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CONTENTS

Political and Social Thought ................................................................. 2
Philosophy ............................................................................................ 11
Law ......................................................................................................... 13
Education .............................................................................................. 14
History .................................................................................................. 15
Works of Adam Smith ................................................................. 21
Economics ......................................................................................... 22
Videotapes ......................................................................................... 26
Order Form ....................................................................................... 27
Author/Title Index ........................................................................... 28
Order Information & Newsnotes ...................................................... Inside Back Cover
**POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHT**

**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).

1944 + 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 redistributinal 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 0-86597-084-x
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LibertyPress, 1990
...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.
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.

**THE LIMITS OF STATE ACTION**  
By Wilhelm von Humboldt  
Edited by J. W. Burrow

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.

272 + xxix pages. Foreword, editor's note, selected bibliography, prefaces, comparative table of subjects, index.  
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UNION AND LIBERTY
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Edited by Ross M. Lence

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

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POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHT

TYRANNY UNMASKED
By John Taylor of Caroline
Edited by F. Thornton Miller

Tyrranny 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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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.

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

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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.

208 pages. Introduction, preface to the second edition, index.
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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. Babbit 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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Thomas G. West is Professor of Politics at the University of Dallas.

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

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Foreword by Timothy Fuller

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Timothy Fuller is Professor of Political Science and Dean of the College at Colorado College.

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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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Edited by Kenneth S. Templeton, Jr.
Introduction by R. M. Hartwell


544 pages. Introduction, biographical sketches of the contributors, index.
Hardcover only $15.00 0-913966-48-7
LibertyPress, 1979
ESSAYS, MORAL, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY
Revised Edition
By David Hume
Edited by Eugene F. Miller

We have Hume's own word that the definitive statement of his philosophy is not to be found in the youthful Treatise of Human Nature but in the 1777 posthumous edition of his collected works entitled Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects. Yet a major part of this definitive collection, the Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary (a volume of near 600 pages, covering three decades of Hume's career as a philosopher) has been largely ignored. The volume has rarely been in print, and the last critical edition was published in 1874-75. With this splendid, but inexpensive, new critical edition by Eugene Miller, the door is open to a richer notion of Hume's conception of philosophy.

—Donald Livingston, Emory University

This edition contains the thirty-nine essays included in Essays, Moral, and Literary, which made up Volume I of the 1777 posthumous Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects. It also includes ten essays which were withdrawn or left unpublished by Hume for various reasons. The two most important were deemed too controversial for the religious climate of his time.

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

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—George J. Stigler, University of Chicago

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Introduction by Tibor R. Machan

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LibertyClassics, 1978
A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY
By Edmund Burke
Edited and with an Introduction
by Frank N. Pagano

A new edition of Edmund Burke's first published work. The Vindication was issued anonymously in 1756 as a letter attributed to "a late noble writer." In 1757 Burke produced a revised version with a new preface but still did not attach his name to the work.

From the time of its first appearance, however, the Vindication has been controversial. Some have argued that it shows that the young Burke was a radical thinker very different from the great conservative of later years. Others have considered the work to be primarily satirical. In either case, it is probably Burke's most philosophical work on social and political questions.

This Liberty Fund edition is based on the 1757 revision. Professor Pagano has provided explanatory notes to clarify various references which may be unfamiliar to contemporary readers.

Frank N. Pagano is a Tutor at St. John's University at Santa Fe.

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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.

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


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