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The Creation of the Presidency, 1775–1789
September 2007 .............................................. 1

Observations on “The Two Sons of Oil”
October 2007 .................................................. 2

Collected Works of James Wilson
October 2007 .................................................... 6

The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics
December 2007 ................................................. 15

Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern
December 2007 ................................................ 32

The “Higher Law” Background of American Constitutional Law
February 2008 .................................................. 33

The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
February 2008 ................................................... 38

The Constitution of England
November 2007 ............................................... 40

Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria, with a Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy
July 2007 ......................................................... 42

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CONTENTS

American History ............................................ 1
American Founding and Constitution .................. 6
Economics ..................................................... 15
Online Library of Liberty ................................. 29
The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith .................. 30
Law .............................................................. 32
Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics Series ..... 37
Classical Studies ............................................. 48
European History ............................................ 49
Modern Political Philosophy ............................. 55
DVDs, Videos, and Audio Tapes ......................... 70
Education ..................................................... 75
Backlist Titles ................................................ 76
Index ........................................................... 77

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THE CREATION OF THE PRESIDENCY, 1775–1789
A Study in Constitutional History
By Charles C. Thach, Jr.
Foreword by Forrest McDonald
Original Introduction by Herbert J. Storing

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

Thach sets the stage by analyzing the political tendencies during the war and under the Articles of Confederation, showing that experience with rash state legislatures and an ineffectual national Congress contributed to the desire for a strong executive. He presents clearly the scattered deliberations on the executive during the Philadelphia Convention and gives due attention to the important decisions on presidential power made by the First Congress.

Originally published in 1923, this book has influenced decades of scholars. In 2003 Raymond Tatalovich and Thomas Engeman referred to it as “the definitive statement of original intent” with respect to the establishment of the presidency. Herbert Storing, in his introduction to the 1969 edition, described it as “so useful and so sound as to be indispensable.” Now available in this Liberty Fund edition, Thach’s pioneering study can again benefit readers interested in the formation of the U.S. Constitution and the creation of the presidency. This volume addresses the practical issue of liberty and constitutional government: namely, how to design an executive power that will be strong enough to keep order yet remain compatible with individual liberty.

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS
Foreword to the Liberty Fund Edition, Forrest McDonald
I General Political Tendencies, 1776–1787
II State Executive Power, 1776–1787
III National Executive Power, 1776–1787
IV The Presidency in the Federal Convention
V The Presidency in the Federal Convention: Later Phases
VI The Removal Debate
VII Conclusions
Appendix: Introduction, Herbert J. Storing
Index

Foreword, appendix: introduction by Herbert J. Storing, index.
OBSERVATIONS ON “THE TWO SONS OF OIL”
Containing a Vindication of the American Constitutions, and
Defending the Blessings of Religious Liberty and Toleration,
against the Illiberal Strictures of the Rev. Samuel B. Wylie

By William Findley
Edited and with an Introduction by John Caldwell

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

Observations on “The Two Sons of Oil” was written in 1811 in response to the Reverend Samuel B. Wylie’s work, The Two Sons of Oil, which was published in 1803. In this work of radical Presbyterian theology, Wylie pointed out what he considered to be deficiencies in the constitutions of both Pennsylvania and the United States and declared them to be immoral.

Findley’s response to Wylie’s criticisms in Observations showed that it was neither the purpose nor the design of the United States government to have a federal religion and a federal creed. In a broader sense the book is also a passionate defense of a civil government guided by moral principles that allow for essential freedoms. Findley’s defense of religious liberty and the American constitutions affords a grand window through which to view early American understanding about the relationship between politics and faith and why it is essential for both liberty and piety to resist any attempt to unite government and Church.

This new Liberty Fund edition will make this work available once again; Observations on “The Two Sons of Oil” has not been republished since its original publication in 1812. Scholars of American history, government, and religion will appreciate the new availability of this book, which provides critical insight into Americans’ conception of liberty in the nation’s formative years. In addition, readers concerned with renewed debates around the world on the separation of church and state will appreciate the timeless nature of Findley’s arguments for secular government and its compatibility with religious beliefs.

William Findley was born in Ireland and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1763. He served in the Second through the Fifth Congresses, and again in the Eighth through the Fourteenth Congresses, earning the designation “Father of the House” before he retired from Congress in 1817. He died in 1821.

John Caldwell is retired from Augustana College, where he was Director of the Library and Professor of History. Himself a native of western Pennsylvania, Professor Caldwell is the author of George R. Stewart (1981) and William Findley from West of the Mountains: A Politician in Pennsylvania, 1783–1791 (2000).
THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON
Special Edition for Schools
By John Marshall, Third Chief Justice of the United States
Edited by Robert Faulkner and Paul Carrese

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

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

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

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

Robert Faulkner is Professor of Political Science at Boston College.

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

GEORGE WASHINGTON
A Collection
Compiled and Edited by W. B. Allen

“George Washington: A Collection is an important addition to the literature on the American Revolution. The book provides a splendid introduction to Washington and his political beliefs, to the events of the Revolution through which he lived, and to the eighteenth-century world.”

—Pauline Maier, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

“This volume of correspondence and other writings of George Washington should be very useful to intelligent general readers and to students. Professor Allen’s choices are excellent and should enable the reader to gain insight into Washington’s political thought and his ideas about American liberty and the republic. It is a fine volume.”

—Robert Middlekauff, The Huntington Library

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

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

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

W. B. Allen is Professor of Political Philosophy and Director of the Program in Public Policy and Administration at Michigan State University.
ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1759–1766
By Bernhard Knollenberg
Edited and with a Foreword by Bernard W. Sheehan

“... a cohesive and solid tracing of the events in history leading up to America’s revolution and independence. First published a generation ago, and out of print for more than thirty years, Origin of the American Revolution: 1759–1766... is a scholarly, well-constructed, and strongly recommended account.”

—The Midwest Book Review

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

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

GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1766–1775
By Bernhard Knollenberg
Edited and with a Foreword by Bernard W. Sheehan

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

—The Midwest Book Review

Knollenberg describes the second volume of his masterwork on the American Revolution, 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 an authoritative and scholarly account of the making of the Revolution.
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

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

—Journal of the Early Republic

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

Steeped in the classical, republican tradition, Warren was a strong proponent of the American Revolution. She was also suspicious of the newly emerging commercial republic of the 1780s and hostile to the Constitution from an Anti-Federalist perspective, a position that gave her history some notoriety.

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

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In Two Volumes

By David Ramsay
Edited and Annotated by Lester H. Cohen

“David Ramsay’s premier work of American historiography is now available for the first time in a well-edited reprint. Lester Cohen’s foreword is an invaluable guide.”

—Professor Arthur H. Shaffer, University of Missouri

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

Ramsay, a well-known Federalist, was an active participant in many of the events of the period and a member of the Continental Congress from South Carolina.

This is a comprehensive and exciting narrative of the events and ideas of the American Revolution (from the outbreak of turbulence in the 1760s to the onset of Washington’s administration) and an ardent Federalist defense of the Constitution of 1787.

This is the first modern edition of the work, based on the original and authorized 1789 version.
COLLECTED WORKS OF JAMES WILSON
In Two Volumes
By James Wilson
Edited by Kermit L. Hall and Mark David Hall
With an Introduction by Kermit L. Hall and a Bibliographical Essay by Mark David Hall
Collected by Maynard Garrison

This two-volume set brings together a collection of writings and speeches of James Wilson, one of only six signers of both the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, and one of the most influential members of the federal Constitutional Convention in 1787. Wilson’s writings and speeches had a significant impact on the deliberations that produced the cornerstone documents of our democracy. Wilson’s signal contribution to the founding of our national government was his advocacy for both a strong national government and an open and democratic political system, a position that set him apart from both Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.

Wilson’s writings form one of the most significant bodies of thought about the relationship between a distinctively American form of democracy and a distinctly American constitutional system. Wilson wrote extensively on the concepts of separation of powers, the authority of the judiciary to review acts of the other branches, and the development of principles of representative government. This collection of Wilson’s writings includes his famous law lectures, a number of noteworthy essays and speeches, some of which are presented together for the first time, and his opinions in several Supreme Court cases. Together, the writings in this volume illustrate that Wilson’s words more nearly foreshadowed the nation’s future than those of his better remembered contemporaries such as Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson. In addition to providing the reader with a historical view of the nature of American democracy, the power of courts and judges, the independence of the executive branch, and the power of law to structure social relations, this book speaks directly to the ongoing debate about the scope and nature of judicial review and the place of law and judicial structures in the conduct of society.

James Wilson (1742–1798) emigrated from Scotland in 1765 and was one of the major architects of the American judicial system. In addition to his participation in the Federal Constitutional Convention and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1789–90, he served as a member of Congress, the director of the original Bank of North America, and an associate justice of the Supreme Court.

Kermit L. Hall (1944–2006) was the President of the State University of New York at Albany as well as Professor of History at the same institution.

Mark David Hall is Associate Professor in the departments of History and Political Science at George Fox University.
THE PACIFICUS–HELVIDIUS DEBATES
OF 1793–1794
By Alexander Hamilton (Pacificus) and James Madison (Helvidius)
Edited and with an Introduction by Morton J. Frisch

The Pacificus–Helvidius Debates of 1793–1794 matched Hamilton and Madison in the first chapter of an enduring discussion about the proper roles of executive and legislative branches in the conduct of American foreign policy. Ignited by President Washington’s Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 which annulled the eleventh article of America’s Treaty with France of 1778, the debate addressed whether Washington had the authority to declare America neutral, despite an early alliance treaty with France. Hamilton argued that Washington’s actions were constitutional and that friction between the two branches was an unavoidable, but not harmful, consequence of the separation of powers. Madison countered that Washington’s proclamation would introduce “new principles and new constructions” into the Constitution and contended that “the power to declare war and make treaties can never fall within the definition of executive powers.” In the introduction, Morton Frisch asserts that the debate between Hamilton and Madison helped to clarify “certain constitutional principles that we now associate with executive power generally” such as that foreign policy is essentially an executive function. Yet it is the open-ended character of our Constitution that has continued to allow different interpretations of the limits of the powers of government, a debate that continues to this day. Frisch writes in the introduction “The open-ended character of some of the constitutional provisions afforded opportunities for extending the powers of government beyond their specified limits. Although not given prior sanction by the Constitutional Convention, such additions served to provide a more complete definition of powers without actually changing the ends of government.”

The Liberty Fund edition brings together for the first time all the relevant original documents of this controversy: Washington’s Neutrality Proclamation, the full text of the Pacificus and Helvidius letters, Jefferson’s letter to Madison imploring him to answer Hamilton’s arguments, and Hamilton’s Americanus letters, intended as his final response to Madison’s rebuttal. This edition is supplemented with an introduction by Frisch, which places the work in historical context.

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

TIMELINE OF KEY FIGURES AND EVENTS
OF THE AMERICAN FOUNDING POSTER
Edited by Joyce Appleby

Designed to provide a chronological representation of the unfolding of the early history of the nation, this new full-color, frameable poster features historical events and figures of the founding era. Included in the timeline are major military events, such as battles and treaties; historical events that are both directly and indirectly related to the founding; and key men and women who figured prominently in the founding events. The poster provides both a visual representation of the period and a broader historical context for the books Liberty Fund publishes in this subject area.


ISBN 978-0-86597-710-5. $10.00 / £ 6.95.
THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC
Primary Sources
Edited by Bruce Frohnen

“The American Republic is an excellent and very welcome addition to American History reference shelves.”
—The Midwest Book Review

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 provides, 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.

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

LIBERTY AND ORDER
The First American Party Struggle
Edited and with a Preface by Lance Banning

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

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

Lance Banning (1942–2006) was Professor of History at the University of Kentucky, where he had taught since 1973, and was the 2000/2001 Distinguished Professor in the College of Arts and Sciences.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COMMONWEALTHMAN
Studies in the Transmission, Development, and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II Until the War with the Thirteen Colonies
By Caroline Robbins

Caroline Robbins describes the Commonwealthmen as “a gifted and active minority of the population of the British Isles, who kept alive, during an age of extraordinary complacency and legislative inactivity, a demand for increased liberty of conscience.” Their essays, arguments, pamphlets, and histories—a continual flow from the late seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth—were hugely popular in America. The themes presented were revolutionary: separation of powers, natural rights, rotation in office, religious freedom, a supreme court, and resistance to tyranny.

Caroline Robbins (1903–1999) was educated at the University of London, receiving her Ph.D. there before going to the United States. She taught history at Bryn Mawr College from 1929 to 1971 and was chairman of the department from 1957 to 1969.
THE FEDERALIST
The Gideon Edition
Edited by George W. Carey and James McClellan

“A high-quality, scholarly edition for a great price.”
—Library Journal

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

The Liberty Fund edition of The Federalist presents the text of the Gideon edition, a new introduction, a Reader’s Guide, a glossary, ten appendixes, and other key documents leading up to the transmission of the Constitution to the governors of several states.

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

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

LIBERTY, ORDER, AND JUSTICE
An Introduction to the Constitutional Principles of American Government
Revised Third Edition
By James McClellan

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 make this new edition especially suitable for introductory classes in American Government and for high school students in advanced placement courses.

This 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 AND AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Edited by David Womersley

“Highly recommended. Upper-division undergraduates and above.”
—Choice

Written by some of today’s premiere scholars of American history, Liberty and American Experience in the Eighteenth Century examines some of the central themes and ideologies central to the formation of the United States.

The essays range in topic from a comparison of the North American experience with that of Jamaica to an examination of the influence of the Enlightenment on the Founders. The articles provide a rich basis for discussion of the American founding, its background, and its development over the first few decades of the United States’ existence.
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.

C. Bradley Thompson is Professor of Political Science at Clemson University and the Executive Director of the Clemson Institute for the Study of Capitalism. He is the author of John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty.

THE SPUR OF FAME
Dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, 1805–1813
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, the Constitution, and republican government.

THE WEBSTER–HAYNE DEBATE
ON THE NATURE OF THE UNION
Foreword by Herman Belz

The debates between Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Hayne of South Carolina gave fateful utterance to the differing understandings of the nature of the American Union that had come to predominate in the North and the South by 1830.

To Webster, the Union was the indivisible expression of one nation of people. To Hayne, the Union was the voluntary compact among sovereign states. The Webster–Hayne Debate consists of speeches delivered in the United States Senate in January of 1830.

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

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.
THE FOUNDERS’ CONSTITUTION
In Five Volumes
(Also Available Online)
Edited by Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner

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

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

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

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

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

IN DEFENSE OF THE CONSTITUTION
By George W. Carey

In Defense of the Constitution argues that modern disciples of Progressivism who subtly distort fundamental principles of the Constitution are determined to centralize political control in Washington, D.C., to achieve their goal of an egalitarian national society. It is in their distrust of self-government and representative institutions that Progressivists advocate, albeit indirectly, an elitist regime based on the power of the Supreme Court—or judicial supremacy.

George W. Carey 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 forty-nine of the most important of these “other” Federalists’ writings.

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

Gary L. McDowell is the Tyler Haynes Interdisciplinary Professor of Leadership Studies, Political Science, and Law at the University of Richmond in Virginia. From 1992 to 2003 he was the Director of the Institute of United States Studies in the University of London.
POLITICAL SERMONS OF THE AMERICAN FOUNDING ERA: 1730–1805

In Two Volumes

Edited by Ellis Sandoz

“. . . a collection of published sermons ‘from the onset of the Great Awakening to the beginning of the Second Awakening and Thomas Jefferson’s second administration.’ Each sermon is complete and prefaced by a succinct biography of the preacher.”

—Chronicles

The early political culture of the American republic was so deeply influenced by the religious consciousness of the New England preachers that it was often through the political sermon that the political rhetoric of the period was formed, refined, and transmitted. Yet the centrality of religious concerns in the lives of eighteenth-century Americans is largely neglected. This has created a blind spot regarding the fundamental acts of the American founding.

Political sermons such as the fifty-five collected in this work are unique to America, in both kind and significance. This volume thus fills an important need if the American founding period is to be adequately understood.

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

AMERICAN POLITICAL WRITING DURING THE FOUNDING ERA: 1760–1805

In Two Volumes

Edited by Charles S. Hyneman and Donald S. Lutz

“American Political Writing During the Founding Era is simply the best available collection of the theoretical polemical literature for the era of the American Revolution. It contains not only the standard items but also many pamphlets that, though they are now less well-known, were central to the unfolding political understanding of the American Revolutionary generation.”

—Professor Jack Greene, Johns Hopkins University

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

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

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

Donald S. Lutz is Professor of Political Science at the University of Houston.
AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE OF THE HONOURABLE MAJOR-GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

By David Humphreys
Foreword by William C. Dowling

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

David Humphreys wrote the biography of Israel Putnam when formation of the Society of the Cincinnati, composed of men who were officers in the Revolution, “focused debate in the new republic about the competing claims of individual liberty and the good of the community.”

As Dowling notes, “All the episodes are retold—Bunker Hill, the Battle of White Plains, the crossing of the Delaware, the Battle of Princeton—but from the perspective of one who was there throughout, and who always permits us to see Putnam as the sort of character by whom history is, in the last analysis, made.”

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

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, first published in London in three volumes in 1888. This Liberty Fund two-volume edition is based on the updated third edition of 1941, which encompassed all the changes, corrections, and additions that Bryce entered into the previous editions.

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

THE LAMP OF EXPERIENCE
Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution

By Trevor Colbourn

“The republication of this book by Liberty Fund restores to print, in handsome and durable form, one of the most valuable essay collections in the field of early American history.” — R. B. Bernstein, New York Law School

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

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

EMPIRE AND NATION
Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania (John Dickinson)
Letters from the Federal Farmer (Richard Henry Lee)
Second Edition
Edited by Forrest McDonald

Two series of letters described as “the wellsprings of nearly all ensuing debate on the limits of governmental power in the United States” address the whole remarkable range of issues provoked by the crisis of British policies in North America out of which a new nation emerged from an overreaching empire.

Forrest McDonald is Professor Emeritus of American History at the University of Alabama and author of States’ Rights and the Union.

E PLURIBUS UNUM
The Formation of the American Republic, 1776–1790
By Forrest McDonald

“An extraordinary book.”
—Gordon S. Wood, Brown University

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.
THE CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ECONOMICS
Edited by David R. Henderson

In this easily accessible, user-friendly volume, respected economist David R. Henderson brings together 152 of the most brilliant minds in economics to show how the analysis of economic topics can illuminate many aspects of the average person’s daily life. Some of the noted contributors include Nobel Prize winners Gary Becker and George Stigler, former presidential economic advisors, financial columnists, and economists such as Armen Alchian, Don Boudreaux, Deepak Lal, Anna Schwartz, Lawrence Summers, and Murray Rothbard. The entries cover numerous topics including basic concepts, discrimination and labor issues, corporations and financial markets, issues in economic history, economics of legal issues, regulation, environmental regulation, taxes, economic policy, macroeconomics, money and banking, international economics, economics outside the United States, economic systems, schools of economic thought, and more.

Containing more than 160 entries, The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics provides the reader with a wealth of economic analysis about important issues in a comprehensive, yet readable and engaging format. Originally published as The Fortune Encyclopedia of Economics and now thoroughly revised and updated, the Liberty Fund edition contains numerous new entries, updates of previously published articles, and a new introduction and index.

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

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Many articles are supported by figures and tables.
**HUMAN ACTION**

*A Treatise on Economics
Four-Volume Slipcased Set*

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

In the foreword to *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, Mises explains complex market phenomena as “the outcomes of countless conscious, purposive actions, choices, and preferences of individuals, each of whom was trying as best as he or she could under the circumstances to attain various wants and ends and to avoid undesired consequences.” It is individual choices in response to personal subjective value judgments that ultimately determine market phenomena—supply and demand, prices, the pattern of production, and even profits and losses. Although governments may presume to set “prices,” it is individuals who, by their actions and choices through competitive bidding for money, products, and services, actually determine “prices.” Thus, Mises presents economics—not as a study of material goods, services, and products—but as a study of human actions. He sees the science of human action, praxeology, as a science of reason and logic, which recognizes a regularity in the sequence and interrelationships among market phenomena.

Mises attributes the tremendous technological progress and the consequent increase in wealth and general welfare in the last two centuries to the introduction of liberal government policies based on free-market economic teachings, creating an economic and political environment which permits individuals to pursue their respective goals in freedom and peace.

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

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

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**BUREAUCRACY**

*By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves*

O riginally published by Yale University Press in 1944, *Bureaucracy* is a classic fundamental examination of the nature of bureaucracies and free market alternatives in juxtaposition to various political systems. *Bureaucracy* contrasts the two forms of economic management—that of a free market economy and that of a bureaucracy. In the market economy entrepreneurs are driven to serve consumers by their desire to earn profits and to avoid losses. In a bureaucracy, the managers must comply with orders issued by the legislative body under which they operate; they may not spend without authorization, and they may not deviate from the path prescribed by law.

Writing in an age of exuberant socialism, Ludwig von Mises here lucidly demonstrates how the efficiencies of private ownership and control of public good production ultimately trump the guesswork of publicly administered “planning” through codes and “officialdom.”
ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND INTERVENTIONISM
An Anthology of Articles and Essays
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

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

THE ANTI-CAPITALISTIC MENTALITY
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

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

THE ULTIMATE FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE
An Essay on Method
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

Written toward the end of Mises’s life, his last monograph, The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science, returned to economics as a science based on human action. Mises believed that, since the publication of Human Action, economists and scientists alike had misinterpreted the idea of economics as a science by deeming it epistemological positivism—that they believed that the “science” basis was still more rooted in philosophy than in actual science.

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

What has been described as his most passionate work, The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science brings together all of the themes from Mises’s previous works to proclaim what Israel Kirzner calls “the true character of economics.”

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LIBERALISM
The Classical Tradition
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

The term “liberalism” comes from the Latin word liber meaning “free.” Mises defines liberalism as “the liberal doctrine of the harmony of the rightly understood interests of all members of a free society founded on the principle of private ownership of the means of production.” This book presents the theoretical and practical arguments for liberalism in the classical tradition.

The foundation of liberalism, Mises says, rests on an understanding and appreciation of private property, social cooperation, the freedom idea, ethics and morality, democracy, and the legitimate role of government. Liberalism is not a political party; it is a system of social organization. The liberal program aims at securing equality under law and freedom of opportunity for everyone to make their own choices and decisions, so long as they do not interfere with the equal rights of others; it offers no special privileges to anyone. Under liberalism, the role of government would be limited to protecting the lives, property, and freedom of its citizens to pursue their own ends and goals. Mises is more specific here than elsewhere in applying the liberal program to economic policy, domestic and foreign. Also in this book, Mises contrasts liberalism with other conceivable systems of social organization such as socialism, communism, and fascism.

NATION, STATE, AND ECONOMY
Contributions to the Politics and History of Our Time
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

Nation, State, and Economy, published less than a year after Austria’s defeat in World War I, examines and compares prewar and postwar economic conditions and explicates Mises’s theory that each country’s prosperity supports rather than undercuts the prosperity of other countries. Mises’s humanitarian recommendations in this book, born from a classical liberal perspective, provide a striking example of how supposedly “hardnosed” economic theory, based on the reality of experience, is in fact far more supportive of human flourishing than seemingly more “idealistic” but actually impractical social theories. Specifically, Mises warned of the consequences of the punitive terms of the Treaty of Versailles by victors more interested in punishing their defeated enemies than in building a Europe that would be able to meet the challenges of the future. With the benefit of hindsight we see how different European and world history might have been.
THEORY AND HISTORY
An Interpretation of Social and Economic Evolution
By Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Bettina Bien Greaves

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

This book discusses the theory of economics, i.e., the study of purposeful human action, and with history, the record of the past actions of individuals. All actions are determined by ideas. Thoughts and ideas are “real things,” Mises writes. “Although intangible and immaterial, they are factors in bringing about changes in the realm of tangible and material things.” Rather than rejecting the study of historical change as a “useless pastime,” Mises considers it of the utmost practical importance. “History looks backward into the past, but the lesson it teaches concerns things to come.”

History opens the mind to an understanding of human nature, increases wisdom, and distinguishes civilized man from the barbarian. Moreover, historical knowledge is of the utmost importance in helping to anticipate and plan for the future.

Though Theory and History may not be studied as often as other, more popular Mises works, it provides great insight into Mises’s fundamental thoughts and is a fascinating exploration of human action.

THE THEORY OF MONEY AND CREDIT
By Ludwig von Mises
Introduction by Lionel Robbins
Foreword by Murray N. Rothbard

When Ludwig von Mises wrote The Theory of Money and Credit in 1912 at the age of thirty-one, the world of economic thought was full of contending monetary theories, none of which could be considered truly united, in the sense of being at once securely founded on economic reality and also properly incorporated into an analysis of the entire economic system.

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

The Theory of Money and Credit also presented a new monetary theory of the trade cycle, which, under further development by Mises’s student Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek, came to challenge all previous trade-cycle theories.

Editor’s note, introduction, translations, annotations, index.

1981. 6 x 9. 544 pages.
Foreword, introduction, prefaces to earlier editions, appendixes, index.
SOCIALISM
By Ludwig von Mises
Translated by J. Kahane
Foreword by F. A. Hayek

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

BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS
Monetary Disorder, Interventionism, Socialism, and the Great Depression
Volume 2 of Selected Writings of Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Richard Ebeling

In 1934, Ludwig von Mises left his native Austria in fear of the Nazis, who seized all his papers in 1938 in Vienna and, Mises thought, destroyed them, but the papers were not destroyed. In 1996, Richard and Anna Ebeling discovered the papers in an archive in Moscow. This second volume in the resulting Selected Writings of Ludwig von Mises series from Liberty Fund represents a treasure trove of important essays. Richard Ebeling was the Ludwig von Mises Professor of Economics at Hillsdale College and chairman of the economics and business administration department at Hillsdale before his appointment as president of the Foundation for Economic Education. He has served as the editor or co-editor for twenty other books, including The Age of Economists: From Adam Smith to Milton Friedman and Human Action: A 50-Year Tribute.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INTERNATIONAL REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION
Volume 3 of Selected Writings of Ludwig von Mises
Edited by Richard Ebeling

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

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

In Eight Volumes
By John Stuart Mill

Liberty Fund is pleased to make available in paperback eight of the original thirty-three hardcover volumes of the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill that were first published by the University of Toronto Press that remain most relevant to liberty and responsibility in the twenty-first century. Born in London in 1806 and educated at the knee of his father, the Scottish philosopher James Mill, John Stuart Mill became one of the nineteenth century’s most influential writers on economics and social philosophy.

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

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

Primarily of interest to economists is Mill’s Essays on Economics and Society, in which he writes on the most compelling economic problems and social concerns brought about by the rapidly industrialized nineteenth-century Britain. The most indispensable work for understanding Mill’s thought is A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive, which was the first serious attempt to methodize induction in relation to deduction.

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

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

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was an economist, philosopher, Member of Parliament, and one of the most significant English classical liberals of the nineteenth century. Mill spent most of his working life with the East India Company, which he joined at age sixteen and worked there for thirty-eight years. He is also the author of On Liberty (1859), Utilitarianism (1861), and The Subjection of Women (1869).
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Volume 9. Letters 1821–1823 

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THE WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID RICARDO  
In Eleven Volumes  
By David Ricardo  
Edited by Piero Sraffa and with the Collaboration of M. H. Dobb  

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

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

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

One of Ricardo’s most significant contributions to economics is the law 
of comparative advantage as applied to international commerce, which 
grew out of Adam Smith’s division of labor and has become the central 
argument for free trade and open markets. It implies that countries best 
serve themselves when they trade with other countries abiding by their 
respective scales of efficiency. Besides being the most efficient method of 
international commerce, the comparative-advantage mode of trade also 
encourages international stability through multilateral business interests 
and global interdependencies. As Frédéric Bastiat, the French journalist 
and politician, wrote, “If goods do not cross borders, armies will.” 

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

This eleven-volume set of The Works and Correspondence of David 
Ricardo contains Ricardo’s published and unpublished writings, and 
provides great insight into the early era of political economics by 
chronicling Ricardo’s significant contributions to modern economics. The 
edition has been widely acclaimed as the best example, prior to the Glasgow 
edition of Adam Smith’s writings, of scholarly editing applied to the work of 
an economist. It contains a general index and includes four volumes 
dedicated to his personal correspondence with such economic luminaries as 
Malthus, Jean-Baptiste Say, and James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill. 
This publication is an affordable paperback version of the hardcover edition 
prepared under the auspices of the Royal Economic Society by Piero Sraffa 
the edition have not been available for many years.
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF ARMEN A. ALCHIAN
In Two Volumes
By Armen A. Alchian
Edited and with an Introduction by Daniel K. Benjamin

Armen Alchian has helped found several schools of economic thought and is the founder of the UCLA tradition in economics and one of the most influential voices in the areas of market structure, property rights, and the theory of the firm. His career has spanned seven decades, with a stint in the military during World War II. Alchian has left an indelible mark on economics and has taught and inspired generations of students.

Liberty Fund is proud to present, in two volumes, The Collected Works of Armen A. Alchian, bringing together Alchian’s most influential essays, articles, editorials, and lectures to provide a comprehensive record of his thinking on a broad range of topics in economics. As various and as specific as some of this collection’s topics are, they are unified, as editor Daniel K. Benjamin writes, by “both a coherent methodology for doing economics, and a view of the world that celebrates the importance of individual liberty.” Benjamin goes on to state that, in Alchian’s view, “the purpose of theory is never theory in and of itself; it is instead to help individuals understand the world around them.”

The first of two volumes, Choice and Cost under Uncertainty, is a collection of Alchian’s major scholarly articles, some short papers published in nontechnical periodicals, and some monographs from his years at the RAND Corporation. These papers range over topics from the energy crises to linear progress curves, yet all focus on the effect of the individual on markets and costs through various decision-making processes. This volume also presents Alchian’s unique work on the effects of inflation.

The second volume of this collection, Property Rights and Economic Behavior, focuses on Alchian’s merging of law and economics, in particular the economics of property rights. Here Alchian, with assistance from Ronald Coase and Harold Demsetz, expands upon the economic rationale behind property rights and demonstrates that these are not distinct from human rights but rather are integral to them. These seminal works go against the grain of conventional wisdom, pointing out among other things the lack of wealth-maximization objectives in various levels of government and nonprofit organizations. Alchian’s powerful economic methodology resists the tide, for the sake of the individual and hence for all of society.

As these volumes vividly illustrate, Armen Alchian has transformed the way economists think about the world. He is responsible, for example, for some of the earliest work on the economics of property rights, showing how governments and nonprofit organizations can be understood with the same tools that are applied to the private sector. He has also demonstrated the crucial importance of legal institutions in shaping economic decision-making and laid the foundations for the modern understanding of the business firm. Testimony to the scope and depth of Alchian’s work is that his papers continue to be influential decades after their initial publication.

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

Daniel K. Benjamin is Professor of Economics at Clemson University.
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**COMMERCE, CULTURE, AND LIBERTY**
*Readings on Capitalism Before Adam Smith*
Edited by Henry C. Clark

“A wide variety of authors ranging from Voltaire, to Ferdinando Galiani, to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, contribute to this absorbing source of pre-Adam Smith perceptions and judgments about economic matters prior to the birth of the American nation as a capitalist beacon to the nations of the world.”

—Wisconsin Bookwatch

This collection of thirty-seven readings (from thirty-three writers) brings together some of the most significant pre–Adam Smith writings on the political and cultural dimensions of capitalism.

To modern readers, these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century discussions of commerce and economic life in general are surprising because they are so closely integrated with current moral and cultural issues. Part of the value of this book is in reminding us that many of our own concerns are not without precedent and earlier reflection.

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

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

**PROMISES, PERFORMANCE, AND PROSPECTS**
*Essays on Political Economy 1980–1998*
By Antonio Martino

Edited and with a Foreword by Dwight Lee

“Martino’s essays may focus particularly on Italy’s circumstances yet involve extensive analysis of problems that are germane to all advanced democratic societies.”

—Wisconsin Bookwatch

This modern collection of writings is from Martino’s practical and theoretical perspective, as he has personally encountered many of the economic and political issues presented in these essays. Although the collected essays are written from a specifically Italian outlook, they translate easily to the political experience in all Western democracies.

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

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

Antonio Martino, author of 13 books and more than 150 papers, is a member of the Mont Pelerin Society, and the former Defense Minister of Italy.
During the past half-century Gordon Tullock has continually advanced the frontiers of political economy, most particularly with respect to the workings of representative democracies and autocracies. This ten-volume series, edited and arranged thematically by George Mason University's Duncan Black Professor of Economics Charles K. Rowley, brings together Tullock's most significant contributions to economics, political science, public choice, sociology, law and economics, and bioeconomics.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF ARTHUR SELDON
In Seven Volumes
By Arthur Seldon
Edited by Colin Robinson

“Arthur Seldon has, more than most of us, been able to combine realism in prediction with idealism in vision.”
—James M. Buchanan

Arthur Seldon was born in 1916 and lived through the most dynamic and volatile century in the history of humankind. His advocacy of and undeterred belief in classical liberalism have sought to combat the intoxicating and deceptive “comfort” of collectivism created by the instability of two world wars and unprecedented technological and sociological change.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Early in the last century the successes of science led a group of French thinkers to apply the principles of science to the study of society. These thinkers purported to have discovered the supposed “laws” of society and concluded that an elite of social scientists should assume direct control of social life.

The Counter-Revolution of Science is Nobel Laureate Friedrich Hayek’s forceful attack on this abuse of reason.

FREEDOM AND REFORM
Essays in Economics and Social Philosophy
By Frank H. Knight
Foreword by James M. Buchanan

The fifteen essays in this collection, first published in 1947, treat a variety of economic, social, political, and philosophical problems and were written by a legendary professor of economics at the University of Chicago. Frank H. Knight (1885–1972) wrote from the viewpoint of ethics as well as economics. His own words best describe his objective in this book: “The basic principle of science—truth or objectivity—is essentially a moral principle. . . . The presuppositions of objectivity are integrity, competence, humility. . . . All coercion is absolutely excluded in favor of free meeting of free minds.”

THE KEYNESIAN EPISODE
A Reassessment
By W. H. Hutt

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

ECONOMICS AND THE PUBLIC WELFARE
By Benjamin M. Anderson
Foreword by Arthur Kemp

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

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

Arthur Kemp was Professor Emeritus of Economics at Claremont McKenna College.
“As a political scientist, I am partial to The Calculus of Consent and his other writings on public choice. But there is a consistency throughout that renders the entire collected works the product of a thorough-going (and thoroughly engaging) political economist.”

—Professor Kenneth A. Shepsle, Harvard University

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

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

**The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan** is a vast and significant twenty-volume series that includes ten monographs and all of the important journal articles, papers, and essays that Buchanan has produced in a distinguished career spanning more than half a century. Among the monographs are such famous works as *The Calculus of Consent* (coauthored by Gordon Tullock) and *The Limits of Liberty*, as well as such gems as *Cost and Choice: An Inquiry in Economic Theory*. The monographs have been cast into a new format, and in those cases in which no index, or only a partial index, was originally provided, new indexes have been created. In addition, each volume includes a foreword by one of the three editors of the series, each of whom is a distinguished economist in his own right.

Volume 20 presents a comprehensive index to the entire series and an annotated copy of the entire curriculum vitae, indicating in which volume in the series the various items appear and, correspondingly, those items that have been omitted.

**The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan** is an important contribution to the study of an important economist and a scholar of liberty, a man who has always been able to view his work from an appropriate perspective. As James Buchanan has written, “My interest in understanding how the economics interaction process works has always been instrumental to the more inclusive purpose of understanding how we can learn to live with one another without engaging in Hobbesian war and without subjecting ourselves to the dictates of the state.”

James M. Buchanan is an eminent economist who won the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986 and is considered one of the greatest scholars of liberty of the twentieth century. He is also Professor Emeritus at George Mason and Virginia Tech Universities.
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THE WEALTH OF NATIONS
In Two Volumes
Edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner
W. B. Todd, textual editor

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

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

THE THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS

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

Edited by J. C. Bryce

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

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

The subjects addressed in his teachings include the style and genius of some of the best of the ancient writers and poets, especially the historians and the English classics.
LECTURES ON JURISPRUDENCE
Edited by R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein

Smith’s Lectures on Jurisprudence, originally delivered at the University of Glasgow in 1762–1763, presents his “theory of the rules by which civil government ought to be directed.”

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.

ESSAYS ON PHILOSOPHICAL SUBJECTS
Edited by W. P. D. Wightman and J. C. Bryce

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

CORRESPONDENCE OF ADAM SMITH
Revised Edition
Edited by E. C. Mossner and I. S. Ross

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

INDEX TO THE WORKS OF ADAM SMITH
Compiled by Knud Haakonssen and A. S. Skinner

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

This easy-to-use index helps students, readers, and researchers trace their topics of interest through all of Adam Smith’s work. The index covers The Wealth of Nations, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Essays on Philosophical Subjects, Lectures on Jurisprudence, and Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.

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

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2003. 6 x 9. 218 pages.
CONSTITUTIONALISM: ANCIENT AND MODERN

By Charles Howard McIlwain

Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern explores the very roots of liberty by examining the development of modern constitutionalism from its ancient and medieval origins. Derived from a series of lectures delivered by Charles Howard McIlwain at Cornell University in the 1938–39 academic year, these lectures provide a useful introduction to the development of modern constitutional forms.

McIlwain explores what he calls “the two fundamental correlative elements of constitutionalism for which all lovers of liberty must yet fight”—“the legal limits to arbitrary power and a complete political responsibility of government to the governed.” Despotic power has risen to challenge constitutional governments in many countries, and within this text, McIlwain shows how constitutional safeguards that have been set against government by force have grown in the Western world. McIlwain also outlines the general principles of constitutionalism, especially as an Anglo-American tradition, and traces its development from the law and custom of the Roman Republic through the English common law to the establishment of America’s constitutional government.

In Chapter I McIlwain writes, “For perhaps never in its long history has the principle of constitutionalism been so questioned as it is questioned today, never has the attack upon it been so determined or so threatening as it is just now. The world is trembling in the balance between the orderly procedure of law and the processes of force which seem so much more quick and effective. . . . Whether in the end we decide for law or for force, . . . we should retrace the history of our constitutionalism.” In tracing the rise of constitutionalism from the ancient Greeks through the modern era, this brief volume on the history of constitutionalism in Western political thought is arguably the leading study of the legal limitations on the power of government.

Charles Howard McIlwain was the president of the American Historical Association from 1935 to 1936 and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1923 for his constitutional analysis of the American Revolution. After briefly serving at Princeton University as one of Woodrow Wilson’s preceptors, he spent the rest of his career as a chaired professor in Harvard’s department of government and some time as a visiting professor at Oxford after his retirement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface
Chapter 1: Some Modern Definitions of Constitutionalism
Chapter 2: The Ancient Conception of a Constitution
Chapter 3: The Constitutionalism of Rome and its Influence
Chapter 4: Constitutionalism in the Middle Ages
Chapter 5: The Transition from Medieval to Modern
Chapter 6: Modern Constitutionalism and Its Problems
Appendix
Index

Related Titles of Interest:
Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers, page 36
In Defense of the Constitution, page 11
The Constitution of England, page 40
The History of England, page 53
The Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke, page 34

THE “HIGHER LAW” BACKGROUND OF
AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW
By Edward S. Corwin

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

The “Higher Law” Background of American Constitutional Law is of unique value in connecting the Western European experience—from the classical world, the Middle Ages, and the seventeenth-century thought of Coke and Locke—to the American founding. This renowned work provides a bold and accurate outline of the tradition behind the “higher law” of the United States and places in historical context the political philosophy underlying the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution. This volume addresses questions such as:

• Where did the idea of a “higher law” originate?
• How has it been able to survive and in what transformations?
• What special forms of it are of particular interest for historians and political theorists?
• How was it brought to America and wrought into the American system of government?

As Clinton Rossiter notes in his prefatory note, “No one can come away from reading [Higher Law] without realizing how much we in America are part of Western civilization. The men we meet in the pages of this essay—Demosthenes, Sophocles, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Ulpian, Gaius, John of Salisbury, Isidore of Seville, St. Thomas Aquinas, Bracton, Fortescue, Coke, Grotius, Newton, Hooker, Pufendorf, Locke, Blackstone—all insisted that the laws by which men live can and should be the ‘embodiment of essential and unchanging justice,’ and we may salute them respectfully as founding fathers of our experiment in ordered liberty.” In this volume Corwin demonstrates how the concept of a higher law developed and was understood by the leading thinkers of the American Revolutionary period as well as how the ideal of the higher law impacted the creation of the American Constitution. Students, scholars, and general interested readers of constitutional law and political theory will find inspiration in the pages of The “Higher Law” Background of American Constitutional Law.

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS
Prefatory Note, by Clinton Rossiter
Edward S. Corwin, A Biographical Note
Text of “The Higher Law” Background of American Constitutional Law
Index

RELATED TITLES OF INTEREST:
The Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke, page 34
Law, Liberty, and Parliament, page 34
Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics Series, pages 37-47
THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF SIR EDWARD COKE

In Three Volumes

Edited by Steve Sheppard

“This three-volume set offers a large selection of his writings for a very reasonable price.” —Library Journal

Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) successfully defended English liberties against the royal prerogative of the Stuart kings and virtually single-handedly established the rule of law for the English-speaking peoples. Coke’s view of English law has had a powerful influence on lawyers, judges, and politicians through the present day.

It was Coke’s astonishing task to set down the whole of the law—from Magna Carta to land law to criminal law, and the system of court procedure, from the High Court of Parliament down to the lowest courts of the realm—for students, lawyers, and laymen to understand it. The Institutes derived their authority not only from Coke’s personal influence but also, in part, from the great authority accorded the Reports, which themselves solidified the modern understanding of case law.

The new Liberty Fund edition of The Selected Writings of Sir Edward Coke is the first anthology of his works ever published.

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

LAW, LIBERTY, AND PARLIAMENT

Selected Essays on the Writings of Sir Edward Coke

Edited and with an Introduction by Allen D. Boyer

Sir Edward Coke remains one of the most important figures in the history of the common law. The essays collected in this volume provide a broad context for understanding and appreciating the scope of Coke’s achievement: his theory of law, his work as a lawyer and a judge, his role in pioneering judicial review, his leadership of the Commons, and his place in the broader culture of Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

Sir Edward Coke claimed for judges the power to strike down statutes, created the modern common law by reshaping medieval precedents, and, in the House of Commons, led the gathering forces that would ultimately establish a constitutional regime of ordered liberty and responsible, representative government.

Although much has been written on Coke, there has been no single adequate study or collection of these writings until now. Law, Liberty, and Parliament brings together material that not only is useful for understanding Coke’s career and achievement but also illuminates the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods in which the common law became inextricably identified with constitutional authority.

Allen D. Boyer, author of Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age, is a lawyer in New York City and a frequent contributor to the New York Times Book Review. Dr. Boyer serves on the advisory board of the Yale Center for Parliamentary History.
ORIGINS OF THE COMMON LAW
By Arthur R. Hogue

This introductory analysis of the origin and early development of the English common law provides an excellent grounding for the beginning student as well as the experienced scholar of legal history.

Arthur R. Hogue (1906–1986) was Professor of History at Indiana University.

THE STORY OF LAW
Expanded Second Edition
By John M. Zane

Foreword, Annotations, and Bibliographies by Charles J. Reid, Jr.

The Story of Law is the only complete outline history of the law ever published. The Story of Law has well been termed “the perfect book for introducing the beginning law student to the origin and history of the law.” John M. Zane lucidly describes the growth and improvement of the law over thousands of years, and he points out that an increasing awareness of the individual as a person who is responsible for decision and action gradually transformed the law.

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

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

THE NATURAL LAW
A Study in Legal and Social History and Philosophy
By Heinrich A. Rommen
Translated by Thomas R. Hanley
Introduction by Russell Hittinger

Originally published in German in 1936, The Natural Law is the first work to clarify the differences between traditional natural law as represented in the writings of Cicero, Aquinas, and Hooker and the revolutionary doctrines of natural rights espoused by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau.

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

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

THE IDEAL ELEMENT IN LAW
By Roscoe Pound
Foreword by Stephen Presser

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

Roscoe Pound, considered by many to be the Dean of American jurisprudence, served as Dean of Harvard Law School from 1916 to 1936.
CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS
Second Edition
By M. J. C. Vile

In Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers, M. J. C. Vile traces the history of the doctrine from its rise during the English Civil War, through its development in the eighteenth century—through subsequent political thought and constitution-making in Britain, France, and the United States.

M. J. C. Vile is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Kent at Canterbury and author of The Structure of American Federalism.

GOVERNMENT BY JUDICIARY
The Transformation of the Fourteenth Amendment
Second Edition
By Raoul Berger
Foreword by Forrest McDonald

“It is a pleasure to reread Berger’s masterwork in a beautifully produced and affordable Second Edition from Liberty Fund.” —First Things

It is Berger’s theory that the United States Supreme Court has embarked on “a continuing revision of the Constitution, under the guise of interpretation,” thereby subverting America’s democratic institutions and wreaking havoc upon Americans’ social and political lives.

Raoul Berger (1901–2000) was Charles Warren Senior Fellow in American Legal History, Harvard University.

FREEDOM AND THE LAW
Expanded Third Edition
By Bruno Leoni
Foreword by Arthur Kemp

“This is, even today, a fresh and searching work which deserves both rapt attention and high praise. A masterpiece!” —Laissez-Faire Books

According to Bruno Leoni, the greatest obstacle to rule of law in our time is the problem of overlegislation. In modern democratic societies, legislative bodies increasingly usurp functions that were, and should be, exercised by individuals or groups rather than government.

Bruno Leoni (1913–1967) was an attorney and Professor of Legal Theory and the Theory of the State at the University of Pavia, Italy.

Introduction to the Study of THE LAW OF THE CONSTITUTION
By A. V. Dicey
Foreword by Roger E. Michener

The Law of the Constitution elucidates the guiding principles of the modern constitution of England: the legislative sovereignty of Parliament, the rule of law, and the binding force of unwritten conventions.

A. V. Dicey (1835–1922) was Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford University from 1882 to 1909.
The history of liberty has not been a matter of simple, steady progress from one level of achievement to the next. The intellectual struggle to articulate the theory of classical liberalism was often as hard fought as the physical battle for its political realization.

The Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics series presents not only some of the most famous figures from this history but also the lesser-known theorists who contributed their part to the contest of ideas. Through some of the Enlightenment’s most significant and most unusual works on natural law, moral philosophy, political theory, jurisprudence, and theology, the series offers readers a far deeper and more nuanced understanding of classical liberal ideas and their development than has been possible until now.

Under the general editorship of Knud Haakonssen, this series includes works by Hugo Grotius, Samuel Pufendorf, Richard Cumberland, Francis Hutcheson, George Turnbull, Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, Emer de Vattel, Jean Louis De Lolme, and many others. Distinguished scholars from all over the world have edited these volumes, providing concise introductions to place the work in context. Each text also has annotations, an index, and, when necessary, supplemental appendixes. As appropriate, the series includes specially commissioned translations of Latin texts that have never before been published in English.

The series comprises over forty volumes spanning the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To the scholar the series is an indispensable reference, to the student an enlightening education, to the citizen of the world a source of insight and inspiration.

Knud Haakonssen, Series General Editor, is Professor of Intellectual History and Director of the Centre for Intellectual History at the University of Sussex, England.
THE MEDITATIONS OF THE EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS
Translated by Francis Hutcheson and James Moor
Edited and with an Introduction by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne

This 1742 translation is a collaborative work by Frances Hutcheson and a colleague at Glasgow University, the classicist James Moor. Although Hutcheson was secretive about the extent of his work on the book, he was clearly the leading spirit of the project.

This influential classical work offered a vision of a universe governed by a natural law that obliges us to love mankind and to govern our lives in accordance with the natural order of things. In their account of the life of the emperor, prefaced to their translation from the Greek, Hutcheson and Moor celebrated the Stoic ideal of an orderly universe governed by a benevolent God. They contrasted the serenity recommended and practiced by Marcus Aurelius with the divisive sectarianism then exhibited by their fellow Presbyterians in Scotland and elsewhere. They urged their readers and fellow citizens to set aside their narrow prejudices.

In many ways, Hutcheson and Moor’s The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus is a companion volume to Hutcheson’s Latin work on ethics, released in the same year, Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria. In the latter volume, which is also available from Liberty Fund, Hutcheson continues a theme that proffered his ethics as a modern and, not least, Christianized version of Stoicism.

LOGIC, METAPHYSICS, AND THE NATURAL SOCIABILITY OF MANKIND
By Francis Hutcheson
Edited by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, with an Introduction by James Moore
Translated by Michael Silverthorne

Until the publication of this Liberty Fund edition, all but one of the works contained in Logic, Metaphysics, and the Natural Sociability of Mankind were available only in Latin. This milestone English translation will provide a general audience with insight into Hutcheson’s thought.

In the words of the editors: “Hutcheson’s Latin texts in logic and metaphysics form an important part of his collected works. Published respectively in 1756 and, in its second edition, 1744, these works represent Hutcheson’s only systematic treatments of logic, ontology, and pneumatology, or the science of the soul. They were considered indispensable texts for the instruction of students in the eighteenth century.”

The introduction and notes to this translation situate the texts in the context of Hutcheson’s mature philosophy and relate it to his teaching at Glasgow from 1730 until his death in 1746. At the same time, the editors show the links to his early teaching in Dublin in the 1720s. The work on natural sociability was Hutcheson’s significant inaugural lecture at Glasgow.

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

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

Michael Silverthorne is Honorary University Fellow in the School of Classics at the University of Exeter.
AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGINAL OF OUR IDEAS OF BEAUTY AND VIRTUE
By Francis Hutcheson
Edited and with an Introduction by Wolfgang Leidhold

Francis Hutcheson's first book, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, was published in 1725, when its author was only thirty-one, and went through four editions during his lifetime. This seminal text of the Scottish Enlightenment is now available for the first time in a variorum edition based on the 1726 edition.

The *Inquiry* was written as a critical response to the work of Bernard Mandeville and as a defense of the ideas of Lord Shaftesbury.

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

AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE AND CONDUCT OF THE PASSIONS AND AFFECTIONS, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS ON THE MORAL SENSE
By Francis Hutcheson
Edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett

In *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense*, Francis Hutcheson answers the criticism that had been leveled against his first book, *Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725). Together the two works constitute the great innovation in philosophy for which Hutcheson is most well known.

Aaron Garrett is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Boston University.

A TREATISE OF THE LAWS OF NATURE
By Richard Cumberland
Translated, with Introduction and Appendix, by John Maxwell (1727)
Edited and with a Foreword by Jon Parkin

A *Treatise of the Laws of Nature*, originally titled *De Legibus Naturae*, first appeared in 1672 as a theoretical response to a range of issues that came together during the late 1660s. It conveyed a conviction that science might offer a more effective means of demonstrating both the contents and the obligatory force of the law of nature. At a time when Hobbes's work appeared to suggest that the application of science undermined rather than supported the idea of obligatory natural law, Cumberland's *De Legibus Naturae* provided a scientific explanation of the natural necessity of altruism.

Through his argument for a moral obligation to natural law, Cumberland made a critical intervention in the early debate over the role of natural jurisprudence at a moment when the natural law project was widely suspected of heterodoxy and incoherence.

Liberty Fund publishes the first modern edition of *A Treatise of the Laws of Nature*, based on John Maxwell's English translation of 1727. The edition includes Maxwell's extensive notes and appendices. It also provides, for the first time in English, manuscript additions by Cumberland and material from Barbeyrac's 1744 French edition and John Towers's edition of 1750.

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

Jon Parkin is a Lecturer in Politics at the University of York.
THE CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND
By Jean Louis De Lolme
Edited and with an Introduction by David Lieberman

The Constitution of England is one of the most distinguished eighteenth-century treatises on English political liberty. In the vein of Charles Louis Montesquieu’s Spirit of the Laws (1748) and William Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England (1765–1769), De Lolme’s account of the English system of government exercised an extensive influence on political debate in Britain, on constitutional design in the United States during the Founding era, and on the growth of liberal political thought throughout the nineteenth century.

Originally published in French in Amsterdam in 1771, The Constitution of England was the first book-length analysis of the “separation of powers” proposed in book XI of Spirit of the Laws, which sketched an institutional distinction between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government.

This edition takes advantage of the work of nineteenth-century editors of De Lolme’s text but provides new annotations to elucidate his numerous references to classical, medieval, and early-modern political practices, along with translations of De Lolme’s citations from sources in Latin and French.

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

David Lieberman is Professor of Law and History at the University of California, Berkeley.

ESSAYS ON CHURCH, STATE, AND POLITICS
By Christian Thomasius
Edited, Translated, and with an Introduction by Ian Hunter, Thomas Ahnert, and Frank Grunert

The works found in Essays on Church, State, and Politics originating as disputations, theses, and pamphlets, were direct interventions in the unresolved issue of the political role of religion in Brandenburg-Prussia, a state in which a Calvinist dynasty ruled over a largely Lutheran Population and nobility as well as a significant Catholic minority.

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

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

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

Frank Grunert is Scientific Collaborator at the Institut für Deutsche Philologie, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich.


AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT
By John Millar
Edited by Mark Salber Phillips and Dale R. Smith, with an Introduction by Mark Salber Phillips

*An Historical View of the English Government* traces the development of the “great outlines of the English constitution”—the history of institutions of English liberty from Saxon antiquity to the revolution settlement of 1689. Millar demonstrates serious concern for the maintenance of liberties achieved through revolution and maintains that the manners of a commercial nation, while particularly suited to personal and political liberty, are not such as to secure liberty forever.

**John Millar** (1735–1801) attended Adam Smith’s lectures at the University of Glasgow and later became a distinguished professor of law there.

**Mark Salber Phillips** is Professor of History at Carleton University in Ottawa.

**Dale R. Smith** recently completed his doctorate in history at the University of British Columbia.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DISTINCTION OF RANKS
By John Millar
Edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett

*The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* is one of the major products of the Scottish Enlightenment and a masterpiece of jurisprudence and social theory. Drawing on Adam Smith’s four-stages theory of history and the natural law’s traditional division of domestic duties into those toward servants, children, and women, Millar provides a rich historical analysis of the ways in which progressive economic change transforms the nature of authority.

**Aaron Garrett** is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Boston University.

THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL AND POLITICAL LAW
By Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui
Translated by Thomas Nugent (1763)
Edited and with an Introduction by Petter Korkman

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

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

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

**Petter Korkman** is a Fellow at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies and is a Postdoctoral Researcher in Philosophy at the Academy of Finland.
PHILOSOPHIAE MORALIS INSTITUTIO COMPLENDIARIA, WITH A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO MORAL PHILOSOPHY

By Francis Hutcheson
Edited and with an Introduction by Luigi Turco

In this new, dual-language edition, Hutcheson’s Latin Philosophiae Moralis Institutio Compendiaria is presented on facing pages with its English translation, A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, together with all the relevant alterations of the 1745 edition relating to the 1742 edition of the Institutio, including all the omissions and additions by the translator in the Short Introduction.

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

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL AND CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY

In Two Volumes

By George Turnbull
Edited and with an Introduction by Alexander Broadie

The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy presents the first masterpiece of Scottish Common Sense philosophy. This two-volume treatise is important for its wide range of insights about the nature of the human mind, the foundations of morals, and the relationship between morality and religion.

The first volume presents a detailed study of the faculties of the human mind and their interrelations. The second volume presents arguments for the existence of God and for God’s infinite perfection. The underlying notion is God’s moral government of the world, in which there is recompense for good and evil deeds.

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

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

A PHILOSOPHICAL COMMENTARY ON THESE WORDS OF THE GOSPEL, LUKE 14:23, “COMPEL THEM TO COME IN, THAT MY HOUSE MAY BE FULL”

By Pierre Bayle
Edited and with an Introduction by John Kilcullen and Chandran Kukathas

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

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

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

Chandran Kukathas is Professor of Political Theory at the University of Utah.
SKETCHES OF THE HISTORY OF MAN
In Three Volumes
By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by James A. Harris

Divided into three books, Kames’s *Sketches of the History of Man* draws together the concerns of many of his earlier works. The first book considers man in the private sphere, while the second explores man in the public sphere. The final book is an account of progress in the sciences of logic, morals, and theology. Throughout the entire work, Kames expounds on his fundamental hypothesis that, at the beginning of the history of the human race, savagery was ubiquitous and that the human story is one of an emergence out of barbarism and toward maturity.

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

James A. Harris is a Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland.

ELEMENTS OF CRITICISM
In Two Volumes
By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by Peter Jones

Liberty Fund’s new edition of *Elements of Criticism* is the first modern edition of one of Kames’s most influential works. In *Elements*, Kames sets out his argument that the “science of criticism” is a “rational science”; it is “a subject of reasoning as well as of taste.” Volume one explores the nature and causes of the emotions and passions. Volume two delineates principles of rhetoric and literary appreciation, ending with a discussion of the formation of a standard of taste. Kames illustrated both volumes with a vast range of examples from classical literature and the arts of his own day.

Peter Jones is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh.

ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY AND NATURAL RELIGION
By Henry Home, Lord Kames
Edited and with an Introduction by Mary Catherine Moran

The Essays is commonly considered Kames’s most important philosophical work. In the first part, he sets forth the principles and foundations of morality and justice, attacking Hume’s moral skepticism and addressing the controversial issue of the freedom of human will. In the second part, Kames focuses on questions of metaphysics and epistemology to offer a natural theology in which the authority of the external senses is an important basis for belief in the Deity.

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

Mary Catherine Moran teaches in the Department of History at Columbia University.
THE RIGHTS OF WAR AND PEACE

In Three Volumes

By Hugo Grotius
Edited and with an Introduction by Richard Tuck

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

Grotius’s continuing influence owed much to the eighteenth-century French editor Jean Barbeyrac, whose extensive commentary was standard in most editions, including the classic English one (1738), the basis for the Liberty Fund edition, which includes the Prolegomena to the first edition (1625); this document has never before been translated into English.

Richard Tuck is a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Professor of Government at Harvard University.

COMMENTARY ON THE LAW OF PRIZE AND BOOTY

By Hugo Grotius
Edited and with an Introduction by Martine Julia van Ittersum

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

The Liberty Fund edition is based on the one prepared by Gwladys L. Williams and Walter H. Zeydel for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It combines the original text and new material.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) was a lawyer and legal theorist, diplomat and political philosopher, ecumenical activist and theologian.

Martine Julia van Ittersum is a Lecturer in History at the University of Dundee.

THE FREE SEA

By Hugo Grotius
Translated by Richard Hakluyt
Edited and with an Introduction by David Armitage

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

Liberty Fund’s new edition of The Free Sea is the only translation of Grotius’s masterpiece undertaken in his own lifetime, left in manuscript by the English historian Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616). It contains William Welwood’s critique of Grotius (reprinted for the first time since the seventeenth century) and Grotius’s reply to Welwood. These documents provide an indispensable introduction to modern ideas of sovereignty and property as they emerged from the early-modern tradition of natural law.

David Armitage is Professor of History at Harvard University.
Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution
By James Mackintosh
Edited and with an Introduction by Donald Winch

Vindiciae Gallicae was James Mackintosh’s first major publication, a contribution to the debate begun by Edmund Burke’s Reflections on the Revolution in France. The success of Mackintosh’s defense of the French Revolution propelled him into the heart of London Whig circles. Following the September 1792 massacres Mackintosh, along with other moderate Whigs, revised his opinions and moved closer to Burke’s position. The Liberty Fund edition also includes Mackintosh’s Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations, Letter to William Pitt, and On the State of France in 1815.

James Mackintosh (1765–1832) was a prominent Scottish Whig.

Donald Winch is Research Professor in the School of Humanities at the University of Sussex and a Fellow of the British Academy.

Observations upon Liberal Education
By George Turnbull
Edited and with an Introduction by Terrence O. Moore, Jr.

Originally published in 1742, Observations upon Liberal Education is a significant contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment and the moral-sense school of Scottish philosophy.

In Observations, Turnbull applies the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment to the education of youth. He shows how a liberal education fosters true “inward liberty” and moral strength and thus prepares us for responsible and happy lives in a free society.

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

The Present State of Germany
By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Edmund Bohun (1696)
Edited and with an Introduction by Michael J. Seidler

Samuel Pufendorf’s The Present State of Germany was first published in 1667 (under the pseudonym Severinus de Monzambano) and immediately became one of the most notorious works in Europe for the next half century. Its trenchant critique of previous theories of the Holy Roman Empire elicited both attacks and defenses, and it also anticipated many elements in Pufendorf’s subsequent writings on natural law, history, and religion.

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

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

Michael J. Seidler is Professor of Philosophy at Western Kentucky University.
THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF NATURE

By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Andrew Tooke et al. (1735)
Edited and with an Introduction by Ian Hunter and David Saunders
Two Discourses and a Commentary by Jean Barbeyrac (translated by David Saunders)

Samuel Pufendorf's *The Whole Duty of Man, According to the Law of Nature* suggested a purely conventional basis for natural law. Rejecting scholasticism's metaphysical theories, Pufendorf found the source of natural law in humanity's need to cultivate sociability. At the same time, he distanced himself from Hobbes's deduction of such needs from self-interest.

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

David Saunders is Professor Emeritus in the Faculty of Arts at Griffith University.

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

By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Jodocus Crull (1698)
Edited and with an Introduction by Simone Zurbuchen

Pufendorf's *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion* (published in Latin in 1687) is a major work on the separation of politics and religion. Written in response to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, Pufendorf contests the right of the sovereign to control the religion of his subjects, because state and religion pursue wholly different ends. He concludes that when rulers transgress their bounds, subjects have a right to defend their religion, even by the force of arms.

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

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

By Samuel Pufendorf
Translated by Theophilus Dorrington (1703)
Edited and with an Introduction by Simone Zurbuchen

The Divine Feudal Law sets forth Pufendorf's basis for the reunion of the Lutheran and Calvinist confessions. This attempt to seek a 'conciliation' between the confessions complements the concept of toleration discussed in *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Reference to Civil Society*.

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

By David Fordyce
Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas D. Kennedy

Though little known today, David Fordyce was an important figure in the Scottish Enlightenment and closely associated with liberal Dissenters in England. His Elements of Moral Philosophy was a notable contribution to the curriculum in moral philosophy and one of the most widely circulated texts in moral philosophy in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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

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

AN ELEGANT AND LEARNED DISCOURSE OF
THE LIGHT OF NATURE

By Nathaniel Culverwell
Edited by Robert A. Greene and Hugh MacCallum
Foreword by Robert A. Greene

An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature is a concerted effort at intellectual mediation in the deep religious dispute of the English civil war in the seventeenth century. On one side was the antinomian assertion of extreme Calvinists that the elect were redeemed by God’s free grace and thereby free from ordinary moral obligations. Opposite to that was the Arminian rejection of predestination and assertion that Christ died for all, not just for the elect.

Robert A. Greene is Professor of English at the University of Massachusetts at Boston.

Hugh MacCallum is Professor Emeritus of English, University of Toronto.

NATURAL RIGHTS ON THE THRESHOLD OF
THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT
The Writings of Gershom Carmichael

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

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

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

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

Michael Silverthorne is Honorary University Fellow in the School of Classics at the University of Exeter.
CHRISTIANITY AND CLASSICAL CULTURE
A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine
By Charles Norris Cochrane

“A thoughtful, insightful, informative examination of the contrast and sometimes clash between the classical era’s culture and struggle to understand the world in purely rational terms, and the completely new understanding of the world developed and spread by Christianity.”
—The Midwest Book Review

Now available from Liberty Fund, Christianity and Classical Culture is considered one of the great works of scholarship published in the last century.

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

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

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

RATIONAL MAN
A Modern Interpretation of Aristotelian Ethics
By Henry Babcock Veatch

With a Preface and Annotated Bibliography by Douglas B. Rasmussen

“In the course of his argument, Veatch (1911–1999) considers a broad range of topics including Socrates’ challenge, the role of rationality, failure and unhappiness, moral luck, the death of God, and existentialism.”
—Book News, Inc.

Forty years after its original publication, Liberty Fund brings back into 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.

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

Douglas B. Rasmussen is Professor of Philosophy at St. John’s University in New York City. He is coauthor of Liberty and Nature: An Aristotelian Defense of Liberal Order and Liberalism Defended: The Challenge of Post-Modernity.
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
Three-Volume Slipcased Set

By Hippolyte Taine
Translated by John Durand
Introduction by Mona Ozouf

Hippolyte Taine’s *The French Revolution*, which is written from the viewpoint of conservative French opinion, is a unique and important contribution to revolutionary historiography. Taine condemns the radicals of the French Revolution, unhesitatingly contradicting the rosy, Rousseauistic view of the Revolution.

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

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

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

THE HISTORY OF THE ORIGINS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN EUROPE

By François Guizot
Translated by Andrew R. Scoble
Introduction by Aurelian Craiutu

The French political philosopher and historian François Guizot (1787–1874) was one of the French Doctrinaires, thinkers who sought to avoid the interpretations of the Revolution advanced by either extreme of Left or Right. He argued that in order to understand the nature of political institutions it is necessary to study first the society, its composition, mores, and the relation between various classes. At the very center of his theory lies the principle of the sovereignty of reason.

Aurelian Craiutu, associate professor of political science at Indiana University, writes in the Introduction: “A cursory look at the table of contents shows the originality of this unusual book: it combines lengthy narrative chapters full of historical details with theoretical chapters in which Guizot reflects on the principles, goals, and institutions of representative government.” The first part of the book covers the period from the fifth to the eleventh centuries and such topics as the “true” principles of representative government and the origin and consequences of the sovereignty of the people. The second part spans the Norman Conquest to the reign of the Tudors in England and analyzes the architecture of the English Constitutional monarchy.
As a rule, an author's correspondence possesses only a secondary interest, but Jacob Burckhardt's letters are of primary interest to students of history because of the nature of the man and of his major writings. It was in his letters, rather than in his lectures or longer works, that Burckhardt most directly addressed the currents of intellectual thought and social and political order—or disorder—of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Burckhardt provides additional and even personal observations on his learned explorations of antiquity, the Renaissance, and modern Europe, and it is in his letters that Burckhardt muses on the consequences that he believed—and feared—awaited a Europe that had given itself almost wholly to a rationalistic and materialistic understanding of history and destiny.

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

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

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

JUDGMENTS ON HISTORY AND HISTORIANS

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

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.

As Walter Goetz observed of the work a generation ago, “It is impossible to imagine a more profound introduction to world history and its driving forces.”
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 is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Fordham University.

FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

By Edmund Burke
Edited by Daniel E. Ritchie

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

—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.
A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LIBERTY AND EQUALITY

By Frederic William Maitland


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

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

HISTORY AS THE STORY OF LIBERTY

By Benedetto Croce

Translated by Sylvia Sprigge

Foreword by Claes G. Ryn

Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), who is perhaps best known as the author in 1902 of Aesthetics, wrote History as the Story of Liberty in 1938, when the Western world had succumbed to the notion that history is a creature of blind force.

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

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

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

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.
THE CRISIS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change
By Hugh Trevor-Roper

The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century collects nine essays by Trevor-Roper on the themes of religion, the Reformation, and social change.

In his longest essay, “The European Witch-craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” Trevor-Roper points out that “in England the most active phase of witch-hunting coincided with times of Puritan pressure—the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the period of the civil wars—and some very fanciful theories have been built on this coincidence. But...the persecution of witches in England was trivial compared with the experience of the Continent and of Scotland. Therefore...one must examine the craze as a whole, throughout Europe, and...to relate its rise, frequency, and decline to the general intellectual and social movements of the time.”

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

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY
Seventeenth-Century English Political Tracts
In Two Volumes
Edited by Joyce Lee Malcolm

The English Civil War in midcentury and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 were the culmination of a protracted struggle between kings who were 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.

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.

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 Political Science Reviewer

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.
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.

LECTURES ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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

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

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

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

Stephen J. Tonsor is Professor Emeritus in History at the University of Michigan. He is a longtime student of the history of Germany and of Lord Acton.
THE MORAL FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY

By John H. Hallowell

With The Moral Foundation of Democracy, John H. Hallowell makes a significant argument in favor of the importance of moral values in the orderly functioning of modern democracies. Hallowell argues that developments in recent democratic thought have eroded the very “faith” upon which democracy rests, namely, that man is a reasonable, moral, and spiritual actor. He sharply criticizes positivist thought and moral relativism as direct challenges to the notion that transcendent truths guide individuals in their actions and influence how people participate in a democratic society. Hallowell reminds us, instead, of the uniqueness and sanctity of the individual human being. Examining the role that morals and the nature of man play in the development of a civil, democratic society has renewed significance today, when so many nations are embarking on the road to democratic self-government. By probing enduring truths about the nature of man and democratic self-government, this work offers insight into challenges facing today’s democracies.

John H. Hallowell taught political science for forty years at Duke University and was chair of the department from 1964 to 1971. He died in 1991. In addition to this work, Hallowell also wrote The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology (1943) and Main Currents in Modern Political Thought (1950).

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

By William Paley

Foreword by D. L. Le Mahieu

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.

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

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

William Paley (1743–1805) was born in Peterborough and educated at Cambridge, where he was a lecturer on moral philosophy, divinity, and the Greek Testament.
CATO: A TRAGEDY, AND SELECTED ESSAYS
By Joseph Addison
Edited by Christine Dunn Henderson and Mark E. Yellin
Foreword by Forrest McDonald
First produced in 1713, Cato, A Tragedy inspired generations toward a pursuit of liberty. Liberty Fund’s new edition of Cato: A Tragedy, and Selected Essays brings together Addison’s dramatic masterpiece along with a selection of his essays that develop key themes in the play.
Christine Dunn Henderson is a Senior Fellow at Liberty Fund.
Mark E. Yellin is a Fellow at Liberty Fund.

CATO’S LETTERS
Essays on Liberty
Four Volumes in Two
By John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon
Edited and Annotated by Ronald Hamowy
Almost a generation before Washington, Henry, and Jefferson were even born, two Englishmen, concealing their identities with the honored ancient name of Cato, wrote newspaper articles condemning tyranny and advancing principles of liberty that immensely influenced American colonists. The Englishmen were John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon.
John Trenchard (1662–1723) devoted himself to writing on contemporary British politics and for one year was a Member of Parliament from Taunton.
Thomas Gordon (c. 1695–1750) was a tutor in languages, publisher, and pamphleteer.
Ronald Hamowy is Professor Emeritus of Intellectual History at the University of Alberta, Edmonton.

PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS APPLICABLE TO ALL GOVERNMENTS
By Benjamin Constant
Translated by Dennis O’Keeffe
Introduction by Nicholas Capaldi
In Principles of Politics, first published in 1815, Constant explores the subjects of law, sovereignty, and representation; power and accountability; government, property and taxation; wealth and poverty; war, peace, and the maintenance of public order; and freedom, of the individual, of the press, and of religion.

THE POLITICAL WRITINGS OF WILLIAM PENN
Introduction and Annotations by Andrew R. Murphy
William Penn played a crucial role in the articulation of religious liberty as a philosophical and political value during the second half of the seventeenth century. Penn oversaw a great colonizing endeavor that attempted to instantiate his tolerationist commitments in practice. His thought has relevance for scholars of English political and religious history.
William Penn (1644–1718) worked as a preacher, writer, and spokesman to advance the interests of the Quakers in the American colonies and to promote religious liberty.
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: “Introduction to Leviathan” (1946); “The Moral Life in the Writings of Thomas Hobbes” (1960); “Dr. Leo Strauss on Hobbes” (1937); and “Leviathan: A Myth” (1947).

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

ON HISTORY AND OTHER ESSAYS
By Michael Oakeshott
Foreword by Timothy Fuller

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

THE VOICE OF LIBERAL LEARNING
By Michael Oakeshott
Foreword and Introduction by Timothy Fuller

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

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

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.
THE ILLUSION OF THE EPOCH
Marxism-Leninism as a Philosophical Creed

By H. B. Acton

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

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

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

THE LIBERAL MIND

By Kenneth Minogue

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

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

JUSTICE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

By Anthony de Jasay

“Anyone with interests in philosophy, economics, political theory, or rational-choice analysis will profit from close reading and long pondering of de Jasay’s arguments.” —The Independent Review

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

This straightforward and terse book analyzes the roles of collective choice, redistribution, and socialism and the claims that would enlist justice in their service.


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.”
TWILIGHT OF AUTHORITY

By Robert Nisbet
Foreword by Robert G. Perrin

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

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

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 unspiring 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 long-out-of-print and never-before-published works that give new range and depth to Weaver’s sweeping thought. In all, there are 126 essays, speeches, book reviews, and editorials.

Ted J. Smith III was 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 is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at the Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.
ESSAYS, MORAL, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY
Revised Edition
By David Hume
Edited by Eugene F. Miller

“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.

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

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

DAVID HUME
Prophet of the Counter-revolution
Second Edition
By Laurence L. Bongie
Foreword by Donald Livingston

As Laurence L. Bongie notes, “David Hume was undoubtedly the eighteenth-century British writer whose works were most widely known and acclaimed on the Continent during the later Enlightenment period. Hume’s impact [in France] was of undeniable importance, greater even for a time than the related influence of Burke, although it represents a contribution to French counter-revolutionary thought which, unlike that of Burke, has been almost totally ignored by historians to this day.”

The bulk of Bongie’s work consists of the writings of French readers of Hume who were confronted, first, by the ideology of human perfection and, finally, by the actual terrors of the French Revolution. These vitally important writings have been translated by the author into English for the Liberty Fund second edition.

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

Donald Livingston is Professor of Philosophy at Emory University.

TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL
By Charles Péguy
Translated and with an Introduction by Alexander Dru
Foreword By Pierre Manent

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

As the twenty-first century begins, the relationships this book explores are as relevant as they were in the last century, when French poet and essayist Charles Péguy addressed them in “Memories of Youth” and “Clio I,” the two essays in this volume. In these essays Péguy develops his theme of la mystique—that which a person or a nation is—and la politique—mere policy.
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

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

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

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

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

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

Frederick S. Carney 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

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

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

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

THE FABLE OF THE BEES

or Private Vices, Publick Benefits

In Two Volumes

By Bernard Mandeville

With a Commentary by F. B. Kaye

It used to be that everyone read the “notorious” Bernard Mandeville (1670–1733). He was a great satirist and came to have a profound impact on economics, ethics, and social philosophy. *The Fable of the Bees* begins with a poem and continues with a number of essays and dialogues. It is all tied together by the startling and original idea that “private vices” (self-interest) lead to “publick benefits” (the development and operation of society).

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

DISCOURSES CONCERNING GOVERNMENT

By Algernon Sidney

Edited by Thomas G. West

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

—Laissez Faire Books

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

—John Morrill, Cambridge University

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

Thomas G. West is Professor of Politics at the University of Dallas.
ON POWER
The Natural History of Its Growth
By Bertrand de Jouvenel
Foreword by D. W. Brogan
Translated by J. F. Huntington

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

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

THE ETHICS OF REDISTRIBUTION
By Bertrand de Jouvenel
Introduction by John Gray

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

John Gray is a Professor at the London School of Economics.

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

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

Daniel J. Mahoney is Associate Professor of Politics at Assumption College.
David DesRosiers is Executive Vice President at the Manhattan Institute.

THE PURE THEORY OF POLITICS
By Bertrand de Jouvenel
Foreword by Daniel J. Mahoney

This is the concluding volume in Jouvenel’s magnum opus, the trilogy that begins with On Power, moves to Sovereignty, and concludes with The Pure Theory of Politics. In this final volume, Bertrand de Jouvenel proposes to remedy a serious deficiency in political science: “the lack of agreement on first principles, or ‘elements.’” The author’s concern is with political processes as they actually exist, not as they are conjectured to be in hypothetical models.
THE PRESENT AGE
Progress and Anarchy in Modern America
By Robert Nisbet

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

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 Twilight of Authority, also published by Liberty Fund.

LEISURE THE BASIS OF CULTURE
By Josef Pieper
Translated by Alexander Dru
Introduction by T. S. Eliot

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

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

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

THE 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 VIRTUE OF CIVILITY
Selected Essays on Liberalism, Tradition, and Civil Society
By Edward Shils
Edited by Steven Grosby

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

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

Steven Grosby is an Associate Professor at Clemson University.

“IN DEFENSE OF FREEDOM” AND RELATED ESSAYS
By Frank S. Meyer
Foreword by William C. Dennis

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

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

William C. Dennis is a Senior 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

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

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

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

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

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.”
JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE
A Study in American Politics
Fourth Edition
By Russell Kirk

“This is must reading for the student seeking to grasp a neglected dimension of American history.”
—Bernard T. Lomas, Albion College

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

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

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

F. Thornton Miller is Associate Professor of History at 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.

Shirley Robin Letwin (1924–1993) was a Professor of Political and Legal Philosophy at Harvard, Cambridge, and the London School of Economics.
LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY
By James Fitzjames Stephen
Edited by Stuart D. Warner

“An undeservedly neglected classic in a splendid new edition.” —First Things

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

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

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.” —St. Croix Review

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

Cooper provides a concise statement of the principles of American democracy and of its social ramifications. He was concerned that these principles and our institutions would be perverted—especially by the confusion of an equality of rights with equality of condition.

ON LIBERTY, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS
The Essential Essays of William Graham Sumner
Edited by Robert C. Bannister

“This collection of 33 of Sumner’s essays, some previously unpublished, facilitates that reappraisal, handily drawing together such important pieces as ‘The Forgotten Man,’ ‘Republican Government,’ ‘The Argument Against Protective Taxes,’ ‘Liberty,’ and ‘The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over.’” —The Freeman

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.
UNION AND LIBERTY
The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun
Edited by Ross M. Lence

“. . . Calhoun’s most important writings and speeches . . . offer an excel-
 lent opportunity for a new look at this nineteenth-century statesman and
 political theorist, archaic and irrelevant as he may appear.”

—The New Republic

“This is the finest collection in a single volume of Calhoun’s important works.”

—Robert V. Remini, 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 was 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 liber-
al political thought. It is also crucial for an understanding of liberalism as it
developed in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century. Humboldt
explores the role that liberty plays in individual development, discusses
criteria for permitting the state to limit individual actions, and suggests
ways of confining the state to its proper bounds. In so doing, he uniquely
combines the ancient concern for human excellence and the modern
concern for what has come to be known as negative liberty.

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

THE MAN VERSUS THE STATE
With Six Essays on Government, Society, and Freedom
By Herbert Spencer
Introduction by Albert Jay Nock
Foreword by Eric Mack

Spencer develops various specific disastrous ramifications of the whole-
sale 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 equilibrum. . . . The attempt to regulate
all the actions of a community by legislation will entail little else but misery
and compulsion.”

Herbert Spencer, English philosopher and social reformer, was born in
Derby in 1820, coming from a family of nonconformist Dissenters. In 1837
he joined the staff of the London and Birmingham Railway as an engineer
and in 1848 took a position as editor of The Economist. He died in 1903 and
his autobiography was published in 1904.
THE INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT SERIES

Conversations with some of the most original thinkers of our generation are now available in DVD as well as videotape formats. These insightful and engaging portraits are a great complement to Liberty Fund’s other titles. Please visit www.libertyfund.org to order videotapes in VHS format. Please note that pre-1998 DVD players and pre-2002 DVD computer drives may not play DVD-R disks, since current DVD-R disks contain technology that was not available at that time. Also, MP3 and ACC files are now available for download at http://oll.libertyfund.org/Home3/CollectionsAudio.php?Collection=4.

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GARY BECKER

Gary Becker was named the 1992 Nobel laureate in Economics for “having extended the domain of microeconomic analysis to a wide range of human behaviour and interaction, including nonmarket behaviour.” He is the University Professor of Economics and Sociology at the University of Chicago, and the Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

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MANUEL AYAU

Manuel Ayau is the founder and former rector and teacher of economics at Universidad Francisco Marroquin in Guatemala. In addition to being a successful businessman, Ayau is a former Chairman of the Guatemala Stock Exchange, was a member of the Guatemala House of Representatives, and served as President of the Mont Pelerin Society.

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Raoul Berger was the foremost scholar of constitutional law to defend the doctrine of originalism in our day. His works Impeachment, Executive Privilege, and Government by Judiciary set the standards for subsequent work in the field of constitutional interpretation, and influenced both expert and public opinion during some of the worst constitutional crises of the late twentieth century. In this program, Berger’s thought is set in the context of his long and rich life, from Russian emigre in Chicago to musician, to his masterful examinations of the legal underpinnings of a free society.


JACQUES BARZUN

One of our most distinguished contemporary cultural historians, Jacques Barzun reflects on his long academic career and the movement of ideas he helped to shape through his insightful writings on liberal education in America.


JAMES M. BUCHANAN

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RICHARD CORNUELLE
Through such works as Reclaiming the American Dream and De-Managing America, and through his work with the Foundation for Economic Education and the Volker Fund, Richard Cornuelle has called important attention to the needs and possibilities of those organizations that exist to address social problems through nongovernmental means.

M. STANTON EVANS
M. Stanton Evans is the former editor of The Indianapolis News and founding director of the National Journalism Center in Washington, D.C. Evans has been a columnist for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate, a commentator for CBS radio-TV, National Public Radio, and the Voice of America. He is the author of numerous books.

MILTON FRIEDMAN
Recipient of the 1976 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics and a leader of the Chicago School of monetary economics, Milton Friedman was recognized as one of our most important economic thinkers. A Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution from 1977 to 2006, he was also the Paul Snowden Russell Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of Chicago, where he taught from 1946 to 1976.

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG
Considered a leading voice in criminology and political philosophy, Ernest van den Haag discusses his ongoing work in criminal law and criminology, and he explains how his great insights relate to his central belief in a free society.

FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK
Few individuals did more to both extend our understanding of the economic processes of the free society and alert us to the dangers inherent in the growth of political power than the Nobel laureate economist and social theorist, Friedrich A. Hayek. In over half a century of writing and teaching, he showed why National Socialism was the very antithesis of capitalism, why communism was an economic and political philosophy ultimately doomed to failure, and why we must be wary of government intervention if we are to preserve the freedoms that make democracy and prosperity possible.
In a life that spanned almost the entire twentieth century, Friedrich Hayek went from being dismissed, ridiculed, and ignored, to being acclaimed as perhaps that century’s most significant social scientist and philosopher.

JOHN HOSPER
John Hospers is Professor Emeritus in Philosophy at the University of Southern California and author of such important philosophical texts as: Meaning and Truth in the Arts, Human Conduct, and An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis.

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Henry Manne founded the Center for Law and Economics, now at George Mason University, and has directed scores of law and economics seminars attended by economists, judges, lawyers, educators, and policy makers. Manne’s book *Wall Street in Transition* redefined the commonly held theory of the corporate firm and brought unprecedented criticism from the Securities and Exchange Commission, which later came to embrace some of his views.


**PAUL MCCracken**

Paul W. McCracken’s influence on how we think about economic policy has reached from the academy, to the popular press, to the highest reaches of government. He is the Edmund Ezra Day Distinguished University Professor of Business Administration at the University of Michigan, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1948.


**RALPH MCIvERNy**

Ralph McInerny is among the most noted Catholic philosophers and authors of our day. He has taught at the University of Notre Dame since 1955, and since 1978 has been the Michael P. Grace Professor of Medieval Studies. Alongside his academic work, McInerny authored the best-selling and internationally acclaimed Father Dowling Mysteries, which were also made into a series for Public Television.


**LJUBO SIRC**

Trained in both economics and law, Ljubo Sirc combines the perspective of a scholar with his firsthand observations of the dangers of communist regimes. Since 1983, he has served as Director of the Centre for Research into Post-Communist Economies in London. He is the author of numerous books and articles in a variety of languages. His autobiography, *Between Hitler and Tito*, was published in 1989.


**SIR ALAN WALTers**

As economic advisor to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Sir Alan Walters was an important figure in the transformation of economic policy and resulting unprecedented boom that took place in the United Kingdom during the 1980s. He has written influential articles on public sector pricing, economic statistics, and cost-benefit analysis, and has taught at the University of Birmingham, the London School of Economics, and Johns Hopkins University.


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By Michael Novak
Novak is the author of twenty-five books and over five hundred articles in the philosophy and theology of culture, including The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism (1982), for which he was awarded the Antony Fisher Prize by Margaret Thatcher. Novak has served as Ambassador of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
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Lord Ralph Harris graduated from Cambridge in 1947 and lectured at St. Andrews University until 1957, when he became the General Director of the Institute of Economic Affairs, where Arthur Seldon joined him as Editorial Director in 1958. Together they wrote studies of advertising, hire purchase, state and private welfare, and other applications of classical liberal analysis to public policy, and helped rehabilitate the classical liberal tradition of market microanalysis.
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E. G. West was Professor Emeritus of Economics at Carleton University, Ottawa.

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Introduction by Myron Lieberman

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Jacques Barzun is a renowned scholar, teacher, and author who lectures widely since his retirement in 1993.

ALSO OF INTEREST : Intellectual Portrait of Jacques Barzun
See page 70.
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<td>$25.00</td>
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<td>RATIONALE OF CENTRAL BANKING, THE</td>
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<td>$18.00</td>
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</table>
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Essay on the Life of the Honourable Major-General Israel Putnam, An... 13
Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and
Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense, An... 39
Essays in Religion, Politics, and Morality... 54
Essays in the History of Liberty... 54
Essays in the Study and Writing of History... 54
Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary... 60
Essays on Church, State, and Politics... 21
Essays on Economics and Society... 21
Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society... 21
Essays on Individuality... 76
Essays on Philosophical Subjects... 31
Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion... 43
Ethics of Redistribution, The... 63
Evans, M. Stanton... 71
Evemony's Dictionary of Economics... 29
Evolution of Civilizations, The... 52
Externalities and Public Expenditure Theory... 28
Fable of the Bees, The... 62
Fame and the Founding Fathers... 10
Faulkner, Robert... 3
Fears, J Rufus... 34
Federalism, Liberty, and the Law... 28
Federalist, The... 9
Fehmers, William... 52
Flaxman, The... 76
Fordyce, David... 47
Founders' Constitution, The... 11
Franco, Paul... 57
Freedom and Federalism... 76
Freedom and Reform... 27
Freedom and the Law... 36
Free Sea, The... 44
French Revolution, The... 35
Friedman, Milton... 66, 71
Friends of the Constitution... 11
Frisch, Morton J... 7
Frohnen, Bruce... 8
Fugitive Essays... 76
Fuller, Timothy... 57
Further Reflections on the Revolution in France... 51
Garrett, Aaron... 39, 41
Gautier, Ignaz... 16
General Index... 22
George Washington: A Collection... 3
Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence
of Adam Smith, The... 30, 31
Gordon, Thomas... 56
Government by Judiciary... 36
Government Failure and Over-Government... 26
Gray, John... 63
Greaves, Bettina Bien... 16-19
Greene, Donald J... 61
Greene, Robert A... 47
Groby, Steven... 65
Grotius, Hugo... 44
Growth of the American Revolution: 1766-1775... 4
Gruner, Frank... 40
Guizot, Francois... 49
Haeg, Ernst van den Haag... 31
Haekens, Knud... 31-37-47
Haggarty, John... 76
Halhuyt, Richard... 44
Hall, Kemt L... 6
Hall, Mark David... 6
Hallowell, John H... 55
Hamilton, Alexander... 7, 9
Hamorey, Ronald... 36
Hansard, Thomas R... 35
Harris, James A... 43
Harris, Lord Ralph... 71, 74
Hartwell, Max... 71
Hayek, Friedrich... 20, 27, 71, 74
Hayne, Robert... 10
Henderson, Christine Dunn... 56
Henderson, David R... 15
Hobbes on Civil Association... 57
Hoff, Trygve J. B... 76
Hogan, Harry J... 52
Hogue, Arthur R... 35
Hong Kong: A Story of Human Freedom... 73
Huntington, Samuel... 71
Human Action: A Treatise on Economics... 16
Humboldt, Wilhelm von... 69
Hum, David... 53, 60
Humphreys, David... 13
Hunter, Ian... 40, 46
Huntington, J. F... 63
Hutcheson, Francis... 38, 39, 42
Hutt, W. H... 27
Hypocrates, Charles S... 35
Ideal Election in Law, The... 35
Ideas, Persons, and Events... 28
IEA, the LSE, and the Influence of Ideas, The... 26
Illusion of the Epoch, The... 58
“In Defense of Freedom” and Related Essays... 65
In Defense of the Constitution... 11
In Defense of Tradition... 59
Index to the Works of Adam Smith... 31
Index... 28
Industrial Revolution, The... 73
Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, An... 39
Introducing Market Forces into “Public” Services... 26
Itersum, Martine Julia van... 44
Jaffa, Harry... 72
Jasay, Anthony de... 58, 72
Jay, John... 9
John Randolph of Roanoke... 67
Johnson, Samuel... 61
Jones, Peter... 43
Jouvenel, Bertrand de... 63
Judgments on History and Historians... 50
Justice and Its Surroundings... 58
Kahane, J... 20
Kames, Henry Home, Lord... 43
Kaye, F. B... 62
Kemp, A. A... 27, 36
Kennedy, Thomas D... 47
Keynesian Episode, The: A Reassessment... 27
Kilcullen, John... 42
Kirk, Russell... 65, 67
Kirzner, Israel... 72
Klimt, Hartmut... 28
Knight, Frank H... 27
Knollenberg, Bernhard... 4
Korkman, Peter... 41
Kukathas, Chandran... 42
Kurland, Philip B... 11
Lamp of Experience, The... 13
Law and Economics... 25
Law, Liberty, and Parliament... 34
Law, Liberty, and Parliament (Poster)... 34
Law of the Constitution, The... 36
Le Mahieu, D. E... 55
Leckey, William Edward Hartpole... 76
Lectures on Jurisprudence... 31
Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres... 30
Lectures on the French Revolution... 54
Lee, Dwight... 24
Lee, Richard Henry... 14
Legacy of Friedrich von Hayek, The... 74
Leggett, William... 76
Herbert, Asheron... 76
“Higher Law” Background of American Constitutional Law, The... 33
Historical Sketch of Liberty and Equality, A... 52
Historical View of the English Government, An... 41
History as the Story of Liberty... 52
History of England, The... 53
History of the American Revolution... 5
History of the Origins of Representative Government in Europe, The... 49
History of the Rise, etc., of the American Revolution... 5
Hittinger, Russell... 35
Hobbes on Civil Association... 57
Hoff, Trygve J. B... 76
Hogan, Harry J... 52
Hogue, Arthur R... 35
Hong Kong: A Story of Human Freedom... 73
Huntington, Samuel... 71
Human Action: A Treatise on Economics... 16
Humboldt, Wilhelm von... 69
Hum, David... 53, 60
Humphreys, David... 13
Hunter, Ian... 40, 46
Huntington, J. F... 63
Hutcheson, Francis... 38, 39, 42
Hutt, W. H... 27
Hypocrates, Charles S... 35
Ideal Election in Law, The... 35
Ideas, Persons, and Events... 28
IEA, the LSE, and the Influence of Ideas, The... 26
Illusion of the Epoch, The... 58
“In Defense of Freedom” and Related Essays... 65
In Defense of the Constitution... 11
In Defense of Tradition... 59
Index to the Works of Adam Smith... 31
Index... 28
Industrial Revolution, The... 73
Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, An... 39
Introducing Market Forces into “Public” Services... 26
Itersum, Martine Julia van... 44
Jaffa, Harry... 72
Jasay, Anthony de... 58, 72
Jay, John... 9
John Randolph of Roanoke... 67
Johnson, Samuel... 61
Jones, Peter... 43
Jouvenel, Bertrand de... 63
Judgments on History and Historians... 50
Justice and Its Surroundings... 58
Kahane, J... 20
Kames, Henry Home, Lord... 43
Kaye, F. B... 62
Kemp, A. A... 27, 36
Kennedy, Thomas D... 47
Keynesian Episode, The: A Reassessment... 27
Kilcullen, John... 42
Kirk, Russell... 65, 67
Kirzner, Israel... 72
Klimt, Hartmut... 28
Knight, Frank H... 27
Knollenberg, Bernhard... 4
Korkman, Peter... 41
Kukathas, Chandran... 42
Kurland, Philip B... 11
Lamp of Experience, The... 13
Law and Economics... 25
Law, Liberty, and Parliament... 34
Law, Liberty, and Parliament (Poster)... 34
Law of the Constitution, The... 36
Le Mahieu, D. E... 55
Leckey, William Edward Hartpole... 76
Lectures on Jurisprudence... 31
Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres... 30
Lectures on the French Revolution... 54
Lee, Dwight... 24
Lee, Richard Henry... 14
Legacy of Friedrich von Hayek, The... 74
Leggett, William... 76
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Morrisey, Felix</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moutoussamy, E. C.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Murphy, Andrew R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Nation, State, and Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Law, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Rights on the Threshold of the Scottish Enlightenment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Individualist Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nisbet, Robert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nock, Albert Jay</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Notes on Malthus's Principles of Political Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Novak, Michael</td>
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<td>Nugent, Thomas</td>
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<td>Nutter, G. Warren</td>
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<tr>
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<td>O'Keeffe, Dennis</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oaksosh, Michael</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observations on &quot;The Two Sons of Oil&quot;</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Observations upon Liberal Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion, in Reference to Civil Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Organization of Inquiry, The</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Origins of the Distinction of Ranks, The</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Origins of the Common Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ounaf, Mona</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paciﬁcius-Helvidius Debates of 1793-1794, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Paley, William</td>
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<td>Pamphlets and Papers 1809-1811</td>
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<td>Pamphlets and Papers 1815-1823</td>
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<td>Peguy, Charles</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Pineer, Josef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Prieger, George W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plea for Liberty, A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polanyi, Michael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Economy and Freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Economy of International Reform and Reconstruction, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Sermons of the American Founding Era: 1730–1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Writings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Writings of William Penn, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politicalization of Society, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politics as Public Choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politics by Principle, Not Interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Popular Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Posters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pound, Roscoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Power to Tax, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present Age, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present State of Germany, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presser, Stephen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Ethics, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Natural and Political Law, The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Politics Applicable to All Governments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principles of Political Economy</td>
</tr>
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