an Introduction by

Frederick S. Carney

Foreword by Daniel J. Elazar

...the first book to present a comprehensive view of federal republicanism rooted in a covenantal view of human society.

—From the Foreword

Althusius' **Politics** has been said to be "one of the most influential books of political theory published in the seventeenth century." It went through at least six editions in Germany from 1603 to 1654 and was extensively cited by thinkers of the day. But, for reasons which are not clear, the work fell into obscurity and was not rediscovered until the late nineteenth century. Since then, Althusius' **Politics** has been recognized as an extraordinary contribution to Western political thought whose value far transcends the political realities of the seventeenth century.

It is Althusius' theory of federalism that makes the **Politics** especially timely today. The theory is based on an ascending scale of authority, beginning with the family, and upward through all voluntary public and private associations to the "supreme magistrate." Each association can act only with the consent of those beneath it in the scale of authority. It has been said, therefore, that Althusius' concept of federalism is unique in that it limits the powers of central government by balancing its powers with the collective powers of those public and private institutions and associations which exist between the state and the individual.

Unlike many modern theorists, Althusius understands the fundamental importance of mediating institutions and associations in securing limited government and so preserving individual liberties in the social and political order. The **Politics** also clarifies the proper relationship between freedom and responsibility in a federal republic.

The **Politics** combines the best of ancient and medieval political philosophy with that of Reformation and modern theory. Thus Althusius' thought is considered a bridge between the political wisdom of the ancients and the moderns. This is a carefully abridged translation of Althusius' work—thoughtful, scholarly, and highly readable.



JOHANNES ALTHUSIUS

Johannes Althusius (1557-1638) was a German political and legal philosopher. He served as a municipal magistrate—the Syndic of Emden (now Germany)—for more than thirty-four years.

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

Daniel J. Elazar is 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.

Forthcoming Summer 1994 LibertyClassics, 1994



Admirers and critics of Mill's essay *On Liberty* will be pleased to have so readily available these new editions of Humboldt and Stephen—the one supplying Mill with a theory of self-development, the other insisting that utilitarian principles grounded a tough conservatism rather than a romantic liberalism. But, of course, both Humboldt and Stephen would be worth reading for their own sake if Mill had never lived, as the forewords to these editions make clear.

—Alan Ryan, Princeton University

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

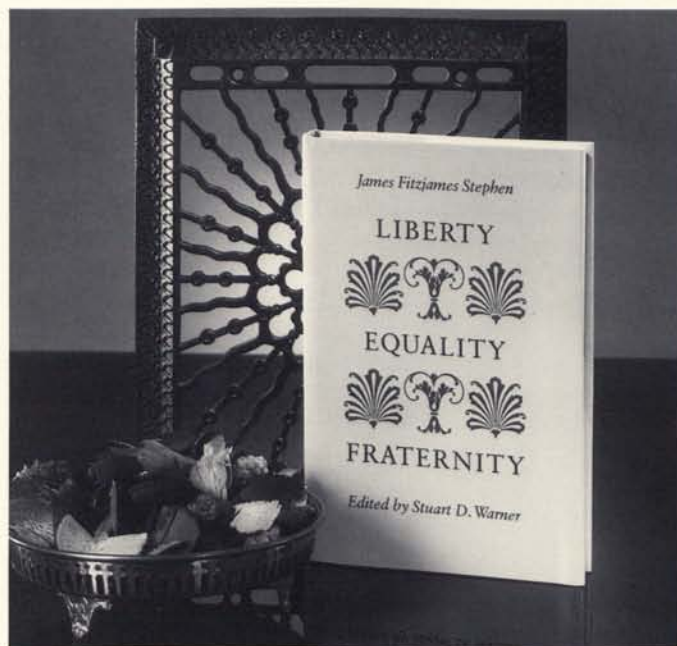
By James Fitzjames Stephen
Edited by Stuart D. Warner

*Fitzjames Stephen's attack on Mill's **On Liberty** proved to be one of the most significant exchanges in Victorian intellectual history, marking the point at which so-called "hard-headed" and "sentimental" liberalism decisively divided.*

—Stefan Collini, Cambridge University

Students of liberty will welcome the return to print of this conservative defense of ordered liberty, which vigorously attacks Mill's "corrupting conception of liberty." Stephen contends that liberty is not the absence of all restraint, but a condition that can exist only within certain boundaries of morals and law.

Stuart D. Warner is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Roosevelt University. He has published in *Ethics*, *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, *Review of Metaphysics*, and other scholarly publications.



272 + xxix pages. Foreword, editor's note, selected bibliography, prefaces, comparative table of subjects, index.

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Paperback \$ 7.50

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LibertyClassics, 1993

THE LIMITS OF STATE ACTION

By Wilhelm von Humboldt
Edited by J. W. Burrow

The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument . . . unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity.

This description by Wilhelm von Humboldt of his purpose in writing *The Limits of State Action* animates John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and serves as its famous epigraph. Seldom has a book spoken so dramatically to another writer. Many commentators even believe that Humboldt's discussion of issues of freedom and individual responsibility possesses greater clarity and directness than Mill's.

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

him, has an exuberance and attention to principle that makes 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.

162 + lxii pages. Editor's introduction, editor's note, selected bibliography, index, comparative table of subjects.

Hardcover \$19.50

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Paperback \$ 7.50

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UNION AND LIBERTY THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN

Edited by Ross M. Lence

This is the finest collection in a single volume of Calhoun's important works.

—Robert V. Remini, Professor Emeritus
University of Illinois, Chicago

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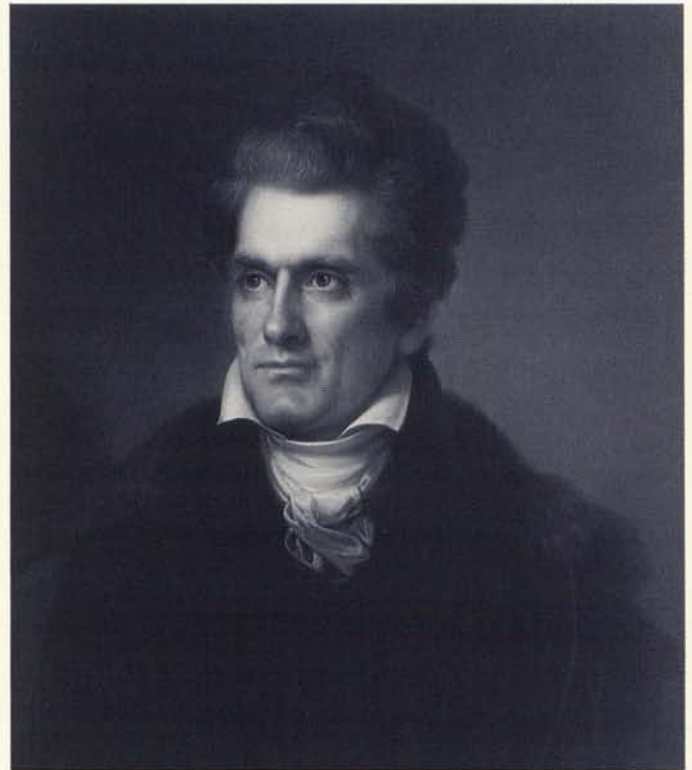
Ross M. Lence is Professor of Political Science at the University of Houston.

626 + xxx pages. Foreword, editor's note, index.

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JOHN C. CALHOUN

THE MAN VERSUS THE STATE WITH SIX ESSAYS ON GOVERNMENT, SOCIETY, AND FREEDOM

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Introduction by Albert Jay Nock

Foreword by Eric Mack

Spencer had caught a vision of what might be in store for mankind if its potential were free to realize itself.

—Edmund A. Opitz, *The Freeman*

This volume contains the four essays which Spencer published as *The Man Versus the State* in 1884 as well as five essays added by later publishers.

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This volume includes Burke's "Letter to a Member of the National Assembly," containing his famous critique of Rousseau, and his "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," in which he defends the English (1688) and American (1776) revolutions as fundamentally different from the French Revolution.

Daniel E. Ritchie is Professor of English Literature at Bethel College.

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TYRANNY UNMASKED

By John Taylor of Caroline
Edited by F. Thornton Miller

Tyranny Unmasked was written in a specific context in 1821, but it contains an enduring message for those who love liberty and the American Republic. Read it. A brilliant book, with an excellent foreword by the editor.

—Forrest McDonald, University of Alabama

John Taylor of Caroline (1753-1824) was one of the foremost philosophers of the states' rights Jeffersonians of the early national period. In keeping with his lifelong mission as a "minority man," John Taylor wrote **Tyranny Unmasked** not only to assault the protective tariff and the mercantilist policies of the times, but also "to examine general principles in relation to commerce, political economy, and a free government." Originally published in 1822, it is the only major work of Taylor's that has never been reprinted.

As an early discussion of the principles of governmental power and their relationship to political economy and liberty, **Tyranny Unmasked** is an important primary source in the study of American history and political thought.

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

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Foreword by George Core
Edited, with a Preface by
George M. Curtis, III, and James J. Thompson, Jr.

Richard M. Weaver (1910-1963) was one of the leading figures in the post-World War II development of an intellectual, self-conscious conservatism. His thought and his appreciation of liberty were rooted in his understanding of Southern history. This collection of fourteen essays demonstrates George Core's point that "few writers of the South rival Richard Weaver in comprehensiveness of vision and depth of thought."

George M. Curtis is Professor of History at Hanover College.

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

266 + xxii pages. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, index.

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ARATOR

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This is a notable volume by a major figure and we are fortunate to have this new edition.

—The Journal of Economic History

This discussion of the social order of an agricultural republic is Taylor's most popular and influential work. Both statesman and farmer, he is often considered the deepest thinker of all the early Virginians.

M. E. Bradford was Professor of English at the University of Dallas until his death in 1993.

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Dr. Russell Kirk, known as one of the fathers of American conservatism, is the author of the classic, **The Conservative Mind**, and more than thirty other books.

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Introduction by H. L. Mencken

When **The American Democrat** was first published in 1838, Cooper's position as America's first major novelist obscured his serious contribution to the discussion of American democracy and its social ramifications. He was concerned that our institutions would be perverted—especially by the confusion of an equality of rights with an equality of condition.

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THE SERVILE STATE

By Hilaire Belloc

Introduction by Robert Nisbet

*I have always felt that **The Servile State** was much more significant than we have suspected.*

—James V. Schall, S.J., Georgetown University

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

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

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HILAIRE BELLOC

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Foreword by Russell Kirk

... one of the few truly important works of political thought."
—Russell Kirk

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

Babbitt rejects all deterministic philosophies of history, whether they be the older type found in Saint Augustine or Bossuet, which tends to make of man the puppet of God, or the new type, which tends in all its varieties to make of man the puppet of nature. He offers a compelling critique of unchecked majoritarianism and addresses the great problem of how to discover leaders with standards.

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By **Algernon Sidney**
Edited by **Thomas G. West**

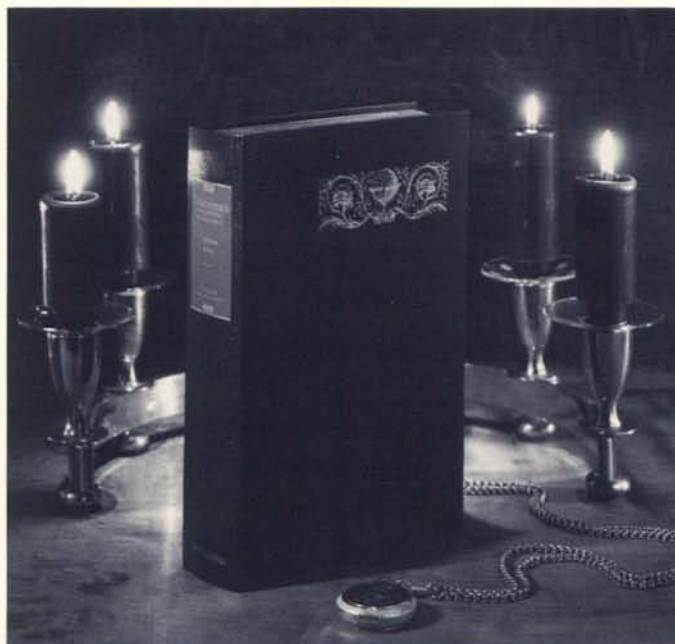
This new edition arrives just as scholars are rediscovering the real Algernon Sidney. If there is any more important tract on liberty from this period not readily available in print, I do not know it. It has been unobtainable for decades. This new edition, attractively presented with helpful annotations,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

—John Morrill, Cambridge University

There has been no new edition of this classic since 1805. Only now is there renewed interest in Sidney's remarkable work. This new, scholarly edition has been prepared so that it will be accessible to the modern reader and student.

Algernon Sidney, born in 1623, was executed in 1683, largely on account of the sentiments expressed in this book. His principles and fighting republican spirit became a rallying cry during the Glorious Revolution and for the English Whigs who embraced his book. That impact endured in England while its influence was felt on the Continent. It then became integral part of the American library for liberty.

Thomas G. West is Professor of Politics at the University of Dallas.



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Edited and with a Foreword by **Charles H. Hamilton**

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Foundation for Economic Education

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Introduction by George W. Carey

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

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ON LIBERTY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS THE ESSENTIAL ESSAYS OF WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER

Edited by Robert C. Bannister

This is the finest single-volume edition of Sumner's works ever to appear.

—Ronald Lora, University of Toledo

William Graham Sumner is the "forgotten man" of American intellectual history. Too often dismissed and routinely understood, his ideas are now attracting closer scrutiny and appreciation. He is chiefly remembered 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.

Sumner's analysis of the relation between the individual and society is deeper and more sophisticated than is commonly thought. For students of American history and politics, the essays reveal the complexity of American political and social thought. For observers of the contemporary social scene, they raise issues concerning the relation of liberty to property and both to government that remain as vital and unresolved as they were a century ago.

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

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Introduction by Herbert Spencer
Foreword by Jeffrey Paul

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—John Chamberlain, **Reason**

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Introduction by William Murchison

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—Michael Novak

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George A. Panichas is the current editor of **Modern Age** and a Professor of English at the University of Maryland.

894 + xx pages. Foreword, editor's note.

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LibertyPress, 1988

NEW INDIVIDUALIST REVIEW

Introduction by Milton Friedman

*Over its life the **Review** printed seminal writing on free market and conservative topics by remarkably mature students and by Russell Kirk, Ludwig von Mises, George Stigler, Benjamin Rogge, and other already established men. What characterized the **Review** writers was their rigor of thought and concern for principles, features that coexist naturally.* —Chronicles

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

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RATIONALISM IN POLITICS AND OTHER ESSAYS

By Michael Oakeshott

Foreword by Timothy Fuller

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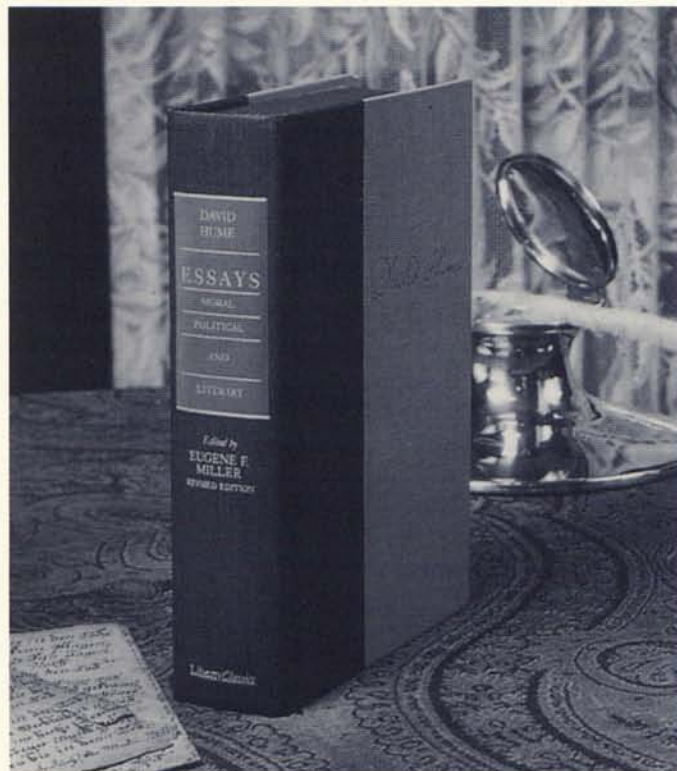
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Roger E. Michener is at the Law School of the University of Chicago.

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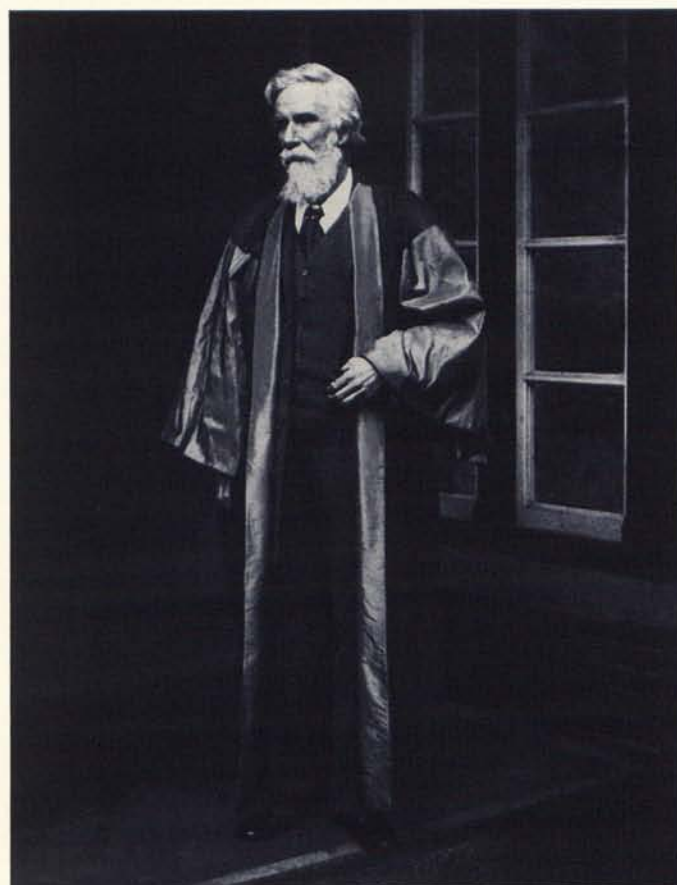
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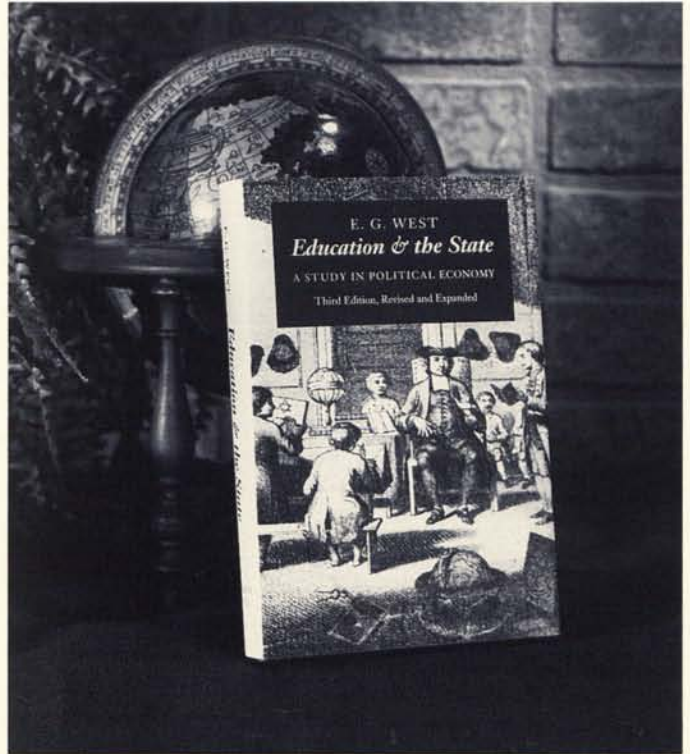
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Charles S. Hyneman was Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Indiana University before his death in 1984. He was a past president of the American Political Science Association.

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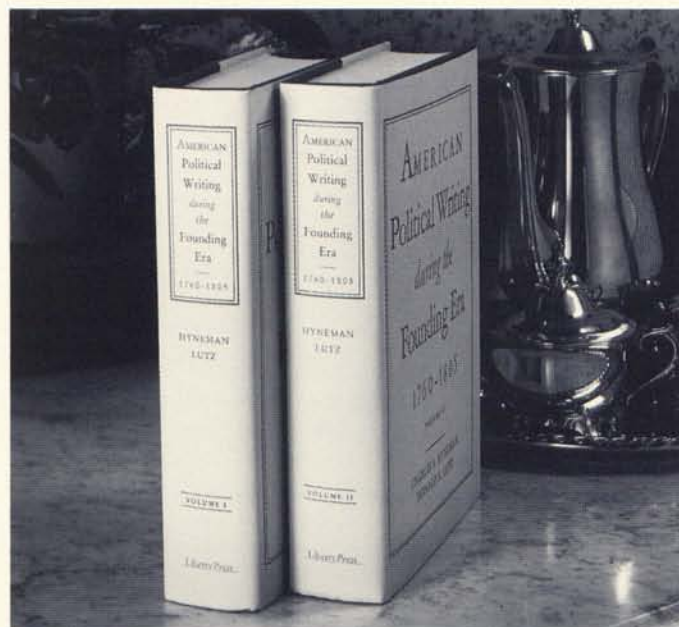
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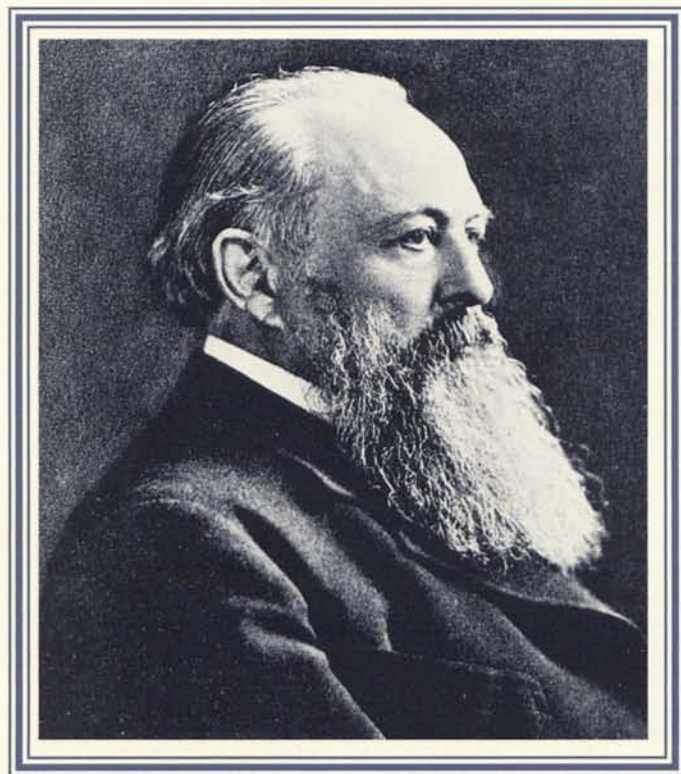
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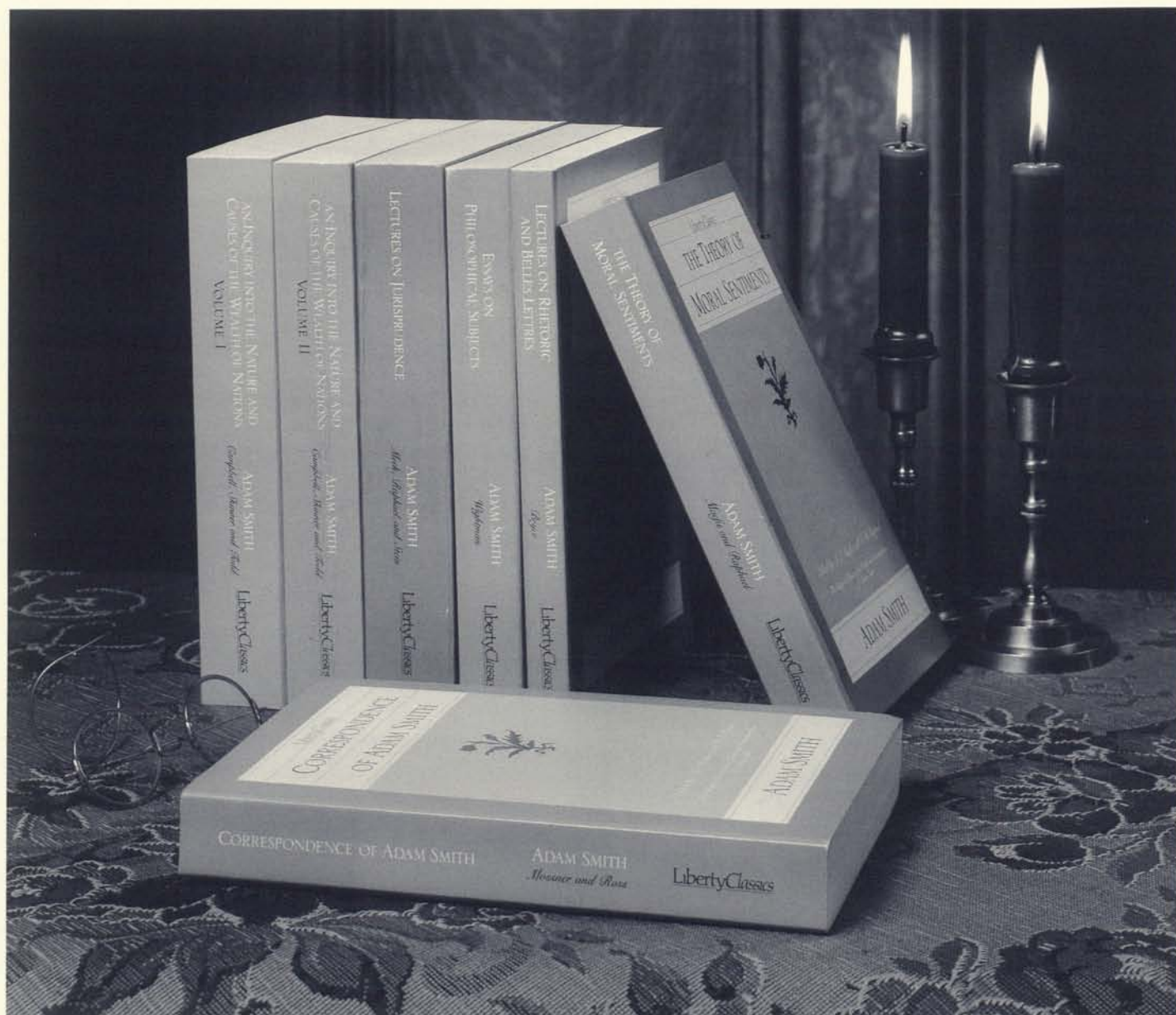
J. Rufus Fears has taught classical history at Indiana University and Boston University and currently teaches in the Classics Department at the University of Oklahoma.

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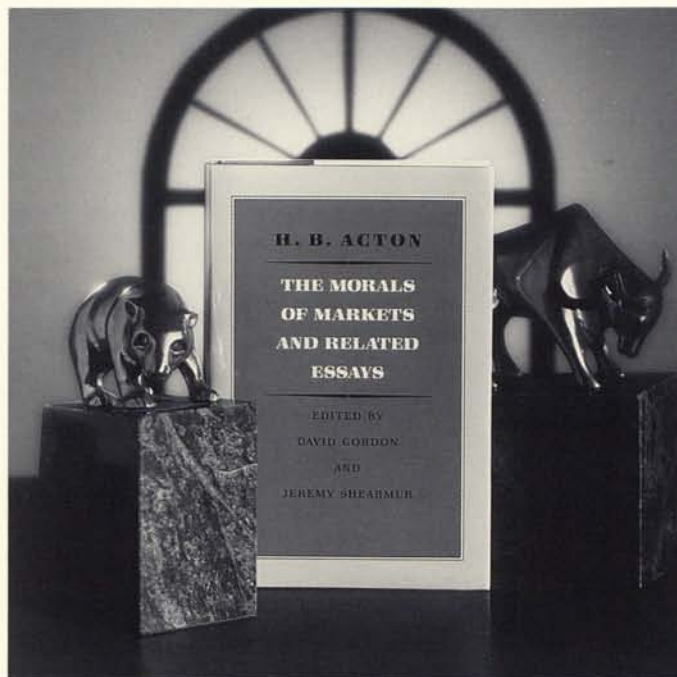
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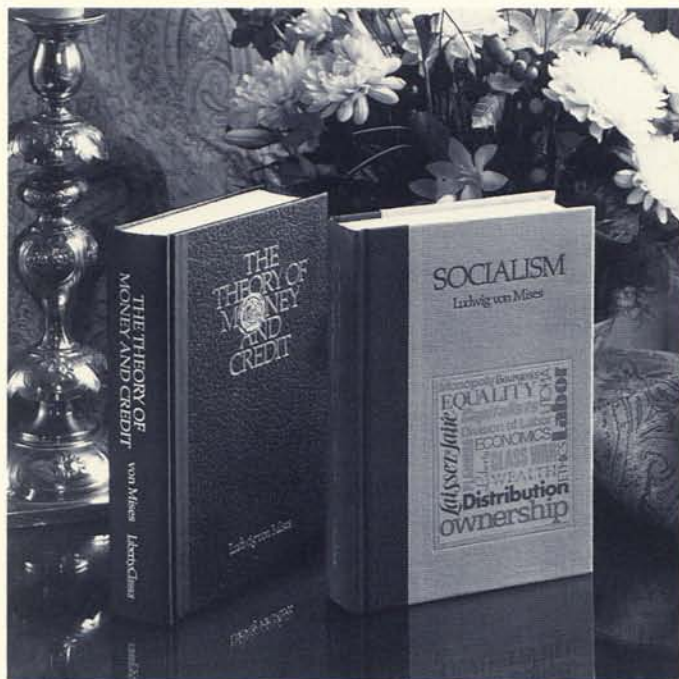
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