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ABOUT LIBERTY FUND

Liberty Fund, Inc. is a private educational foundation established in 1960 to encourage study of the ideal of a society of free and responsible individuals. Among Liberty Fund's activities is the publication of new, authoritative editions of important books that contribute to this mission. Each Liberty Fund book will reward any general reader's attention; each is a landmark work in its field.

Liberty Fund books are not only beautifully produced, but are priced to ensure their availability to all serious readers. Most titles explore some aspect of the interrelationship of liberty and responsibility in individual life, society, governance, or economics. The reading experience itself is further enhanced by Liberty Fund's devotion to rigorous standards of scholarship.

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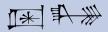
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The cuneiform inscription that serves as our logo and as a design element in Liberty Fund books is the earliest-known written appearance of the word "freedom" (amagi), or "liberty." It is taken from a clay document written about 2300 B.C. in the Sumerian city-state of Lagash.

ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1759–1766

By Bernhard Knollenberg

Edited and with a Foreword by Bernard W. Sheehan

Origin 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 practiced law for twenty-two years before becoming Librarian at the Yale University Library in 1938.

GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1766–1775

By Bernhard Knollenberg

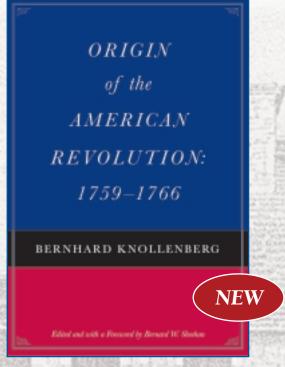
Edited by Bernard W. Sheehan

In the fall of 2002, Liberty Fund published noted historian Bernhard Knollenberg's *Origin of the American Revolution*. Now Liberty Fund proudly announces the publication of the second volume of Knollenberg's masterwork on the American Revolution.

Knollenberg describes *Growth of the American Revolution* as ". . . an Account of the Change in the Minds and Hearts of a Majority of the People of the Thirteen Colonies Who Rebelled against Great Britain in 1775, together with a description of the Provocative Conduct of the British Parliament and Government Accounting for this Change and the Colonists' Responses to the said Conduct."

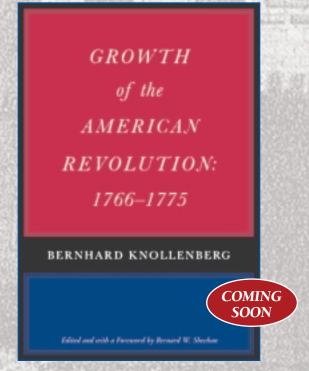
Continuing the work Knollenberg began in the first book, *Growth of the American Revolution* covers the period from the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 to the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord in 1775. Taken together, these volumes present a cogent and authoritative history from an objective and scholarly point of view.

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



2002. 6 x 9. 400 pages. Foreword, author's note, introduction, notes, several bibliographies, index.

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2000. 6\% x 9\%. 542 pages. Foreword, maps, principal events of Washington's life, note on this edition, appendixes, index. Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-276-1. \$25.00.

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Robert Faulkner is a Professor of Political Science at Boston College. **Paul Carrese** is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the United States Air Force Academy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

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Compiled and Edited by W. B. Allen

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

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

W. B. Allen is affiliated with the Political Science Department at Michigan State University.

HISTORY OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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

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

Mercy Otis Warren has been described as perhaps the most formidable female intellectual in eighteenth-century America. This work (in the first new edition since 1805) is an exciting and comprehensive study of the events of the American Revolution, from the Stamp Act Crisis of 1765 through the ratification of the Constitution in 1788–1789.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In Two Volumes

By David Ramsay Edited and Annotated by Lester H. Cohen

David Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution* appeared in 1789 during an enthusiastic celebration of nationhood. It is the first American national history written by an American revolutionary and printed in America.

This is the first new, modern edition of the work.

Lester H. Cohen taught history and American Studies at Purdue University.

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

Primary Sources

Edited by Bruce Frohnen

"The American Republic is an excellent and very welcome addition to American History reference shelves and supplemental reading lists."

—The Midwest Book Review, October 2002

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

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

These readings, along with explanatory notes to help readers understand the background and context of each document, represent opposite sides of important debates and clarify such concepts as American independence, religious establishment, and slavery. By presenting the perspectives of America's varied traditions, this volume helps students learn how they might judge the strengths and weaknesses of the conflicting visions that have shaped American history.

The American Republic is divided into nine sections, each illustrating major philosophical, cultural, and policy positions at issue during crucial eras of American development. Readers will find documentary evidence of the purposes behind European settlement, American response to English acts, the pervasive role of religion in early American public life, and perspectives in the debate over independence.

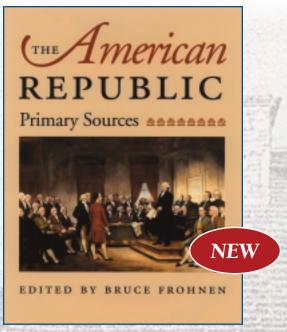
Subsequent chapters examine the roots of American constitutionalism, Federalist and Anti-Federalist arguments concerning the need to protect common law rights, and the debates over whether the states or the federal government held final authority in determining the course of public policy in America. Also included are the discussions regarding disagreements over internal improvements and other federal measures aimed at binding the nation, particularly in the area of commerce.

The final section focuses on the political, cultural, and legal issues leading to the Civil War. Arguments and attempted compromises regarding slavery, along with laws that helped shape slavery, are highlighted. The volume ends with the prelude to the Civil War, a natural stopping-off point for studies of early American history.

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

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

Bruce Frohnen teaches at the Ave Maria School of Law in Ann Arbor, Michigan. His articles have appeared in numerous law reviews and political science journals, and he is author of *The New Communitarians and the Crisis of Modern Liberalism* (1996) and *Virtue and the Promise of Conservatism: The Legacy of Burke and Tocqueville* (1993).



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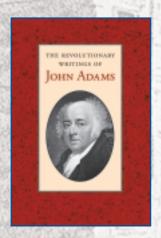
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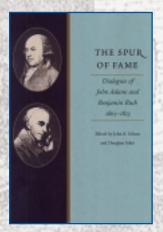


2001. 6 x 9, 349 pages.

Foreword, editor's note, headnotes, index.

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2001. 6 x 9. 343 pages.

Illustrations, acknowledgments, location of the letters, index.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-286-9. \$18.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-287-7. \$11.00.

THE FEDERALIST

The Gideon Edition

Edited by George W. Carey and James McClellan

"A high-quality, scholarly edition for a great price."

— Library Journal, October 2001

Published in newspapers in 1787 and 1788 to explain and promote ratification of the proposed Constitution for the United States, which up to then were bound by the Articles of Confederation, *The Federalist* remains today of singular importance to students of liberty around the world.

The new Liberty Fund edition presents the text of the Gideon edition of *The Federalist*, published in 1818, which includes the responses and corrections prepared by James Madison to the McLean edition of 1810. The McLean edition had presented the *Federalist* texts as corrected by Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, but not reviewed by Madison.

The Liberty Fund *Federalist* also includes a new introduction, a Reader's Guide outlining—section by section—the arguments of *The Federalist*, a glossary, and ten appendixes, including the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Virginia Resolution Proposing the Annapolis Convention, and other key documents leading up to the transmission of the Constitution to the governors of several states. Finally, the Constitution of the United States and Amendments is given, with marginal cross-references to the pertinent passages in *The Federalist* that address, argue for, or comment upon the specific term, phrase, section, or article of the Constitution.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WRITINGS OF JOHN ADAMS

Selected and with a Foreword by C. Bradley Thompson

The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams presents the principal shorter writings in which Adams addresses the prospect of revolution and the form of government proper to the new United States.

This collection illustrates that it was Adams who, before the Revolution, wrote some of the most important documents on the nature of the British Constitution and the meaning of rights, sovereignty, representation, and obligation. Adams wrote equally important works on possible forms of government in a quest to develop a science of politics for the construction of a constitution for the proposed republic.

THE SPUR OF FAME

Dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, 1805–1813 Edited by John A. Schutz and Douglass Adair

John Adams and Benjamin Rush met in 1774 as members of the Continental Congress—Adams from Massachusetts, Rush from Pennsylvania. In 1805, after Adams was defeated in his quest of a second term as the new republic's second President, the two men self-consciously commenced an exchange of letters. Their recurring subject was fame. This emphasis on fame was crucial, Adams and Rush believed, because on the fame attached to individual leaders of the Revolutionary generation would depend the view of the Revolution and of the Constitution and republican government that would be embraced by generations to come, including our own.

THE FOUNDERS' CONSTITUTION

In Five Volumes

(Also Available Online) Edited by Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner

"An invaluable resource for every constitutional scholar — and student. The Founders' Constitution is the most concise, accessible source we have for examining the original ideas of the formative period of American political thinking."

-Professor Jack N. Rakove, Stanford University, July 2000

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

The documentary sources and inspirations of *The Founders' Constitution* reach to the early seventeenth century and extend through those Amendments to the Constitution that were adopted by 1835—that is, through the end of the era of Chief Justice John Marshall of the United States Supreme Court.

Originally published by the University of Chicago Press to commemorate the bicentennial of the United States Constitution, *The Founders' Constitution* is arguably the most important of all resources on the principles of the Framers of the American republic.

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

The five volumes are

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Volume 2: The Preamble Through Article 1, Section 8, Clause 4

Volume 3: Article 1, Section 8, Clause 5, Through Article 2, Section 1

Volume 4: Article 2, Section 2, Through Article 7

Volume 5: Amendments I Through XII

Philip B. Kurland was the William R.

Kenan, Jr., Distinguished Service Professor in the College and Professor in the Law School, University of Chicago.

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

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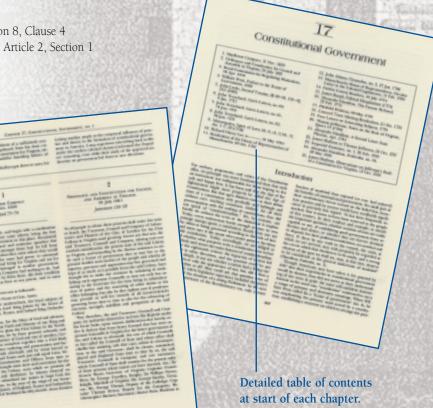


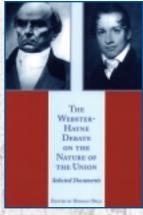
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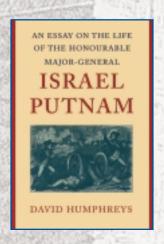
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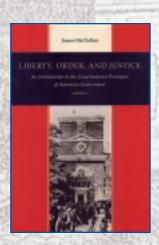


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Herman Belz is Professor of History at the University of Maryland.

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!"

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.

LIBERTY, ORDER, AND JUSTICE

An Introduction to the Constitutional Principles of American Government Revised Third Edition

By James McClellan

The Liberty Fund edition of James McClellan's classic work on the quest for liberty, order, and justice in England and America includes the author's revisions to the original edition published in 1989 by the Center for Judicial Studies.

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

James McClellan is James Bryce Visiting Fellow in American Studies at the Institute of United States Studies, University of London.

VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

With Selected Writings

By St. George Tucker Foreword by Clyde N. Wilson

St. George Tucker's *View of the Constitution*, published in 1803 was the first extended, systematic commentary on the United States Constitution after its ratification. Generations learned their Blackstone and their understanding of the Constitution through Tucker.

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

COLONIAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

A Documentary History

Edited and with an Introductory Essay by Donald S. Lutz

This landmark collection of eighty documents created by the American colonists—and not English officials—is the genesis of American fundamental law and constitutionalism. Included are all documents attempting to unite the colonies, beginning with the New England Confederation of 1643.

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

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E PLURIBUS UNUM

The Formation of the American Republic, 1776–1790

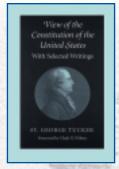
By Forrest McDonald

"An extraordinary book."

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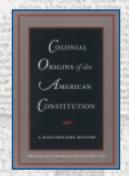
Having won independence from England, America faced a new question: Would this be politically one nation, or would it not? *E Pluribus Unum* is a spirited look at how that question came to be answered.

Forrest McDonald is Professor of History at the University of Alabama and author of *States'* Rights and the Union.



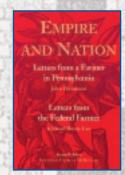
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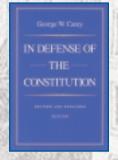
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1983. 6 x 9.

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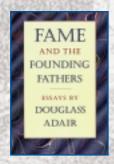
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A selection of essays, pamphlets, speeches, and letters to newspapers written between 1760 and 1805 by American political and religious leaders that illuminate the founding of the republic.

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.

IN DEFENSE OF THE CONSTITUTION

By George W. Carey

I n Defense of the Constitution argues that modern disciples of Progressivism who subtly distort fundamental principles of the Constitution are determined to centralize political control in Washington, D.C., to achieve their goal of an egalitarian national society.

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

FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Writings of the "Other" Federalists, 1787-1788

Edited by Colleen A. Sheehan and Gary L. McDowell

There were many writers other than John Jay, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton who, in 1787 and 1788, argued for the Constitution's ratification. In a collection central to our understanding of the American founding, *Friends of the Constitution* brings together fortynine of the most important of these "other" Federalists' writings.

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

Gary L. McDowell is Director of the Institute of United States Studies, University of London.

FAME AND THE FOUNDING FATHERS

Essays by Douglass Adair

Edited by Trevor Colbourn

The fifteen articles, essays, notes, and documents gathered in this collection showcase Adair's "extraordinary ability to enter empathetically into the experience and ideology of the Founding Fathers while at the same time writing about them critically and movingly."

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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Edited and Enlarged by W. B. Allen

Fisher Ames was a leading New England Federalist and sublime critic of Jacobin Democracy and the French Revolution, active in public life from 1787 through 1807. His witty, often brilliant, letters, speeches, and essays offer a sustained defense of conservative principles and insight into the Federalist theory of government.

THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH

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*.

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



Index

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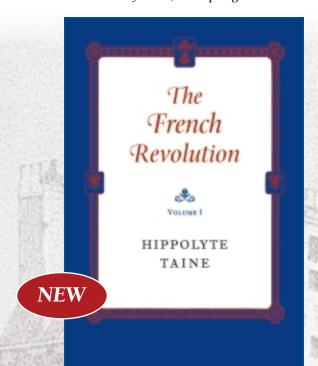
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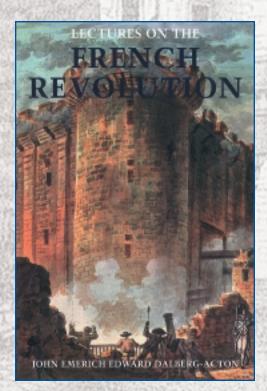
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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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.

Taine approached the Revolution in the same way that a medical doctor approaches a disease. Indeed, he described his work not so much as a history as a "pathology" of the Revolution. His method constitutes his principal contribution to study of the subject. This method began with an examination, not of the French, but of the English. As Professor Mona Ozouf observes, Taine "maintained [that] the history of the Revolution depended on the definition of the French spirit." He had, in an earlier account of English literature, defined "a unique explanatory principle" for investigation of the contrasting societies of the French and the English. This principle among the English, he reported, is "the sense of liberty," or what he described as the English conviction that "man, having conceived alone in his conscience and before God the rules of his conduct, is above all a free, moral person." In contrast to the English ability to conserve and even to expand liberty through gradual adaptation to changing circumstances, Taine identified a "French spirit" that became, Ozouf emphasizes, "his central explanation of the French revolutionary phenomenon." This phenomenon explained, Taine argued, why France "had demolished its national community well before the Revolution"—thus making the Revolution not only inevitable, but also inevitably terrible.

Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893) was a historian and philosopher who was one of the primary figures in French Positivism.

LECTURES ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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

This collection of the lectures of Lord Acton on the French Revolution comprises a disciplined, thorough, and elegant history of the actual events of the bloody episode. It is as thorough a record as could be constructed in Acton's time of the actions of the government of France during the Revolution.

Delivered at Cambridge University between 1895 and 1899, *Lectures on the French Revolution* is a distinguished account of the entire epochal chapter in French experience by one of the most remarkable English historians of the nineteenth century. In contrast to Burke a century before, Acton is not concerned with condemning the Revolution, but in providing an accurate history of its advent, its bloody action, and its aftermath.

There are twenty-two essays in the collection, commencing with "The Heralds of the Revolution," in which Acton presents a taxonomy of the intellectual ferment that preceded and prepared the Revolution. An important appendix explores "The Literature of the Revolution," offering assessments of the accounts of the Revolution written during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by, among others, Burke, Guizot, and Taine.

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.

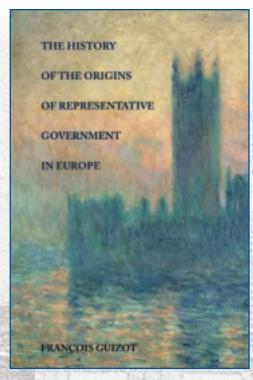


Selected, Edited, and Translated by Alexander Dru Foreword by Alberto Coll

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.

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. His travels led him to Italy, Germany, France, and England, and to his letters we owe delightful and penetrating insights into the character of each country."

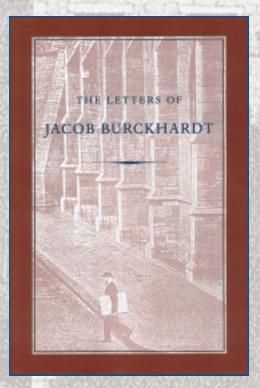
Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) was one of the greatest historians of art and culture of his time. A professor at the University of Basel, Burckhardt was especially knowledgeable about the Renaissance, and his most notable work is *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*.



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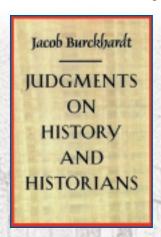
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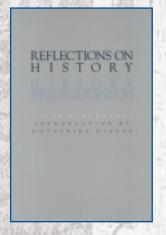
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JUDGMENTS ON HISTORY AND HISTORIANS

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

Renowned for his Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy and Reflections on History (published by Liberty Fund), 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.

Alberto R. Coll is a Professor of Strategy and Policy at the United States Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island.

REFLECTIONS ON HISTORY

By Jacob Burckhardt Introduction by Gottfried Dietze

Almost alone among nineteenth-century historians, Jacob Burckhardt saw the totalitarian direction that history could take. This book (first published in English in 1943 as Force and Freedom) is a guide to the study and comprehension of historical processes. Burckhardt makes a clear distinction between the state and the voluntary activities of society. He focuses on the nature and reciprocal interactions of the state, religion, and culture.

Gottfried Dietze is a Professor in the Political Science Department at Johns Hopkins University.

THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZATIONS

An Introduction to Historical Analysis

By Carroll Quigley Foreword by Harry J. Hogan Selective Bibliography by William Marina

"The only book that improves on and develops Toynbee's work. . . . The very best work of its kind I have read in a very long time."

-Crane Brinton, Harvard University

Carroll Quigley was a legendary teacher at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. His course on the history of civilization was extraordinary in its scope and in its impact on his students. Like the course, *The Evolution of Civilizations* is a comprehensive and perceptive look at the factors behind the rise and fall of civilizations.

Quigley defines a civilization as "a producing society with an instrument of expansion." A civilization's decline is not inevitable but occurs when its *instrument* of expansion is transformed into an *institution*—that is, when social arrangements that meet real social needs are transformed into social institutions serving their own purposes regardless of real social needs.

SELECT WORKS OF EDMUND BURKE

A New Imprint of the Payne Edition In Three Volumes, and

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

Compiled and with a Foreword and Notes by Francis Canavan

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 was for many years Professor of Government 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. . . . "

-Peter J. Stanlis, Rockford College

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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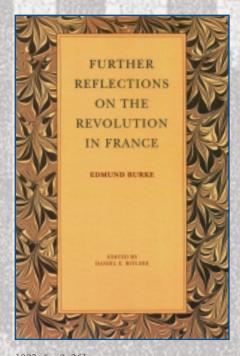
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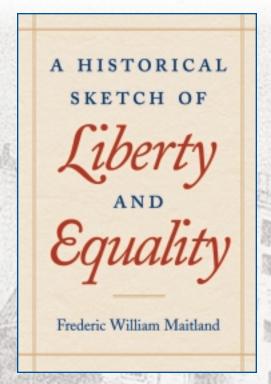
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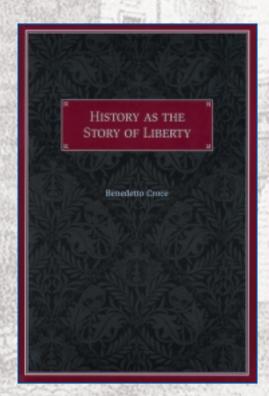
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Foreword, editor's note, list of short titles, index. Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-098-X. \$20.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-099-8. \$12.00.



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A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LIBERTY AND EQUALITY

By Frederic William Maitland

A Historical Sketch of Liberty and Equality is a window to one of the most important historians of all time.

This exclusive Liberty Fund edition of F. W. Maitland's classic includes a note on Maitland by Charles Haskins and a general account of Maitland's life and work, "The Historical Spirit Incarnate: Frederic William Maitland," by Robert Schuyler.

A historian's historian, Maitland was never to be caught indulging in fanciful speculation about times long past. Rather, he said, "We shall have to think away distinctions which seem to us as clear as the sunshine; we must think ourselves back into a twilight." To achieve this discipline, Maitland chose his tools of historical analysis with a lawyer's care. For example, to decipher works of medieval law written in Anglo-French patois, he became "grammarian, orthographer, and phoneticist."

Thus did none other than Lord Acton declare Maitland to be "the ablest historian in England." In 1875, at only twenty-five years of age, Maitland, in pursuit of a fellowship in Cambridge University, submitted a remarkable work 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.

A reviewer at the time noted the importance of Croce's belief that "the central trend in the evolution of man is the unfolding of new potentialities, and that the task of the historian is to discover and emphasize this trend: the story of liberty."

As Croce himself writes, "Even in the darkest and crassest times, liberty trembles in the lines of poets and affirms itself in the pages of thinkers, and burns, solitary and magnificent, in some men who cannot be assimilated by the world around them."

The first edition in English of *History as the Story of Liberty* appeared in London in 1941. The new Liberty Fund edition includes modest improvements to the translation by Folke Leander and arranged by Claes Ryn.

Claes G. Ryn is Professor of Politics at the Catholic University of America.

THE CRISIS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change

By Hugh Trevor-Roper

The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century collects nine essays by Trevor-Roper on the themes of religion, the Reformation, and social change. The Civil War, the Restoration, and the Glorious Revolution in England laid the institutional and intellectual foundations of the modern understanding of liberty. Trevor-Roper's essays uncover new pathways to understanding this seminal time.

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. . . . " Neither Catholic nor Protestant emerges unscathed from the examination to which Trevor-Roper subjects the era in which, from political and religious causes, the identification and extirpation of witches was a central event.

Hugh Trevor-Roper, Lord Dacre, is retired Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford. Among his works are *The Last Days of Hitler*; *The Gentry, 1540–1640*; *The Rise of Christian Europe*; *The Plunder of the Arts in the Seventeenth Century*; *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Hapsburg Courts, 1517–1633*; and *The Hermit of Peking.*

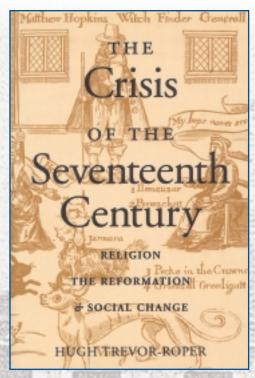
THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY

Seventeenth-Century English Political Tracts In Two Volumes

Edited by Joyce Lee Malcolm

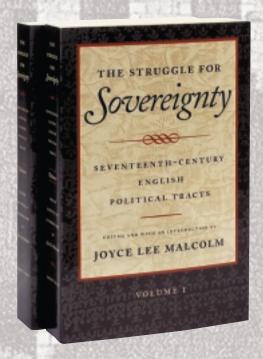
F or much of Europe the seventeenth century was, as it has been termed, an "Age of Absolutism" in which single rulers held tremendous power. Yet the English in the same century succeeded in limiting the power of their monarchs. The English Civil War in midcentury and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 were the culmination of a protracted struggle between kings eager to consolidate and even extend their power and subjects who were eager to identify and defend individual liberties. The source and nature of sovereignty was of course the central issue. Did sovereignty reside solely with the Crown—as claimed theorists of "the divine right?" Or did sovereignty reside in a combination of Crown and Parliament—or perhaps in only the House of Commons—or perhaps, again, in the common law, or even in "the people?" The political tracts written by the English peoples in the seventeenth century established enduring principles of governance and of liberty that benefited not only themselves but the founders of the American republic. These writings, by the renowned (Coke, Sidney, Shaftesbury) and the unremembered ("Anonymous") therefore constitute an enduring contribution to the historical record of the rise of ordered liberty.

Joyce Lee Malcolm is Professor of History at Bentley College.



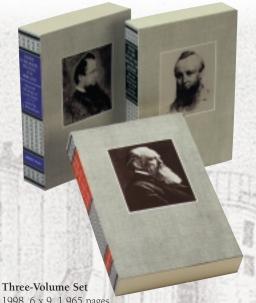
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SELECTED WRITINGS OF LORD ACTON

In Three Volumes

By John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton Edited by J. Rufus Fears

Lord Acton was among the most illustrious historians of nineteenth-century England, a man of great learning with a deep devotion to individual liberty and a profound understanding of history. Liberty Fund is proud to offer the most complete collection of Acton essays ever published.

Volume I: Essays in the History of Liberty

Included are his two famous essays on the history of freedom ("The History of Freedom in Antiquity" and "The History of Freedom in Christianity") as are writings on the tradition of liberty in England, America, and Europe.

Volume II: Essays in the Study and Writing of History

Volume II brings together Acton's distinguished writings on history. Included is his famous Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge, "The Study of History."

Volume III: Essays in Religion, Politics, and Morality

Included are three important essays, "Human Sacrifice," "George Eliot's Life," and "Buckle's Philosophy of History." Nearly two hundred pages of excerpts from Acton's remarkable letters and unpublished notes are also included.

J. Rufus Fears has taught classical history at Indiana University, Boston University, and the University of Oklahoma.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 In Six Volumes

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 theme of liberty, above all others, gives continuity to Hume's detailed examination of English constitutional development from the Anglo-Saxon period to the Revolution of 1688."

—Eugene F. Miller, The Political Science Reviewer

David Hume's great, enduring reputation in philosophy tends to obscure the fact that, among his contemporaries, his *History of England* was a more successful work.

The *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.

This Liberty Fund edition is based on the edition of 1778, the last to contain corrections by Hume. The typography has been modernized for ease of reading. Hume's own index to the entire work may be found at the conclusion of volume VI.

Introducing the Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics Series Knud Haakonssen, General Editor

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 one of the leading figures of the outburst of intellectual activity that culminated in the Scottish Enlightenment. His *Elements of Moral Philosophy* was one of the most widely circulated texts in moral philosophy in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Apart from a very expensive facsimile edition, there has never been a modern edition of *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*. Moreover, the lectures in *A Brief Account* have never before been published.

The significance of *The Elements* is evidenced by the fact that it was the principal work in the curriculum in moral philosophy throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. It was also included practically verbatim in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

David Fordyce (1711–1751) was one of the central figures of the Scottish Enlightenment. Fordyce was a teacher, and his lectures on *A Brief Account of the Nature, Progress, and Origin of Philosophy* are published here for the first time.

Thomas D. Kennedy is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Valparaiso University. In addition to his work on David Fordyce, he has written on William Leechman and the Glasgow Enlightenment, and on moral theology in eighteenth-century Scotland.

OBSERVATIONS UPON LIBERAL EDUCATION

By George Turnbull

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

Turnbull is perhaps the earliest and the least-remembered author in the Scottish tradition. He mentored Thomas Reid, who became the founder of the important common-sense school of Scottish moral philosophy.

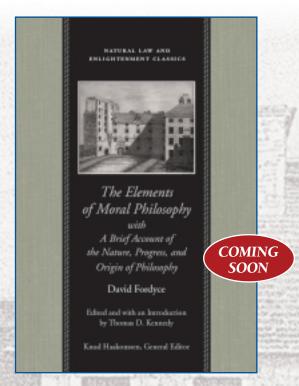
Observations upon Liberal Education arose from a longing for a liberty of mind and tried to lay the groundwork for a society of free, virtuous, and educated citizens. The work's influence was by no means confined to Scotland. Benjamin Franklin drew generously from the work of Turnbull.

Terrence Moore, who has written the Introduction, notes that "Observations upon Liberal Education provides an extensive and illuminating treatment of education, sensitive to the means of inculcating the personal responsibility necessary for living in a free society."

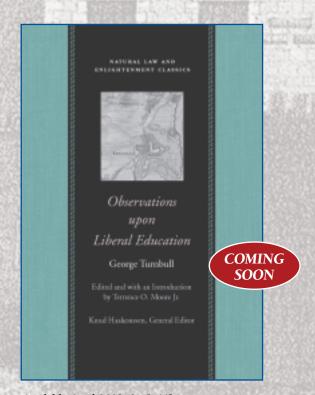
The Liberty Fund edition of *Observations upon Liberal Education* is the first modern edition of this work ever published.

George Turnbull (1698–1748) furthered the Enlightenment in creating a plausible educational regime suited to human beings possessed of the moral faculties necessary to live as adults in an increasingly free and prosperous society.

Terrence O. Moore, Jr., is Principal of Ridgeview Classical Schools in Fort Collins, Colorado. Dr. Moore was formerly Assistant Professor of History at Ashland University in Ohio.



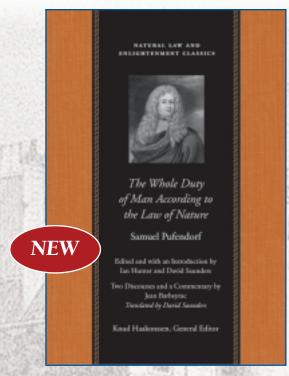
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THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF NATURE

By Samuel Pufendorf

Translated by Andrew Tooke, 1691

Edited and with an Introduction by Ian Hunter and David Saunders Two Discourses and a Commentary by Jean Barbeyrac (translated by David Saunders)

This new scholarly edition of Samuel Pufendorf's seminal *The Whole*Duty of Man According to the Law of Nature is among the first to suggest a purely conventional basis for natural law.

Pufendorf wrote this work to make his insights accessible to a wide range of readers, especially university students, who were struggling with issues of church and state. Although indebted to Hobbes and Grotius, the work outlines a new understanding of ethics and politics, one suited to states that were emerging from the aftermath of religious civil war.

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

David Saunders is Professor in the Faculty of Arts at Griffith University. He is the author of several books and articles dealing with the history of legal thought and institution.

OF THE NATURE AND QUALIFICATION OF RELIGION IN REFERENCE TO CIVIL SOCIETY

By Samuel Pufendorf

Translated by Jodocus Crull

Edited and with an Introduction by Simone Zurbuchen

Pufendorf's 1687 book eloquently sets forth the new doctrine of separation of politics and religion. 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: State and religion pursue wholly different ends.

Simone Zurbuchen is currently working at the Center for European Enlightenment Studies in Potsdam and is author of *Naturrecht und natürliche Religion*.

THE DIVINE FEUDAL LAW: OR, COVENANTS WITH MANKIND, REPRESENTED

By Samuel Pufendorf

Translated by Theophilus Dorrington

Edited and with an Introduction by Simone Zurbuchen

originally published posthumously in 1695, *The Divine Feudal Law* presents 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 both, Pufendorf examines how to secure the peaceful coexistence of different confessions in a state.

AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE AND CONDUCT OF THE PASSIONS AND AFFECTIONS, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS ON THE MORAL SENSE

By Francis Hutcheson

Edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett

Francis Hutcheson is considered by many scholars of philosophy to be the father of the Scottish Enlightenment. He was influential in defining the modern social, political, economic, and institutional world. Despite his influence, he has been widely forgotten, until now.

This considerable volume in Hutcheson's vast work addresses the character of human nature. In the great tradition of Enlightenment thinkers before and after him, Hutcheson is here engaged in a process of defining terms on which social, political, and economic liberty could be justified in light of centuries of rule by various tyrants and monarchs.

Professor Garrett has constructed a critical variorum edition of this great work. As there are no manuscripts of the work, this could be done only by comparing all extant lifetime editions. In the case of Hutcheson's *Essay*, three such editions exist: those of 1728, 1730, and 1742.

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

T hese sermons by Nathaniel Culverwell, a significant and influential moral theologian of the seventeenth century, were delivered from 1645 to 1646 at the chapel of Emmanuel College of Cambridge University. The sermons, which examine the relationship between reason and faith, form one of the first attempts in English Protestantism to stress the role of reason in ethics and to develop a doctrine of natural law.

Culverwell represents a crucial intersection in the discussion of reason and faith. While providing a link between the Calvinist dependence on faith and grace and the Enlightenment dependence on reason and humanism, Culverwell's *Discourse* is a picture of the world on the brink of the Enlightenment.

NATURAL RIGHTS ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT

The Writings of Gershom Carmichael

Edited by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne

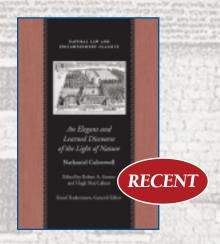
Gershom Carmichael was a teacher and writer who played an important role in the Scottish Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. His philosophy focused on the natural rights of individuals—the natural right to defend oneself, to own the property on which one has labored, and to services contracted for with others.

Although he appealed to the authority of Grotius and Locke, the grounds on which he defended natural rights were distinctively his own. He drew upon the Reformed or Presbyterian theology to propose that, in respecting the natural rights of individuals, one shows one's reverence for God's creation. Inasmuch as all of mankind longs for lasting happiness, which can be found only in worship of or reverence for God, such reverence is the natural law which obliges all to respect the rights of all.



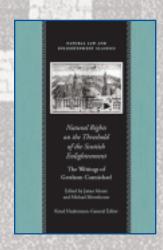
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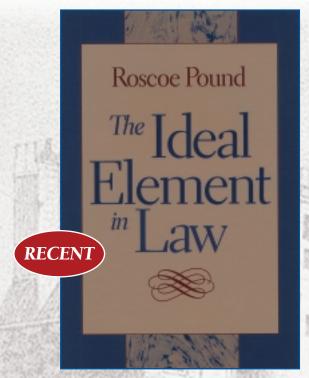
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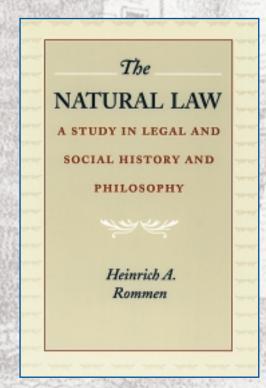
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THE IDEAL ELEMENT IN LAW

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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.

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The Ideal Element in Law was a radical book for its time and is just as meaningful today as when Pound's lectures were first delivered. Pound's view of the welfare state as a means of expanding government power over the individual speaks to the front-page issues of the new millennium as clearly as it did to America in the mid-twentieth century.

Pound argues that the theme of justice grounded in enduring ideals is critical for America. He views American courts as relying on sociological theories, political ends, or other objectives, and in so doing, divorcing the practice of law from the rule of law and the rule of law from the ideal of law itself.

Roscoe Pound, considered by many to be the Dean of American jurisprudence, served as Dean of Harvard Law School from 1916 to 1936. A former Justice of the Supreme Court of Nebraska, he is widely recognized as one of the most important legal minds of the early twentieth century.

THE NATURAL LAW

A Study in Legal and Social History and Philosophy

By Heinrich A. Rommen Translated by Thomas R. Hanley Introduction by Russell Hittinger

originally published in German in 1936, *The Natural Law* is the first work to clarify the differences between traditional natural law as represented in the writings of Cicero, Aquinas, and Hooker and the revolutionary doctrines of natural rights espoused by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Beginning with the legacies of Greek and Roman life and thought, Rommen traces the natural law tradition to its displacement by legal positivism and concludes with "the reappearance" of natural law thought in more recent times. In seven chapters each, Rommen explores "The History of the Idea of Natural Law" and "The Philosophy and Content of the Natural Law."

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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John M. Zane (1863–1937) was a distinguished attorney.

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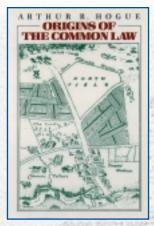
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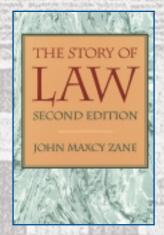
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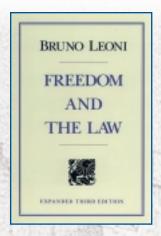


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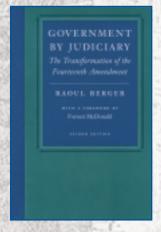
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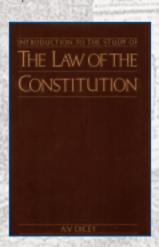
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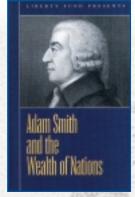
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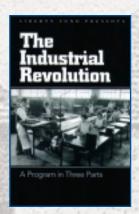
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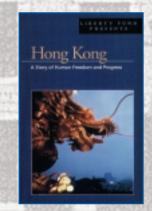
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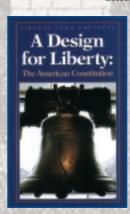
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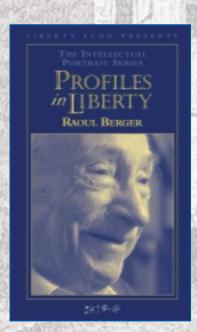
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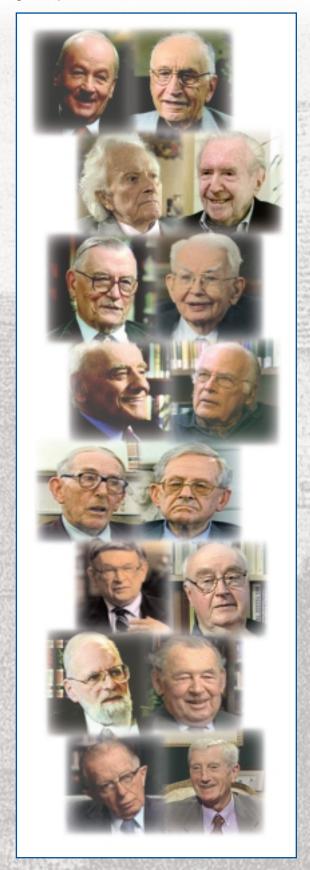
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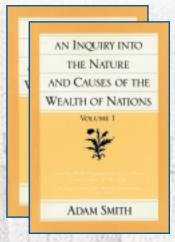
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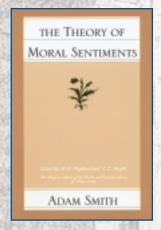
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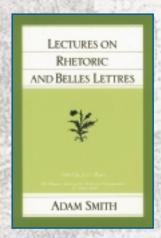
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Criticizing mercantilists who sought to use the state to increase their nations' supply of precious metals, Smith points out that a nation's wealth should be measured by the well-being of its people. Prosperity in turn requires voluntary exchange of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

THE THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS

Edited by D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie

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

LECTURES ON RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES

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

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

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S mith's *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, originally delivered at the University of Glasgow in 1762–1763, presents his "theory of the rules by which civil government ought to be directed."

Building on his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith argues that the state must act as an impartial spectator, judging when an individual has been injured. Thus, regulations concerning trade, commerce, and production must be crafted so as to encourage rather than interfere with our productive capacities.

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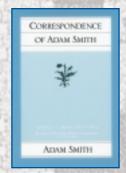
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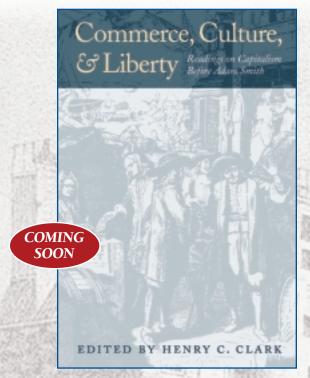
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Henry C. Clark is Professor of History at Canisius College. He has written articles on the French and Scottish Enlightenments and is the author of La Rochefoucauld and the Language of Unmasking in Seventeenth-Century

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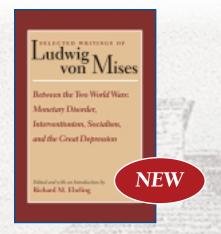
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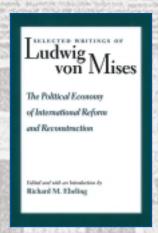
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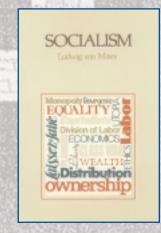
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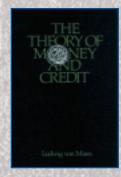
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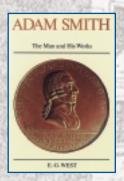
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H. B. Acton (1908–1974) was Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh.

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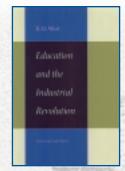
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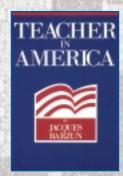
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Author of *The State* Anthony de Jasay has been described as one of the few genuinely original minds in modern political philosophy. He breaks new ground with *Justice and Its Surroundings* — a new collection of trenchant essays that seek to redefine 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.

Justice and Its Surroundings discusses rival notions which treat justice "as something else" — as fairness, equality, or moral intuition. Jasay states, "Theories of justice inspired by the idea that its function is to rectify the way of the world by redistributing the good and bad things that happen to make up people's lots tend to be intellectually weak and vulnerable to the weapon of logic." Jasay's chosen mission is to promote clear reasoning rather than plead for a good cause.

This straightforward and terse book analyzes the roles of collective choice, redistribution, and socialism and the claims that would enlist justice in their service. The issue of whether state authority is necessary, convenient, or neither, and the primacy of convention and contract are among the pivotal questions Jasay poses. He concludes by analyzing notions of freedom and making a clear distinction between freedoms and rights.

Anthony de Jasay is the author of *Social Contract*, *Free Ride* (1989), *Choice*, *Contract*, *Consent* (1991), *Against Politics* (1997), and *The State* (1998), also published by Liberty Fund.

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, 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.

This work is deeply indebted to the analyses of Tocqueville and Bryce regarding the threats that bureaucracy, centralization, and creeping conformity pose to liberty and individual independence in the western world. *The Present Age* relates a tragedy—the unprecedented militarization of American life in the decades after 1914, as the result of the necessary resistance to National Socialist and Communist totalitarianism that fed into and reinforced the profound tendencies toward centralization within modern society.

Robert Nisbet (1913–1996), former professor of sociology at Columbia University, is the author of *Sociology as an Art Form*; *The Social Philosophers*; *Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary*; *The Sociological Tradition*; *History of the Idea of Progress*; and *Twilight of Authority*, also published by Liberty Fund.

RATIONAL MAN: A MODERN INTERPRETATION OF ARISTOTELIAN ETHICS

By Henry Babcock Veatch

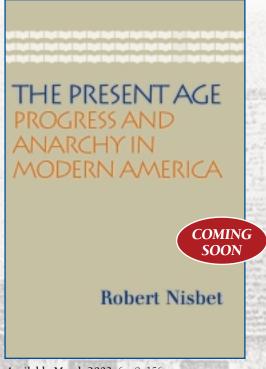
With a Preface and Annotated Bibliography by Douglas B. Rasmussen

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

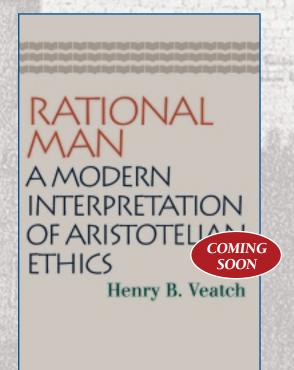
Veatch argues for the existence of ethical knowledge, and he reasons that this knowledge is grounded in human nature. Yet he contends that the moral life is not merely one of following rules or recipes, nor is human well-being something simple. Rather, the moral life, which Veatch calls "rational or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

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

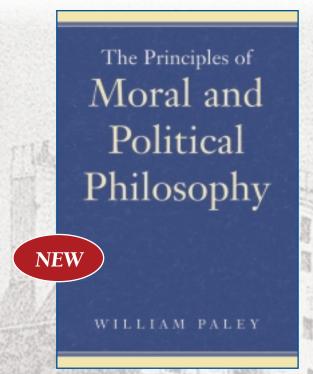
Henry Babcock Veatch (1911–1999) was born in Evansville, Indiana, and educated at Harvard. He was recognized as one of the leading neo-Aristotelian philosophers of the twentieth century. Besides *Rational Man*, he was the author of *Intentional Logic*; *Realism and Nominalism Revisited*; *Aristotle: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



Available March 2003. 6 x 9. 156 pages. Foreword, epilogue, index. Quality paperback. ISBN 0-86597-409-8. \$10.00.

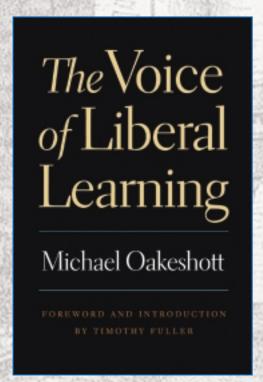


Available March 2003. 6 x 9. 202 pages. Preface, annotated bibliography, foreword, notes, analytical table of contents, index. Quality paperback. ISBN 0-86597-393-8. \$10.00.



2002. 6 x 9. 525 pages.

Foreword, select bibliography, preface, index. Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-380-6. \$20.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-381-4. \$12.00.



2001. 5½ x 8¼. 233 pages. Foreword, introduction, index.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-323-7. \$18.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-324-5. \$12.00.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

By William Paley

Foreword by D. L. Le Mahieu

This classic work by William Paley was one of the most popular 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.

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.

D. L. Le Mahieu is Hotchkiss Presidential Professor at Lake Forest College in Illinois. He is also the author of *The Mind of William Paley: A Philosopher and His Age* (1976) and *A Culture for Democracy* (1988).

THE VOICE OF LIBERAL LEARNING

By Michael Oakeshott Foreword and Introduction by Timothy Fuller

By 1989, when Michael Oakeshott's *Voice of Liberal Learning* was first published by Yale University Press, books that held a negative view of education in the United States, such as Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* and E. D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy*, had garnered a remarkable amount of attention. There have been countless lamentations about the state of schooling in America in recent years, and there have been countless recommendations toward what is invariably called "educational reform."

To those weary and wary of the cacophony about what's wrong with education in America and what ought to be done about it, Oakeshott's voice beckons. As usual, his 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.

Michael Oakeshott (1901–1990) was Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics and a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He was the author of many works, including *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*; On History and Other Essays; and Hobbes on Civil Association, all of which are published by Liberty Fund.

HOBBES ON CIVIL ASSOCIATION

By Michael Oakeshott Foreword by Paul Franco

This new collection presents Michael Oakeshott's four principal essays 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.

The essays are

"Introduction to Leviathan" (1946)

"The Moral Life in the Writings of Thomas Hobbes" (1960)

"Dr. Leo Strauss on Hobbes" (1937)

"Leviathan: A Myth" (1947)

Paul Franco is Professor in the Department of Government at Bowdoin College.

ON HISTORY AND OTHER ESSAYS

By Michael Oakeshott Foreword by Timothy Fuller

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

Timothy Fuller is the Lew Worner Distinguished Service Professor at Colorado College and has published widely on the works of Michael Oakeshott.

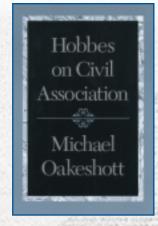
RATIONALISM IN POLITICS AND OTHER ESSAYS

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."

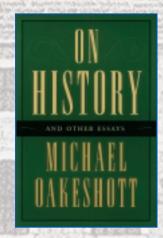
—The Political Science Reviewer

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



2000. 5½ x 8¼. 184 pages. Foreword, preface, author's note, index.

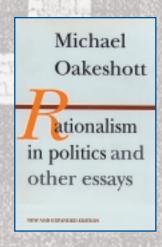
Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-290-7. \$20.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-291-5. \$12.00.



1999. 5½ x 8¼. 240 pages.

Foreword, index.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-266-4. \$20.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-267-2. \$10.00.

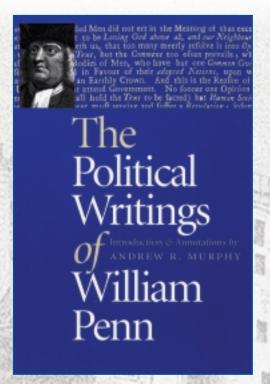


1991. 6 x 9. 582 pages.

Preface to the first edition, foreword,

bibliography, index.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-094-7. \$21.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-095-5. \$12.00.



2001. 6 x 9. 467 pages.

Introduction, chronology, annotations, index. Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-317-2. \$24.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-318-0. \$12.00.

THE POLITICAL WRITINGS OF WILLIAM PENN

Introduction and Annotations by Andrew R. Murphy

"Until now Penn's tracts have been republished only in editions of his works. The essays presented here in chronological order show how Penn's emphases shifted over time."

-Choice, July 2002

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 and as a core element of the classical liberal tradition in general. Penn was not only one of the most vocal spokesmen for liberty of conscience in Restoration England, but he also oversaw a great colonizing endeavor that attempted to instantiate his tolerationist commitments in practice. His thought has relevance not only for scholars of English political and religious history, but also for those who are interested in the foundations of American religious liberty, political development, and colonial history. This volume illuminates the origins and development of Penn's thought by presenting, for the first time, complete and annotated texts of all his important political works.

Penn's early political writings illuminate the Whig understanding of English politics as guided by the ancient constitution (epitomized by Magna Charta and its elaboration of English native rights). The ancient constitution symbolized, for Penn and other Whigs, a balanced governing relationship between king and Parliament, established from antiquity and offering a standard against which to judge the actions of particular parliaments. The values of liberty, property, and consent (as represented by Parliament) provide the basis for Penn's advocacy of liberty of conscience

in Restoration England. During the 1660s and 1670s, Penn used his social prominence as well as the time afforded him by several imprisonments to compose a number of works advocating religious toleration and defending the ancient constitution as a guarantor of popular liberties. In the 1680s, Penn's political thought emphasized the substantive importance of toleration as a fundamental right and the civil magistrate's duty to grant such freedom regardless of those interests in society (e.g., the Church of England, Tories in Parliament) who might oppose it. His social status, indefatigable energy for publication, and command of biblical and historical sources give Penn's political writings a twofold significance: as a window on toleration and liberty of conscience, perhaps the most vexing issue of Restoration politics; and as part of a broader current of thought that would influence political thought and practice in the colonies as well as in the mother country.

William Penn (1644–1718) lived during the two great political and religious upheavals in seventeenth-century England: the Civil Wars of the 1640s and the 1688 Revolution. He was expelled from Christ Church College, Oxford, for religious nonconformity, and in 1667 he converted to Quakerism. After his conversion, he worked as a preacher, writer, and spokesman for the Quakers, promoting religious liberty and attempting to advance the interests of the Quakers in the American colonies.

CONTENTS

The Political Writings of William Penn includes these twelve seminal writings of William Penn:

The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted (1670)

England's Present Interest Considered (1675)

The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience (1670)

One Project for the Good of England (1679)

An Address to Protestants of All Perswasions (1679)

A Brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual (1681)

A Perswasive to Moderation to Church-Dissenters (1686)

Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman-Catholick, and Protestant Dissenter (1687)

The Proposed Comprehension Soberly, and Not Unseasonably, Consider'd (1672)

England's Great Interest, in the Choice of This New Parliament (1679)

A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country, to His Friends in London, upon the Subject of the Penal Laws and Tests (1687)

An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe (1693)

TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL

By Charles Péguy

Translated and Introduction by Alexander Dru

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. According to Péguy, "Everything begins as a mystique and ends as a politique." A nation, then, that loses its mystique—that is, those traditions and customs that predate politics—loses both its liberty and its self-respect and becomes prone to totalitarian terror, by the right or the left.

Péguy rightly discerned in the displacement of mystique by politique in European life "the coming of a demagogic domination disastrous for liberties." Thus, observes Pierre Manent, "the most important event in Péguy's life and for his work was also of capital importance, not only for the French of his generation but also for the Western world ever since."

THE LIBERAL MIND

By Kenneth Minogue

7 enneth 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.

But what, precisely, is liberalism? Or, more accurately, can liberalism be defined precisely? Minogue attempts to answer both questions. "The Liberal Mind attempts to uncover the philosophy of liberalism and lay bare its implications. What is Man? How does he think and feel? What is the place of Reason in human affairs? How should men live? What is politics, and what is it for? These are the questions which liberalism both asks and answers. The answers supply a technique of living, which is a utilitarian moral guide: yet the great advantage claimed for this code is that it is scientific. Because of this claim, liberalism is forced into a series of moral and political evasions, both doctrines and emotional habits of thought. These are dissected in The Liberal Mind."

Kenneth Minogue is Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of London.

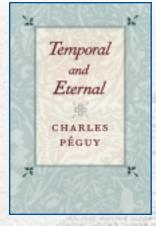
THE PURE THEORY OF POLITICS

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.

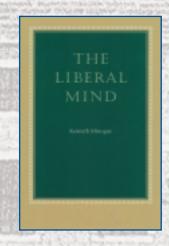
Bertrand de Jouvenel (1903–1987) was a renowned observer of British and American institutions.

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



2001. 43/4 x 71/2. 190 pages. Foreword, introduction.

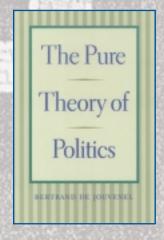
Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-321-0. \$16.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-322-9. \$10.00.



2001. 6 x 9. 233 pages.

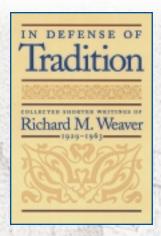
Preface, index.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-307-5. \$19.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-308-3.

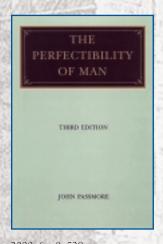


2000. 51/2 x 81/4. 309 pages. Foreword, preface, index.

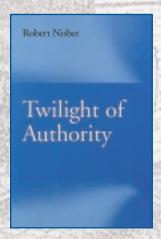
Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-264-8. \$20.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-265-6. \$12.00.



2001. 6 x 9. 861 pages. Introduction, bibliography, index. Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-282-6. \$25.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-283-4. \$15.00.



2000. 6 x 9. 528 pages. New preface, acknowledgments, index. Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-257-5. \$25.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-258-3. \$12,00.



2000. 6 x 9. 278 pages. Foreword, preface.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-211-7. \$18.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-212-5. \$10.00.

IN DEFENSE OF TRADITION

Collected Shorter Writings of Richard M. Weaver, 1929–1963

Edited and with an Introduction by Ted J. Smith III

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

This new collection of Weaver's shorter writings presents many longout-of-print and never-before-published works that give new range and depth to Weaver's sweeping thought.

In all, there are some 126 essays, speeches, book reviews, and editorials.

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

THE PERFECTIBILITY OF MAN

Third Edition
With a New Preface

By John Passmore

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

A reviewer of the original 1970 edition well summarizes the scope and significance of this renowned work by one of the leading philosophers of the twentieth century: "Beginning with an analytic discussion of the various ways in which perfectibility has been interpreted, Professor Passmore traces its long history from the Greeks to the present day. . . both in its broad sweep and countless supporting reflections, it is a journey through spiritual scenery of the most majestic and exhilarating kind."

John Passmore served for many years as a Professor of Philosophy at Australian National University.

TWILIGHT OF AUTHORITY

By Robert Nisbet Foreword by Robert G. Perrin

Fe 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, and was the author of several major works, including *Social Change and History*; *The Quest for Community*; and *The Present Age*, also published by Liberty Fund.

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

ESSAYS, MORAL, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY

Revised Edition

By David Hume Edited by Eugene F. Miller

"The Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary (a volume..., 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, 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. The two most important were deemed too controversial for the religious climate of his time.

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.



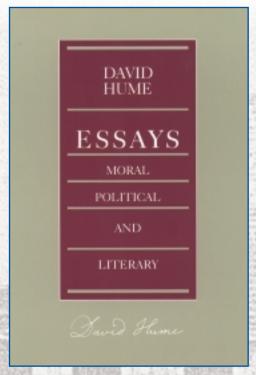
Prophet of the Counter-revolution Second Edition

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. Offered in French in the original edition of *David Hume* published by Oxford University Press in 1965, these vitally important writings have been translated by the author into English for the Liberty Fund second edition.

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

Donald Livingston is Professor of Philosophy at Emory University.



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

DAVID HUME

White the second of the counter-revolution

Laurence L. Bongie

2000. 51/2 x 81/4. 235 pages.

Foreword, preface, introduction, index of names and titles.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-208-7. \$18.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-209-5. \$10.00.



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

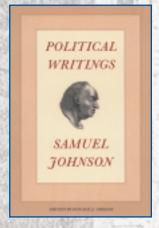
Foreword, note on the text, Shaftesbury's index,

index to this edition.

Volume 1: 235 pages. Volume 2: 252 pages.

Volume 3: 328 pages.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-294-X. \$60.00/set. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-295-8. \$36.00/set.



2000. 5% x 83/4. 526 pages. Preface, illustrations, chronological table, short titles, index.

Paperback only. ISBN 0-86597-275-3. \$12.00.



1995. 6 x 9. 302 pages.

Translator's introduction, foreword, Althusius's outline of the book, note on the Liberty Fund edition,

bibliography, index.

Hardcover. ISBN 0-86597-114-5. \$21.00. Paperback. ISBN 0-86597-115-3. \$12.00.

CHARACTERISTICKS OF MEN, MANNERS, OPINIONS, TIMES

Three-Volume Slipcased Set, with Illustrations

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

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

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

Douglas Den Uyl is Professor of Philosophy at Bellarmine College, Louisville, and Vice President of Education 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.

AREOPAGITICA AND OTHER POLITICAL WRITINGS OF JOHN MILTON

Foreword by John Alvis

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

THE FABLE OF THE BEES

or Private Vices, Publick Benefits In Two Volumes

By Bernard Mandeville With a Commentary by F. B. Kaye

"Mandeville . . . anticipated Oscar Wilde in choosing his enemies with great care, and within his own century they included David Hume, Adam Smith, and Francis Hutcheson. He could afford even such enemies because his friends and admirers have been legion."

-George J. Stigler, University of Chicago

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).

CATO'S LETTERS

Essays on Liberty Four Volumes in Two

By John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon Edited and annotated by Ronald Hamowy

A lmost 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. Their prototype was Cato the Younger (95–46 B.C.), the implacable foe of Julius Caesar and a champion of liberty and republican principles.

DISCOURSES CONCERNING GOVERNMENT

By Algernon Sidney Edited by Thomas G. West

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



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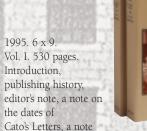
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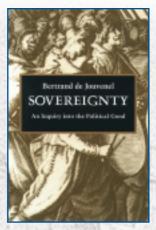


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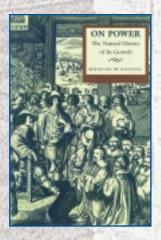


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SOVEREIGNTY

An Inquiry into the Political Good

By Bertrand de Jouvenel

Translated by J. F. Huntington

Foreword by Daniel J. Mahoney and David DesRosiers

ho 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." He writes for "whoever would exercise the duties of a citizen."

Bertrand de Jouvenel was an author and teacher, first publishing *On Power* in 1945. Among his other books is *The Pure Theory of Politics* (1963), reissued by Liberty Fund. He died in 1987.

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

David DesRosiers is Development Officer for the Manhattan Institute.

ON POWER

The Natural History of Its Growth

By Bertrand de Jouvenel

Foreword by D. W. Brogan

Translated by J. F. Huntington

Documenting the process by which government and controlling majorities have grown increasingly powerful and tyrannical, Bertrand de Jouvenel demonstrates how democracies have failed to limit the powers of government. 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 that 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."

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.

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 Professor at the London School of Economics.

LEISURE THE BASIS OF CULTURE

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

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

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

T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) was an American-born English poet, playwright, and critic.

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." The results include a "devastating critique of the absurdities of modern welfare economics."

Anthony de Jasay is the author also of *Social Contract, Free Ride* (1989), *Choice, Contract, Consent* (1991), *Against Politics* (1997), and *Justice and Its Surroundings* (2002), also published by Liberty Fund.

THE LOGIC OF LIBERTY

Reflections and Rejoinders

By Michael Polanyi Foreword by Stuart D. Warner

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

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

Stuart D. Warner is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois.

THE POLITICIZATION OF SOCIETY

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

F ourteen essays explore the central problem of modern society—the decline of free institutions and the growth of the state. Among the essays are "State and Society," by Felix Morley; "The Monstrosity of Government," by John Lukacs; and "The Guaranteed Economy and Its Future," by Jonathan R. T. Hughes.



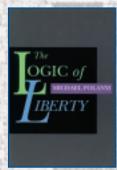
1999. 43/4 x 71/2. 158 pages. Introduction.

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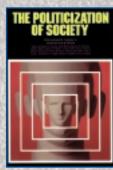
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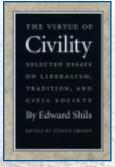
1998. 5½ x 8¼. 277 pages. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index.

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

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

"IN DEFENSE OF FREEDOM" AND RELATED ESSAYS

By Frank S. Meyer Foreword by William C. Dennis

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

The Liberty Fund edition also includes nine related essays.

Frank S. Meyer (1909–1972) was a senior editor of *National Review*. **William C. Dennis** is a former Senior Liberty Fund Fellow. He is now Senior Scholar, Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and a consultant in philanthropy.

THE SOUTHERN ESSAYS OF RICHARD M. WEAVER

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

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

DEMOCRACY AND LEADERSHIP

By Irving Babbitt Foreword by Russell Kirk

". . . one of the few truly important works of political thought."

-Russell Kirk

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

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

THE MAKING OF TOCQUEVILLE'S "DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA"

Second Edition

By James T. Schleifer Foreword by George W. Pierson

"A masterful job that will long stand as an essential guide for every student of Tocqueville."

—Edmund S. Morgan

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

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

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

ENVY

A Theory of Social Behaviour

By Helmut Schoeck

"An excellent and extremely valuable book. It is beautifully written and contains startling and enlightening information."

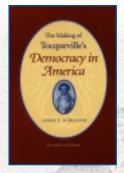
—Sir Karl R. Popper

E *nvy* was first published in German in 1966, then in an English translation in 1970. This classic study is one of the few books to explore extensively the many facets of envy— "a drive which lies at the core of man's life as a social being." Ranging widely over literature, philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences, Professor Schoeck—a distinguished sociologist and anthropologist—elucidates both the constructive and destructive consequences of envy in social life. Perhaps most important, he demonstrates that not only the impetus toward a totalitarian regime but also the egalitarian impulse in democratic societies are alike in being rooted in envy.

NEW INDIVIDUALIST REVIEW

Introduction by Milton Friedman

Initially sponsored by the University of Chicago Chapter of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, the *New Individualist Review* was more than the usual "campus magazine." It declared itself "founded in a commitment to human liberty." In his introduction to this reprint edition, Milton Friedman—one of the magazine's faculty advisors—writes that the *Review* set "an intellectual standard that has not yet, I believe, been matched by any of the more recent publications in the same philosophical tradition."



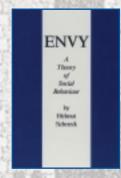
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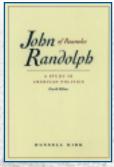


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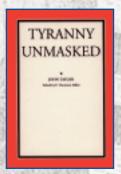
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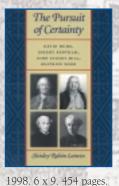
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JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE

A Study in American Politics Fourth Edition

By Russell Kirk

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

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.

TYRANNY UNMASKED

By John Taylor of Caroline Edited by F. Thornton Miller

John Taylor of Caroline (1753–1824) was one of the foremost philosophers of the states' rights Jeffersonians of the early national period. In keeping with his lifelong mission as a "minority man," John Taylor wrote *Tyranny Unmasked* not only to assault the protective tariff and the mercantilist policies of the times but also "to examine general principles in relation to commerce, political economy, and a free government."

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

THE PURSUIT OF CERTAINTY

David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Beatrice Webb

By Shirley Robin Letwin

By examining the thought of four seminal thinkers, Shirley Robin Letwin provides a brilliant record of the gradual change in the English-speaking peoples' understanding of "what sort of activity politics is." As Letwin writes, "the distinctive political issue since the eighteenth century has been whether government should do more or less." This issue arose not because of the Industrial Revolution but, Letwin believes, because of the "profoundly personal reflection" of major thinkers, including Hume, Bentham, Mill, and Webb.

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

S 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."

THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS

In Two Volumes

By Herbert Spencer Introduction by Tibor R. Machan

It was Spencer who penned the phrase "survival of the fittest." Today Spencer is most often admired for his trenchant essays in *The Man Versus the State*. Spencer himself considered *The Principles of Ethics* to be his finest work.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

By James Fitzjames Stephen Edited by Stuart D. Warner

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

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRAT

By James Fenimore Cooper Introduction by H. L. Mencken

"... an important political treatise of timely relevance today, providing sound perceptions into our present government."

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When *The American Democrat* was first published in 1838, Cooper's position as America's first major novelist obscured his serious contribution to the discussion of American principles and politics. "Yet Cooper," says H. L. Mencken, "was probably the first American to write about Americans in the really frank spirit . . . a simple, sound and sensible tract, moderate in tone and extraordinarily astute in its conclusions."

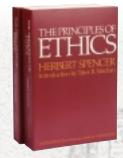
ON LIBERTY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

The Essential Essays of William Graham Sumner

Edited by Robert C. Bannister

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

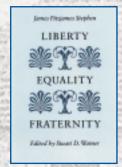


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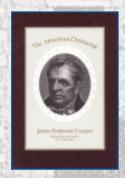
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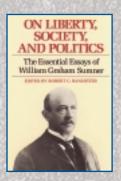


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UNION AND LIBERTY

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

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

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

THE LIMITS OF STATE ACTION

By Wilhelm von Humboldt Edited by J. W. Burrow

The 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.

DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY

In Two Volumes

By William Edward Hartpole Lecky Introduction by William Murchison

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

POPULAR GOVERNMENT

By Sir Henry Sumner Maine Introduction by George W. Carey

In *Popular Government* Sir Henry Sumner Maine examines the political institutions of men: popular governments, unless they are founded upon the evolutionary development of a people, will crumble from their own excesses.

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

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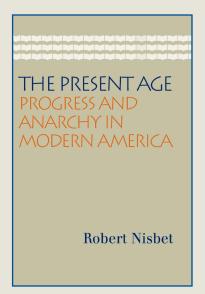
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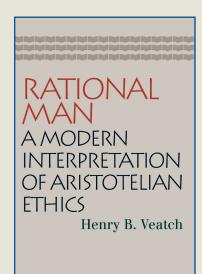
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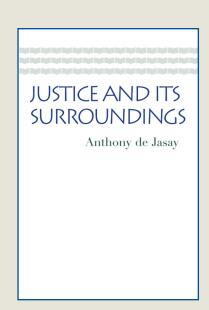
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