

REFLECTIONS ON LIBERTY & POWER

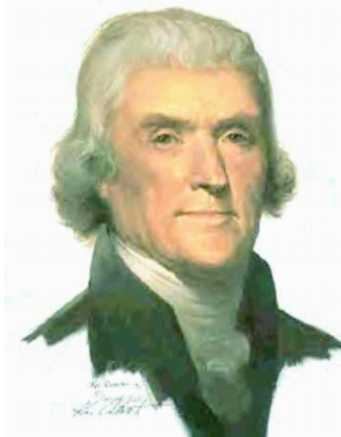
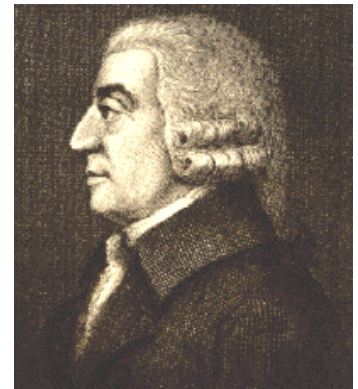


**A Collection of
Quotations from
Liberty Fund's
Online Library of
Liberty
(2004-2009)**



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ABOUT US

About the Online Library of liberty

The Online Library of Liberty (OLL) is an educational project of Liberty Fund, Inc. Its aim is put online classic works in the classical liberal, free market, and conservative traditions of thought and make them freely available to the public for educational purposes.

About Liberty Fund, Inc.



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Illustrations

Illustrations on the front page (from left to right and then top to bottom):

- Algernon Sidney (1622-1683); Lord Acton (1834-1902)
- Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536); David Hume (1711-1776); Adam Smith (1723-1790)
- Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826); John Stuart Mill (1806-1873); Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973)

REFLECTIONS ON LIBERTY AND POWER: A COLLECTION OF QUOTATIONS FROM
LIBERTY FUND'S ONLINE LIBRARY OF LIBERTY (2004-2009)



**"Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely."
Lord Acton (1834-1902)**

I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men, with a favourable presumption that they did no wrong. If there is any presumption it is the other way against holders of power, increasing as the power increases. Historic responsibility has to make up for the want of legal responsibility. **Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.** Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority: still more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority. There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the holder of it. That is the point at which the negation of Catholicism and the negation of Liberalism meet and keep high festival, and the end learns to justify the means. You would hang a man of no position, like Ravillac; but if what one hears is true, then Elizabeth asked the gaoler to murder Mary, and William III ordered his Scots minister to extirpate a clan. Here are the greater names coupled with the greater crimes. You would spare these criminals, for some mysterious reason. I would hang them, higher than Haman, for reasons of quite obvious justice; still more, still higher, for the sake of historical science.

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Colonies, Slavery & Abolition

- 59. [Less well known is Thomas Jefferson First Draft of the Declaration of independence in which he denounced the slave trade as an "execrable Commerce" and slavery itself as a "cruel war against nature itself" \(1776\)](#)
- 100. [Adam Smith notes that colonial governments might exercise relative freedom in the metropolis but impose tyranny in the distant provinces \(1776\)](#)
- 102. [John Millar argues that as a society becomes wealthier domestic freedom increases, even to the point where slavery is thought to be pernicious and economically inefficient \(1771\)](#)
- 121. [J.B. Say argues that colonial slave labor is really quite profitable for the slave owners at the expense of the slaves and the home consumers \(1817\)](#)
- 122. [Jean-Baptiste Say argues that home-consumers bear the brunt of the cost of maintaining overseas colonies and that they also help support the lavish lifestyles of the planter and merchant classes \(1817\)](#)
- 127. [Thomas Clarkson on the "glorious" victory of the abolition of the slave trade in England \(1808\)](#)
- 133. [Jeremy Bentham relates a number of "abominations" to the French National Convention urging them to emancipate their colonies \(1793\)](#)
- 137. [The ex-slave Frederick Douglass reveals that reading speeches by English politicians produced in him a deep love of liberty and hatred of oppression \(1882\)](#)
- 143. [John Stuart Mill on the "atrocities" committed by Governor Eyre and his troops in putting down the Jamaica rebellion \(1866\)](#)
- 169. [Harriet Martineau on the institution of slavery, "restless slaves", and the Bill of Rights \(1838\)](#)
- 187. [Sir William Blackstone declares unequivocally that slavery is "repugnant to reason, and the principles of natural law" and that it has no place in English law \(1753\)](#)
- 232. [Emerson on the right of self-ownership of slaves to themselves and to their labor \(1863\)](#)
- 234. [Frederick Douglass makes a New Year's resolution to gain his freedom from slavery \(1836\)](#)

Economics & Free Trade

- 6. [Adam Smith on the natural ordering Tendency of Free Markets, or what he called the "Invisible Hand" \(1776\)](#)
- 20. [Voltaire on the Benefits which Trade and Economic Abundance bring to People living in the Present Age \(1736\)](#)
- 48. [Adam Smith argued that the "propensity to truck, barter, and exchange" was inherent in human nature and gave rise to things such as the division of labour \(1776\)](#)
- 65. [Bernard Mandeville uses a fable about bees to show how prosperity and good order comes about through spontaneous order \(1705\)](#)
- 74. [Bernard Mandeville concludes his fable of the bees with a moral homily on the virtues of peace, hard work, and diligence \(1705\)](#)
- 84. [Montesquieu thought that commerce improves manners and cures "the most destructive prejudices" \(1748\)](#)
- 94. [Forrest McDonald argues that the Founding Fathers envisaged a new economic order based upon Lockean notions of private property and the creation of the largest contiguous area of free trade in the world \(2006\)](#)
- 104. [Adam Ferguson observed that social structures of all kinds were not "the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design" \(1782\)](#)
- 115. [Jane Haldimand Marcet, in a popular tale written for ordinary readers, shows the benefits to workers of foreign trade, especially at Christmas time \(1833\)](#)
- 128. [Lord Macaulay writes a devastating review of Southey's *Colloquies* in which the Poet Laureate's ignorance of the real condition of the working class in England is exposed \(1830\)](#)

- 130. [Ludwig von Mises argues that the division of labor and human cooperation are the two sides of the same coin and are not antagonistic to each other \(1949\)](#)
- 139. [Harriet Martineau condemns tariffs as a "vicious aristocratic principle" designed to harm the ordinary working man and woman \(1861\)](#)
- 140. [Ludwig von Mises argues that monopolies are the direct result of government intervention and not the product of any inherent tendency within the capitalist system \(1949\)](#)
- 161. [Nassau Senior objected to any government regulation of factories which meant that a horde of inspectors would interfere with the organization of production \(1837\)](#)
- 163. [Jean-Baptiste Say argues that there is a world of difference between private consumption and public consumption; an increase in the latter does nothing to increase public wealth \(1803\)](#)
- 189. [Adam Smith argues that retaliation in a trade war can sometimes force the offending country to lower its tariffs, but more often than not the reverse happens \(1776\)](#)
- 199. [John Ramsay McCulloch argues that smuggling is "wholly the result of vicious commercial and financial legislation" and that it could be ended immediately by abolishing this legislation \(1899\)](#)
- 204. [Condy Raguet lays out a set of basic principles of free trade among which is the idea that governments cannot create wealth by means of legislation and that individuals are better judges of the best way to use their capital and labor than governments \(1835\)](#)
- 224. [Frank Taussig argues for the reverse of a common misconception about the relationship between high wages and the use of machinery \(1915\)](#)
- 227. [Ludwig von Mises on the impossibility of rational economic planning under Socialism \(1922\)](#)
- 236. [Richard Cobden outlines his strategy of encouraging more people to acquire land and thus the right to vote in order to defeat the "landed oligarchy" who ruled England and imposed the "iniquity" of the Corn Laws \(1845\)](#)

Food & Drink

- 11. [Adam Smith on how Government Regulation and Taxes might drive a Man to Drink \(1766\)](#)
- 31. [Erasmus argues that Philosophizing is all very well but there is also a need for there to be a Philosopher of the Kitchen \(1518\)](#)
- 32. [As if in answer to Erasmus' prayer, Spencer does become a Philosopher of the Kitchen arguing that "if there is a wrong in respect of the taking of food \(and drink\) there must also be a right" \(1897\)](#)
- 184. [David Hume examines the pride of the turkey \(and other creatures\) \(1739\)](#)
- 229. [Herbert Spencer on the pitfalls of arguing with friends at the dinner table \(1897\)](#)

The Law

- 16. [Sir Edward Coke defends British Liberties and the Idea of Habeas Corpus in the Petition of Right before Parliament \(1628\)](#)
- 18. [Bruno Leoni on the different Ways in which Needs can be satisfied, either voluntarily through the Market or coercively through the State \(1963\)](#)
- 73. [Cicero urges the Senate to apply the laws equally in order to protect the reputation of Rome and to provide justice for the victims of a corrupt magistrate \(1stC BC\)](#)
- 75. [Adam Smith argues that the Habeas Corpus Act is a great security against the tyranny of the king \(1763\)](#)
- 86. [J.S. Mill in a speech before parliament denounced the suspension of Habeas Corpus and the use of flogging in Ireland, saying that those who ordered this "deserved flogging as much as any of those who were flogged by his orders" \(1866\)](#)
- 109. [John Locke on the idea that "wherever law ends, tyranny begins" \(1689\)](#)
- 111. [The legal historian Hazeltine wrote in an essay commemorating the 700th anniversary of Magna Carta that the American colonists regarded Magna Carta as the "bulwark of their rights as Englishmen" \(1917\)](#)
- 112. [Bruno Leoni notes the strong connection between economic freedom and decentralized legal decision-making \(1961\)](#)
- 117. [John Adams argues that the British Empire is not a "true" empire but a form of a "republic" where the rule of law operates \(1763\)](#)
- 136. [The IVth Amendment to the American Constitution states that the people shall be secure in their persons against unreasonable searches and seizures and that no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause \(1788\)](#)
- 159. [John Adams predicts a glorious future for America under the new constitution and is in "reverence and awe" at its future prospects \(1787\)](#)
- 197. [Sir William Blackstone provides a strong defence of personal liberty and concludes that to "secretly hurry" a man to prison is a "dangerous engine of arbitrary government" \(1753\)](#)
- 203. [Cesare Beccaria says that torture is cruel and barbaric and a violation of the principle that no one should be punished until proven guilty in a court of law; in other words it is the "right of power" \(1764\)](#)
- 217. [Lysander Spooner on Jury Nullification as the "palladium of liberty" against the tyranny of government \(1852\)](#)

Literature & Music

- 24. [Shakespeare farewells his lover in a Sonnet using many mercantile and legal metaphors \(1609\)](#)
- 33. [During the American Revolution Thomas Paine penned a patriotic song called "Hail Great Republic" which is to be sung to the tune of Rule Britannia \(of course!\) \(1776\)](#)
- 43. [In Joseph Addison's play Cato Cato is asked what it would take for him to be Caesar's "friend" - his answer is that Caesar would have to first "disband his legions" and then "restore the commonwealth to liberty" \(1713\)](#)

- 54. [With the return of spring the memories of Petrarch's beloved Laura awaken a new pang in him \(late 14thC\)](#)
- 71. [John Milton in *Paradise Regained* has Christ deplore the "false glory" which comes from military conquest and the despoiling of nations in battle \(1671\)](#)
- 72. [Aeschylus has Prometheus denounce the lord of heaven for unjustly punishing him for giving mankind the gift of fire \(5thC BC\)](#)
- 97. [In Shakespeare's *Henry V* the soldier Williams confronts the king by saying that "few die well that die in a battle" and that "a heavy reckoning" awaits the king that led them to it \(1598\)](#)
- 98. [In Shakespeare's *Henry V* the king is too easily persuaded by his advisors that the English economy will continue to function smoothly, like obedient little honey-bees in their hive, while he is away with his armies conquering France \(1598\)](#)
- 99. [In Shakespeare's *The Tempest* Caliban complains about the way the European lord Prospero taught him language and science then enslaved him and dispossessed him of the island on which he was born \(1611\)](#)
- 101. [In Percy Shelley's poem *Liberty* liberty is compared to a force of nature sweeping the globe, where "tyrants and slaves are like shadows of night" which will disappear in "the van of the morning light" \(1824\)](#)
- 110. [In *Measure for Measure* Shakespeare has Isabella denounce the Duke's deputy for being corrupted by power, "it is excellent To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous To use it like a giant" \(1623\)](#)
- 114. [Shakespeare in *Pericles* on how the rich and powerful are like whales who eat up the harding working "little fish" \(1608\)](#)
- 142. [Percy Bysshe Shelley on the new Constitution of Naples which he hoped would be "as a mirror to make ... blind slaves see" \(1820\)](#)
- 146. [J.S. Bach and Martin Luther on how God \(the "feste Burg"\) helps us gain our freedom \(1730\)](#)
- 157. [Shakespeare has King Henry IV reflect on the reasons for invading the Holy Land, namely to distract people from domestic civil war and to "march all one way" under his banner \(1597\)](#)
- 160. [Confucius edited this collection of poems which contains a poem about "Yellow Birds" who ravenously eat the crops of the local people, thus alienating them completely \(520 BC\)](#)
- 201. [Augustin Thierry relates the heroic tale of the Kentishmen who defeat William the Conqueror and so are able to keep their ancient laws and liberties \(1856\)](#)
- 202. [Voltaire in *Candide* says that "tending one's own garden" is not only a private activity but also productive \(1759\)](#)
- 205. [Beethoven's hero Florestan in the opera *Fidelio* laments the loss of his liberty for speaking the truth to power \(1805\)](#)

Money & Banking

- 144. [Friedrich Hayek rediscovers the importance of Henry Thornton's early 19th century work on "paper credit" and its role in financing the British Empire \(1802\)](#)
- 148. [Henry Vaughan argues that it is the voluntary and "universal concurrence of mankind", not the laws, which makes money acceptable as a medium of exchange \(1675\)](#)
- 173. [Tom Paine on the "Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance" \(1796\)](#)
- 178. [Ludwig von Mises shows the inevitability of economic slumps after a period of credit expansion \(1951\)](#)
- 179. [Ludwig von Mises identifies the source of the disruption of the world monetary order as the failed policies of governments and their central banks \(1934\)](#)
- 182. [Thomas Jefferson in a letter to John Taylor condemns the system of banking as "a blot" on the constitution, as corrupt, and that long-term government debt was "swindling" future generations \(1816\)](#)
- 192. [Ludwig von Mises lays out five fundamental truths of monetary expansion \(1949\)](#)
- 193. [Ludwig von Mises argues that sound money is an instrument for the protection of civil liberties and a means of limiting government power \(1912\)](#)

Odds & Ends

- 10. [Adam Smith on the rigorous education of young Fitzmaurice \(1759\)](#)
- 34. [Frederick Millar is upset that especially at Christmas time the bad effects of the letter-carrying monopoly of the Post Office are felt by the public \(1891\)](#)
- 36. [Ambroise Clément draws the distinction between two different kinds of charity: true voluntary charity and coerced government "charity" which is really a tax \(1852\)](#)
- 49. [John Locke tells a "gentleman" how important reading and thinking is to a man of his station whose "proper calling" should be the service of his country \(late 1600s\)](#)
- 58. [Herbert Spencer argued that in a militant type of society the state would become more centralised and administrative, as compulsory education clearly showed \(1882\)](#)
- 63. [Edward Gibbon reveals the reasons why he wrote on the decline of the Roman Empire, "the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind" \(1776\)](#)
- 78. [The Earl of Shaftesbury states that civility and politeness is a consequence of liberty by which "we polish one another, and rub off our Corners and rough Sides" \(1709\)](#)
- 93. [Forrest McDonald discusses the reading habits of colonial Americans and concludes that their thinking about politics and their shared values was based upon their wide reading, especially of history \(1978\)](#)
- 96. [John Milton opposed censorship for many reasons but one thought sticks in the mind, that "he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself" \(1644\)](#)
- 185. [Edward Robertson points out the bureaucratic blundering and inefficiency of the Postal Monopoly during the Christmas rush period \(1891\)](#)

Origin of Government

- 57. [Herbert Spencer makes a distinction between the "militant type of society" based upon violence and the "industrial type of society" based upon peaceful economic activity \(1882\)](#)
- 82. [Frédéric Bastiat, while pondering the nature of war, concluded that society had always been divided into two classes - those who engaged in productive work and those who lived off their backs \(1850\)](#)
- 119. [Franz Oppenheimer argues that there are two fundamentally opposed ways of acquiring wealth: the "political means" through coercion, and the "economic means" through peaceful trade \(1922\)](#)
- 134. [David Hume on the origin of government in warfare, and the "perpetual struggle" between Liberty and Power \(1777\)](#)
- 211. [John Stuart Mill discusses the origins of the state whereby the "productive class" seeks protection from one "member of the predatory class" in order to gain some security of property \(1848\)](#)

Parties & Elections

- 42. [James Bryce tries to explain to a European audience why "great men" are no longer elected to America's highest public office \(1888\)](#)
- 39. [Auberon Herbert discusses the "essence of government" when the veneer of elections are stripped away \(1894\)](#)
- 85. [Lance Banning argues that within a decade of the creation of the US Constitution the nation was engaged in a bitter battle over the soul of the American Republic \(2004\)](#)
- 124. [Herbert Spencer takes "philosophical politicians" to task for claiming that government promotes the "public good" when in fact they are seeking "party aggrandisement" \(1843\)](#)
- 151. [Bruno Leoni argues that expressing one's economic choice as a consumer in a free market is quite different from making a political choice by means of voting \(1961\)](#)
- 180. [Bruno Leoni points out that elections are seriously flawed because majority rule is incompatible with individual freedom of choice \(1961\)](#)
- 181. [James Madison on the dangers of elections resulting in overbearing majorities who respect neither justice nor individual rights, *Federalist 10* \(1788\)](#)
- 188. [Gustave de Molinari argues that political parties are like "actual armies" who are trained to seize power and reward their supporters with jobs and special privileges \(1904\)](#)
- 214. [Captain John Clarke asserts the right of all men to vote in the formation of a new constitution by right of the property they have in themselves \(1647\)](#)

Philosophy

- 13. [Jean Barbeyrac on the Virtues which all free Men should have \(1718\)](#)
- 35. [Voltaire lampooned the excessively optimistic Leibnizian philosophers in his philosophic tale *Candide* by exposing his characters to one disaster after another, like a tsunami in Lisbon, to show that this was not "the best of all possible worlds" \(1759\)](#)
- 40. [Thomas Hobbes sings a hymn of praise for Reason as "the pace", scientific knowledge is "the way", and the benefit of mankind is "the end" \(1651\)](#)
- 62. [Wilhelm von Humboldt argued that freedom was the "Grand and Indispensable Condition" \(1792\)](#)
- 80. [J.S. Mill's great principle was that "over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign" \(1859\)](#)
- 156. [Aristotle insists that man is either a political animal \(the natural state\) or an outcast like a "bird which flies alone" \(4thC BC\)](#)
- 158. [Plato believed that great souls and creative talents produce "offspring" which can be enjoyed by others: wisdom, virtue, poetry, art, temperance, justice, and the law \(340s BC\)](#)

Politics & Liberty

- 3. [George Washington on the Difference between Commercial and Political Relations with other Countries \(1796\)](#)
- 5. [Richard Price on the true Nature of Love of One's Country \(1789\)](#)
- 7. [Adam Smith on the Dangers of sacrificing one's Liberty for the supposed benefits of the "lordly servitude of a court" \(1759\)](#)
- 14. [Bernhard Knollenberg on the Belief of many colonial Americans that Liberty was lost because the Leaders of the People had failed in their Duty \(2003\)](#)
- 29. [David Hume argued that Individual Liberty emerged slowly out of the "violent system of government" which had earlier prevailed in Europe \(1778\)](#)
- 41. [Andrew Fletcher believed that too many people were deceived by the "ancient terms and outwards forms" of their government but had in fact lost their ancient liberties \(1698\)](#)
- 44. [Edmund Burke asks a key question of political theory: quis custodiet ipsos custodes? \(how is one to be defended against the very guardians who have been appointed to guard us?\) \(1756\)](#)
- 45. [William Emerson, in his oration to commemorate the Declaration of Independence, reminded his listeners of the "unconquerable sense of liberty" which Americans had \(1802\)](#)
- 47. [David Hume ponders why the many can be governed so easily by the few and concludes that both force and opinion play a role \(1777\)](#)
- 51. [John Milton gave a speech before Parliament defending the right of freedom of speech in which he likened the government censors to an "oligarchy" and free speech to a "flowery crop of knowledge" \(1644\)](#)
- 64. [The Australian radical liberal Bruce Smith lays down some very strict rules which should govern](#)

[the actions of any legislator \(1887\)](#)

- 88. [J.S. Mill was convinced he was living in a time when he would experience an explosion of classical liberal reform because "the spirit of the age" had dramatically changed \(1831\)](#)
- 91. [Edward Gibbon wonders if Europe will avoid the same fate as the Roman Empire, collapse brought on as a result of prosperity, corruption, and military conquest \(1776\)](#)
- 95. [Montesquieu was fascinated by the liberty which was enjoyed in England, which he attributed to security of person and the rule of law \(1748\)](#)
- 105. [Catharine Macaulay supported the French Revolution because there were sound "public choice" reasons for not vesting supreme power in the hands of one's social or economic "betters" \(1790\)](#)
- 106. [Condorcet writes about the inevitability of the spread of liberty and prosperity while he was in prison awaiting execution by the Jacobins \(1796\)](#)
- 118. [Herbert Spencer concludes from his principle of equal freedom that individuals have the Right to Ignore the State \(1851\)](#)
- 132. [Augustin Thierry laments that the steady growth of liberty in France had been disrupted by the cataclysm of the French Revolution \(1859\)](#)
- 135. [Viscount Bryce reflects on how modern nation states which achieved their own freedom through struggle are not sympathetic to the similar struggles of other repressed peoples \(1901\)](#)
- 170. [James Madison on the mischievous effects of mutable government in *The Federalist* no. 62 \(1788\)](#)
- 175. [James Madison on the need for the "separation of powers" because "men are not angels," *Federalist* 51 \(1788\)](#)
- 191. [Mercy Otis Warren asks why people are so willing to obey the government and answers that it is supineness, fear of resisting, and the long habit of obedience \(1805\)](#)
- 195. [John Stuart Mill on the need for limited government and political rights to prevent the "king of the vultures" and his "minor harpies" in the government from preying on the people \(1859\)](#)
- 198. [Sir William Blackstone differentiates between "absolute rights" of individuals \(natural rights which exist prior to the state\) and social rights \(contractual rights which evolve later\) \(1753\)](#)
- 206. [Etienne de la Boétie provides one of the earliest and clearest explanations of why the suffering majority obeys the minority who rule over them; it is an example of voluntary servitude \(1576\)](#)
- 210. [Edward Gibbon called the loss of independence and excessive obedience the "secret poison" which corrupted the Roman Empire \(1776\)](#)
- 212. [Benjamin Constant distinguished between the Liberty of the Ancients \("the complete subjection of the individual to the authority of the community"\) and that of the Moderns \("where individual rights and commerce are respected"\) \(1816\)](#)
- 216. [John Adams thought he could see arbitrary power emerging in the American colonies and urged his countrymen to "nip it in the bud" before they lost all their liberties \(1774\)](#)
- 219. [Samuel Smiles on how an idle, thriftless, or drunken man can, and should, improve himself through self-help and not by means of the state \(1859\)](#)
- 222. [The Abbé de Mably argues with John Adams about the dangers of a "commercial elite" seizing control of the new Republic and using it to their own advantage \(1785\)](#)

Presidents, Kings, Tyrants, & Despots

- 1. [Thomas Gordon compares the Greatness of Spartacus with that of Julius Caesar \(1721\)](#)
- 15. [Algernon Sidney's Motto was that his Hand \(i.e. his pen\) was an Enemy to all Tyrants \(1660\)](#)
- 25. [Thomas Gordon believes that bigoted Princes are subject to the "blind control" of other "Directors and Masters" who work behind the scenes \(1737\)](#)
- 28. [James Bryce believed that the Founders intended that the American President would be "a reduced and improved copy of the English king" \(1885\)](#)
- 37. [Vicesimus Knox tries to persuade an English nobleman that some did not come into the world with "saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths" and some others like him came "ready booted and spurred to ride the rest to death" \(1793\)](#)
- 50. [John Milton believes men live under a "double tyranny" within \(the tyranny of custom and passions\) which makes them blind to the tyranny of government without \(1649\)](#)
- 52. [Montesquieu states that the Roman Empire fell because the costs of its military expansion introduced corruption and the loyalty of its soldiers was transferred from the City to its generals \(1734\)](#)
- 61. [Edward Gibbon believed that unless public liberty was defended by "intrepid and vigilant guardians" any constitution would degenerate into despotism \(1776\)](#)
- 68. [Adam Ferguson notes that "implicit submission to any leader, or the uncontroled exercise of any power" leads to a form of military government and ultimately despotism \(1767\)](#)
- 69. [John Milton laments the case of a people who won their liberty "in the field" but who then foolishly "ran their necks again into the yoke" of tyranny \(1660\)](#)
- 79. [Thomas Jefferson opposed vehemently the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 which granted the President enormous powers showing that the government had become a tyranny which desired to govern with "a rod of iron" \(1798\)](#)
- 83. [Benjamin Constant argued that mediocre men, when they acquired power, became "more envious, more obstinate, more immoderate, and more convulsive" than men with talent \(1815\)](#)
- 103. [After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 John Milton was concerned with both how the triumphalist monarchists would treat the English people and how the disheartened English people would face their descendants \(1660\)](#)
- 120. [George Washington warns the nation in his Farewell Address, that love of power will tend to create a real despotism in America unless proper checks and balances are maintained to limit government power \(1796\)](#)
- 150. [Plato warns of the people's protector who, once having tasted blood, turns into a wolf and a tyrant \(340s BC\)](#)
- 153. [George Washington warns that the knee jerk reaction of citizens to problems is to seek a](#)

[solution in the creation of a "new monarch"\(1786\)](#)

- 154. [Thucydides on political intrigue in the divided city of Corcyra caused by the "desire to rule" \(5thC BC\)](#)
- 165. [Thomas Hodgskin wonders how despotism comes to a country and concludes that the "first step" taken towards despotism gives it the power to take a second and a third - hence it must be stopped in its tracks at the very first sign \(1813\)](#)
- 167. [Edward Gibbon gloomily observed that in a unified empire like the Roman there was nowhere to escape, whereas with a multiplicity of states there were always gaps and interstices to hide in \(1776\)](#)
- 171. [Lord Acton writes to Bishop Creighton that the same moral standards should be applied to all men, political and religious leaders included, especially since "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely" \(1887\)](#)
- 194. [St. Augustine states that kingdoms without justice are mere robberies, and robberies are like small kingdoms; but large Empires are piracy writ large \(5th C\)](#)
- 213. [Richard Overton shoots *An Arrow against all Tyrants* from the prison of Newgate into the prerogative bowels of the arbitrary House of Lords and all other usurpers and tyrants whatsoever \(1646\)](#)
- 225. [Althusius argues that a political leader is bound by his oath of office which, if violated, requires his removal \(1614\)](#)
- 226. [Macaulay argues that politicians are less interested in the economic value of public works to the citizens than they are in their own reputation, embezzlement and "jobs for the boys" \(1830\)](#)
- 228. [Lao Tzu discusses how "the great sages" \(or wise advisors\) protect the interests of the prince and thus "prove to be but guardians in the interest of the great thieves" \(600 BC\)](#)
- 231. [Jefferson feared that it would only be a matter of time before the American system of government degenerated into a form of "elective despotism" \(1785\)](#)
- 235. [Livy on the irrecoverable loss of liberty under the Roman Empire \(10 AD\)](#)

Property Rights

- 19. [John Taylor on how a "sound freedom of property" can destroy the threat to Liberty posed by "an adoration of military fame" and oppressive governments \(1820\)](#)
- 30. [Wolowski and Levasseur argue that Property is "the fruit of human liberty" and that Violence and Conquest have done much to disturb this natural order \(1884\)](#)
- 123. [J.B. Say on the self-evident nature of property rights which is nevertheless violated by the state in taxation and slavery \(1817\)](#)
- 125. [Thomas Hodgskin argues for a Lockean notion of the right to property \("natural"\) and against the Benthamite notion that property rights are created by the state \("artificial"\) \(1832\)](#)
- 155. [Lord Kames states that the "hoarding appetite" is part of human nature and that it is the foundation of our notion of property rights \(1779\)](#)
- 168. [Alexis de Tocqueville stood up in the Constituent Assembly to criticize socialism as a violation of human nature, property rights, and individual liberty \(1848\)](#)
- 172. [Sir William Blackstone argues that occupancy of previously unowned land creates a natural right to that property which excludes others from it \(1753\)](#)
- 177. [Lysander Spooner spells out his theory of "mine and thine", or the science of natural law and justice, which alone can ensure that mankind lives in peace \(1882\)](#)
- 218. [James Mill on the natural disposition to accumulate property \(1808\).](#)

Religion & Toleration

- 21. [The Psalmist laments that he lives in a Society which "hateth peace" and cries out "I am for peace: but when I speak they are for war" \(1000 BC\)](#)
- 22. [The Prophet Isaiah urges the people to "beat their swords into plowshares" and learn war no more \(700s BC\)](#)
- 23. [Samuel warns his people that if they desire a King they will inevitably have conscription, requisitioning of their property, and taxation \(7th century BC\)](#)
- 26. [Voltaire notes that where Commerce and Toleration predominate, a Multiplicity of Faiths can live together in Peace and Happiness \(1764\)](#)
- 89. [Voltaire argued that religious intolerance was against the law of nature and was worse than the "right of the tiger" \(1763\)](#)
- 92. [Pierre Bayle begins his defence of religious toleration with this appeal that the light of nature, or Reason, should be used to settle religious differences and not coercion \(1708\)](#)
- 107. [In Ecclesiastes there is the call to plant, to love, to live, and to work and then to enjoy the fruits of all one's labors \(3rdC BC\)](#)
- 149. [William Findlay wants to maintain the separation of church and state and therefore sees no role for the "ecclesiastical branch" in government \(1812\)](#)
- 174. [Job rightly wants to know why he, "the just upright man is laughed to scorn" while robbers prosper \(6thC BC\)](#)
- 176. [John Locke believed that the magistrate should not punish sin but only violations of natural rights and public peace \(1689\)](#)
- 209. [St. John, private property, and the Parable of the Wolf and the Good Shepherd \(2ndC AD\)](#)
- 221. [David Hume argues that "love of liberty" in some individuals often attracts the religious inquisitor to persecute them and thereby drive society into a state of "ignorance, corruption, and bondage" \(1757\)](#)
- 233. [Noah Webster on the resilience of common religious practices in the face of attempts by the state to radically change them \(1794\)](#)

Science

- 8. [Adam Smith on the "Wonder, Surprise, and Admiration" one feels when contemplating the physical World \(1795\)](#)
- 220. [Charles Darwin on life as a spontaneous order which emerged by the operation of natural laws \(1859\)](#)

Taxation

- 38. [Thomas Jefferson boasts about having reduced the size of government and eliminated a number of "vexatious" taxes \(1805\)](#)
- 77. [John C. Calhoun notes that taxation divides the community into two great antagonistic classes, those who pay the taxes and those who benefit from them \(1850\)](#)
- 118. [Thomas Paine on Taxes as the Harvest of War \(1791\)](#)
- 46. [Thomas Hodgskin noted in his journey through the northern German states that the burden of heavy taxation was no better than it had been under the conqueror Napoleon \(1820\)](#)
- 60. [David Ricardo considered taxation to be a "great evil" which hindered the accumulation of productive capital and reduced consumption \(1817\)](#)
- 126. [Frank Chodorov argues that taxation is an act of coercion and if pushed to its logical limits will result in Socialism \(1946\)](#)
- 129. [William Graham Sumner reminds us never to forget the "Forgotten Man", the ordinary working man and woman who pays the taxes and suffers under government regulation \(1883\)](#)
- 141. [Frédéric Bastiat and the state as "la grande fiction à travers laquelle Tout Le Monde s'efforce de vivre aux dépens de Tout Le Monde \(1848\)](#)
- 162. [Jefferson tells Congress that since tax revenues are increasing faster than population then taxes on all manner of items can be "dispensed with" \(i.e. abolished\) \(1801\)](#)
- 164. [Alexander Hamilton denounces the British for imposing "oppressive taxes" on the colonists which amount to tyranny, a form of slavery, and vassalage to the Empire \(1774\)](#)
- 166. [Adam Smith claims that exorbitant taxes imposed without consent of the governed constitute legitimate grounds for the people to resist their rulers \(1763\)](#)
- 190. [Frédéric Bastiat on the state as the great fiction by which everyone seeks to live at the expense of everyone else \(1848\)](#)
- 215. [Lysander Spooner argues that according to the traditional English common law, taxation would not be upheld because no explicit consent was given by individuals to be taxed \(1852\)](#)

War & Peace

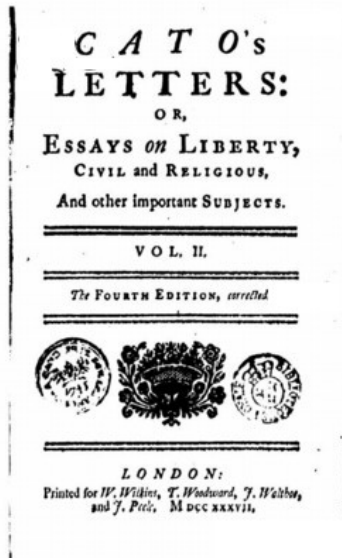
- 2. [Bernard Mandeville on how the Hardships and Fatigues of War bear most heavily on the "working slaving People" \(1732\)](#)
- 4. [Hugo Grotius on sparing Civilian Property from Destruction in Time of War \(1625\)](#)
- 9. [Adam Smith on the Sympathy one feels for those Vanquished in a battle rather than for the Victors \(1762\)](#)
- 12. [Robert Nisbet on the Shock the Founding Fathers would feel if they could see the current size of the Military Establishment and the National Government \(1988\)](#)
- 17. [Thomas Hodgskin on the Suffering of those who had been Impressed or Conscripted into the despotism of the British Navy \(1813\)](#)
- 27. [Ludwig von Mises laments the passing of the Age of Limited Warfare and the coming of Mass Destruction in the Age of Statism and Conquest \(1949\)](#)
- 55. [Erasmus has the personification of Peace come down to earth to see with dismay how war ravages human societies \(1521\)](#)
- 56. [William Graham Sumner denounced America's war against Spain and thought that "war, debt, taxation, diplomacy, a grand governmental system, pomp, glory, a big army and navy, lavish expenditures, political jobbery" would result in imperialism \(1898\)](#)
- 66. [Hugo Grotius discusses the just causes of going to war, especially the idea that the capacity to wage war must be matched by the intent to do so \(1625\)](#)
- 67. [Hugo Grotius states that in an unjust war any acts of hostility done in that war are "unjust in themselves" \(1625\)](#)
- 76. [Thomas Gordon gives a long list of ridiculous and frivolous reasons why kings and tyrants have started wars which have led only to the enslavement and destruction of their own people \(1737\)](#)
- 81. [John Jay in the Federalist Papers discussed why nations go to war and concluded that it was not for justice but "whenever they have a prospect of getting any thing by it" \(1787\)](#)
- 87. [J.M. Keynes reflected on that "happy age" of international commerce and freedom of travel that was destroyed by the cataclysm of the First World War \(1920\)](#)
- 108. [A.V. Dicey noted that a key change in public thinking during the 19thC was the move away from the early close association between "peace and retrenchment" in the size of the government \(1905\)](#)
- 131. [St. Thomas Aquinas discusses the three conditions for a just war \(1265-74\)](#)
- 138. [James Madison argues that the constitution places war-making powers squarely with the legislative branch; for the president to have these powers is the "the true nurse of executive aggrandizement" \(1793\)](#)
- 145. [Thomas Gordon on standing armies as a power which is inconsistent with liberty \(1722\)](#)
- 147. [James Madison on the need for the people to declare war and for each generation, not future generations, to bear the costs of the wars they fight \(1792\)](#)
- 152. [Adam Smith observes that the true costs of war remain hidden from the taxpayers because they are sheltered in the metropole far from the fighting and instead of increasing taxes the government pays for the war by increasing the national debt \(1776\)](#)
- 183. [John Trenchard identifies who will benefit from any new war "got up" in Italy: princes, courtiers, jobbers, and pensioners, but definitely not the ordinary taxpayer \(1722\)](#)

- 186. [Alexander Hamilton warns of the danger to civil society and liberty from a standing army since "the military state becomes elevated above the civil" \(1787\)](#)
- 200. [Daniel Webster thunders that the introduction of conscription would be a violation of the constitution, an affront to individual liberty, and an act of unrivaled despotism \(1814\)](#)
- 207. [Thomas Paine responded to one of Burke's critiques of the French Revolution by cynically arguing that wars are sometimes started in order to increase taxation \("the harvest of war"\) \(1791\)](#)
- 208. [Thomas Jefferson on the Draft as "the last of all oppressions" \(1777\)](#)
- 230. [Madison argued that war is the major way by which the executive office increases its power, patronage, and taxing power \(1793\)](#)

Women's Rights

- 53. [J.S. Mill denounced the legal subjection of women as "wrong in itself" and as "one of the chief hindrances to human improvement" \(1869\)](#)
- 70. [Mary Wollstonecraft believes that women are no more naturally subservient than men and nobody, male or female, values freedom unless they have had to struggle to attain it \(1792\)](#)
- 90. [J.S. Mill spoke in Parliament in favour of granting women the right to vote, to have "a voice in determining who shall be their rulers" \(1866\)](#)
- 113. [J.S. Mill in *The Subjection of Women* argued that every form of oppression seems perfectly natural to those who live under it \(1869\)](#)
- 196. [John Stuart Mill uses an analogy with the removal of protective duties and bounties in trade to urge a similar "Free Trade" between the sexes \(1869\)](#)
- 223. [Harriet Taylor wants to see "freedom and admissibility" in all areas of human activity replace the system of "privilege and exclusion" \(1847\)](#)

1. THOMAS GORDON COMPARES THE GREATNESS OF SPARTACUS WITH THAT OF JULIUS CAESAR (1721)



Source: John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters, or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects*. Four volumes in Two, edited and annotated by Ronald Hamowy (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995). Vol. 2. Chapter: NO. 55. SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1721. The Lawfulness of killing Julius Caesar considered, and defended, against Dr. Prideaux. (Gordon)

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website early April, 2004.

About the Author: John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon (?-1750) were two indefatigable English journalists who defended the idea of liberty against political corruption, imperialism and militarism in the early 18th century. They were also much read in the American colonies.

Quotation

The USA cable channel recently showed a remake (first done brilliantly by Stanley Kubrick over 40 years ago) of the story of "Spartacus" who led a slave revolt against the Roman Empire. Here is what one of our authors (Thomas Gordon from *Cato's Letters* 1721) has to say about Spartacus, in comparison with Julius Caesar:

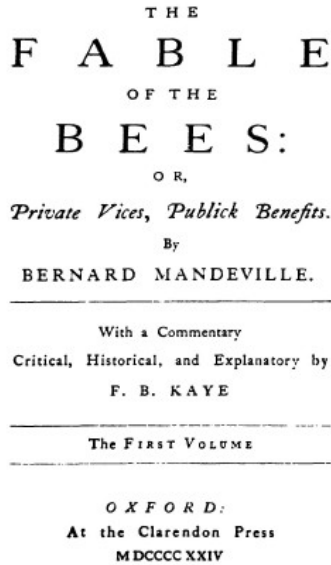
For I hope all mankind will allow it a less crime in any man to attempt to recover his own liberty, than wantonly and cruelly to destroy the liberty of his country.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The idea of having a quote of the month or quote of the week was to highlight some recently added text which had something particularly apt to say about mankind's struggle for Liberty and against the intrusions on that liberty by Power - hence the title of this collection "Quotations about Liberty and Power". It was also hoped that the quote would inspire readers to delve more deeply into the online collection, to follow the links provided to other books by the author or related subject matter, and to generally explore the website and its resources.

What should be the first Quote for a project of the scope of the Online Library of Liberty? The OLL website went live to the public in March 2004 with nearly 300 titles so the possibilities for selection were quite large. It was decided to choose *Cato's Letters* by Trenchard and Gordon because it was a book published by Liberty Fund and because the two authors had had a profound effect on bringing to the attention of the American colonists the threat posed to their liberties by the British Empire and its corrupt government. A secondary factor was the recent showing on cable television of a movie about the Roman slave Spartacus who led one of the more significant slave revolts against the Roman Empire in 73 BC. Not surprisingly, this symbolic event was discussed by Trenchard and Gordon in their attacks on the British Empire in the 1720s. In fact, Trenchard and Gordon were not alone in using the example of "Cato" to symbolise the struggle for liberty against power. For many people in the 18th century Shakespeare's play about *Julius Caesar* still carried a powerful message. A good example of this is Joseph Addison's play *Cato: A Tragedy* (1710), which was published by Liberty Fund in 2004.

2. BERNARD MANDEVILLE ON HOW THE HARDSHIPS AND FATIGUES OF WAR BEAR MOST HEAVILY ON THE "WORKING SLAVING PEOPLE" (1732)



Source: Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, 2 vols. With a Commentary Critical, Historical, and Explanatory by F.B. Kaye (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988). Vol. 1. Chapter: [45]REMARKS.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 3-7, 2004.

About the Author: Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) was born in Holland in 1670 into a family of physicians and naval officers. He received his degree of Doctor of Medicine at Leiden in 1691 and began to practice as a specialist in nerve and stomach disorders, his father's specialty. Perhaps after a tour of Europe, he ended up in London, where he soon learned the language and decided to stay. He married in 1699, fathered at least two children, and brought out his first English publication in 1703 (a book of fables in the La Fontaine tradition). He wrote works on medicine (*A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, 1711), poetry (*Wishes to a Godson, with Other Miscellany Poems*, 1712), and religious and political affairs (*Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and National Happiness*, 1720). He died in 1733. His most famous work, *The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, came out in more than half a dozen editions beginning in 1714 (the poem *The Grumbling Hive* upon which it was based appeared in 1705) and became one of the most enduringly controversial works of the eighteenth century for its claims about the moral foundations of modern commercial society.

Quotation

This passage comes from Remark L by Bernard Mandeville in *The Fable of the Bees or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1732):

The Hardships and Fatigues of War that are personally suffer'd, fall upon them that bear the Brunt of every Thing, the meanest Indigent Part of the Nation, the working slaving People.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The War in Afghanistan began in October 2001 soon after planning for the design and building of the OLL began. It was soon followed by the invasion of Iraq in March 2003 just a year before the launch of the OLL website in March 2004. So it is not surprising that war was at the back of the minds of the editors when the site was opened to the public. So Mandeville's book (another title published by Liberty Fund) with his thoughtful reflections about the nature of "private vice and publick benefit" and the need for heavy taxation on the ordinary citizens to pay for war, were very appropriate.

3. GEORGE WASHINGTON ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES (1796)



Source: George Washington, *George Washington: A Collection*, compiled and edited by W.B. Allen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988). Chapter: 178: FAREWELL ADDRESS

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 10-14, 2004.

About the Author: George Washington (1732-1799) was the military leader of the American revolutionary armies and became the first president of the United States of America.

Quotation

This passage comes from George Washington's "Farewell Address" given on September 19, 1796:

The Great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As the military leader of the American Revolution and the country's first president, Washington is a highly revered figure. His Farewell Address from the office of the President is a timely reminder of a tradition of a non-interventionist American foreign policy which was potent in the early years of the new Republic.

4. HUGO GROTIUS ON SPARING CIVILIAN PROPERTY FROM DESTRUCTION IN TIME OF WAR (1625)



Source: Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace, including the Law of Nature and of Nations, translated from the Original Latin of Grotius, with Notes and Illustrations from Political and Legal Writers*, by A.C. Campbell, A.M. with an Introduction by David J. Hill (New York: M. Walter Dunne, 1901). Chapter: CHAPTER XII.: On Moderation in Despoiling An Enemy's Country.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 17-21, 2004.

About the Author: Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) was a Dutch scholar and jurist whose legal masterpiece, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (On the law of war and peace) (1625), contributed significantly to the formation of international law as a distinct discipline. In addition to that work, Grotius wrote a number of literary pieces of lasting merit, including *Sacra* (a collection of Latin poems) and the drama *Christus Patiens*. Like Erasmus, Grotius sought to end the religious schism and urged the papacy to reconcile with the Protestant faiths.

Quotation

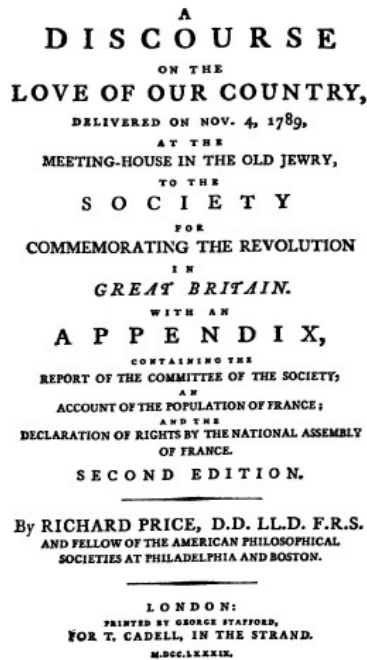
This passage comes from Hugo Grotius, *The Law of War and Peace* (1625), Book III Chapter 12 "On Moderation in Despoiling an Enemy's Country" (1625):

There are some things of such a nature, as to contribute, no way, to the support and prolongation of war: things which reason itself requires to be spared even during the heat and continuance of war: ... Such are Porticos, Temples, statues, and all other elegant works and monuments of art... As this rule of moderation is observed towards other ornamental works of art, for the reasons before stated, there is still greater reason, why it should be obeyed in respect to things devoted to the purposes of religion.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The OLL has two editions of Grotius book on *The Laws of War and Peace* online. The 1901 edition was published at a time when a number of Conventions had been convened to modernise the laws of war and to help ward off an expected conflict between the Great Powers of Europe (which nevertheless took place in 1914). This edition contained an introduction by David J. Hill who was Assistant Secretary of State in the U.S., thus giving the project the stamp of approval of the American government. The second edition we have online is a 3 volume edition published in 2005 by Richard Tuck. It is now the definitive scholarly edition of Grotius' work and is part of a 40 volume series on *The Enlightenment and Natural Law*. Having lived through the early years of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) which devastated so much of central and northern Europe it is not surprising that Grotius would be concerned about the effects of war on innocent civilians and how best to minimise this impact.

5. RICHARD PRICE ON THE TRUE NATURE OF LOVE OF ONE'S COUNTRY (1789)



Source: Richard Price, *A Discourse on the Love of Our Country*, delivered on Nov. 4, 1789, at the Meeting-House in the Old Jewry, to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Britain. With an Appendix. Second edition (London: T. Cadell, 1789). Chapter: A DISCOURSE, &c.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 24-28, 2004.

About the Author: Richard Price (1723-1791) was a Welsh-born liberal Presbyterian minister and moral philosopher. Price is perhaps best known for his vigorous defence of both the American and the French Revolutions. His sermon on "The Love of One's Country" in 1789 stimulated Burke into writing his famous critique of the French Revolution.

Quotation

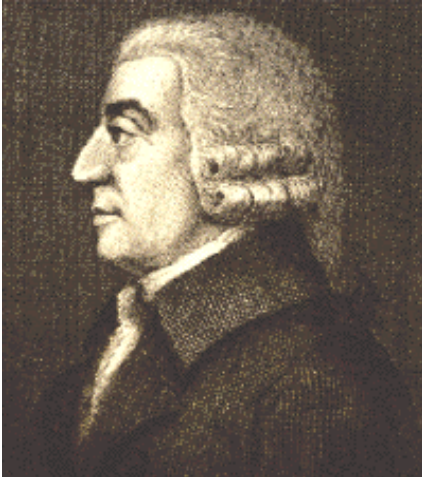
This passage comes from Richard Price, "A Discourse on the Love of Our Country" (1789) in [Political Sermons of the American Founding Era, 1730-1805](#), vol. II, ed. Ellis Sandoz.:

It is proper I should desire you particularly to distinguish between the love of our country and that spirit of rivalry and ambition which has been common among nations. What has the love of their country hitherto been among mankind? What has it been but a love of domination; a desire of conquest, and a thirst for grandeur and glory, by extending territory, and enslaving surrounding countries?

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In the post-9/11 world the issue of the nature of patriotism has raised its head many times. Richard Price's sermon on patriotism, published in a collection of sermons in the Revolutionary Period by Liberty Fund, was given to provide support to the early constitutional phase of the French Revolution which some patriotic Englishman saw as a threat. Price distinguished between the natural love of one's birthplace and community, and the sense of superiority and triumphalism which many "false" patriots had. Interestingly, Price's sermon prompted Edmund Burke to write his very critical work on the French Revolution thus sparking an important intellectual debate on the topic.

6. ADAM SMITH ON THE NATURAL ORDERING TENDENCY OF FREE MARKETS, OR WHAT HE CALLED THE "INVISIBLE HAND" (1776)



Source: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, vol. II of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). CHAPTER II: Of Restraints upon the Importation from foreign Countries of such Goods as can be produced at Home.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 31-June 4, 2004.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]]

Quotation

This passage comes from Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the the Wealth of Nations* (1776):

... by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.

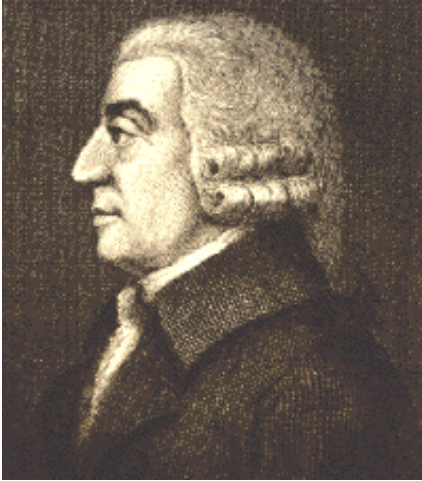
Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Liberty Fund is pleased to publish in paperback and online the *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, in 7 volumes, which was commissioned by the University of Glasgow and originally published by Oxford University Press in 1976 in order to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the first publication of Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).

The concept of the "invisible hand" is one of Smith's most potent concepts and is consequently one of his most famous statements. With his complete works online it is possible to do a "key word" search for this phrase across his entire corpus. It is surprising to see where else it crops up in his writings.

This phrase about the "invisible hand", along with Adam Ferguson's that societies were "the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design," are two of the most important and profound insights to emerge out of the Scottish Enlightenment.

7. ADAM SMITH ON THE DANGERS OF SACRIFICING ONE'S LIBERTY FOR THE SUPPOSED BENEFITS OF THE "LORDLY SERVITUDE OF A COURT" (1759)



Source: Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D.D. Raphael and A.L. Macfie, vol. I of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1982). Chap. II: Of the origin of Ambition, and of the distinction of Ranks

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 7-11, 2004.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

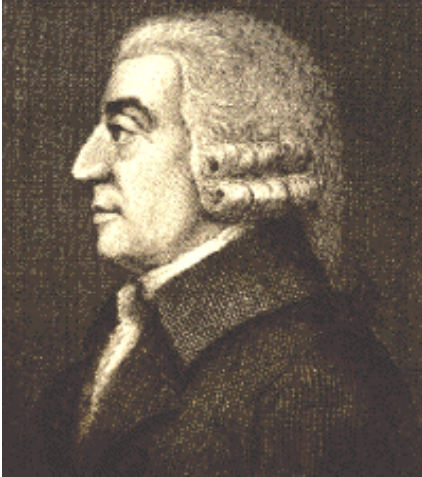
This passage comes from a chapter entitled "Of the Origin of Ambition and of the Distinction of Ranks" in Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759).

Are you in earnest resolved never to barter your liberty for the lordly servitude of a court, but to live free, fearless, and independent? (Then...) (n)ever enter the place from whence so few have been able to return; never come within the circle of ambition; nor ever bring yourself into comparison with those masters of the earth who have already engrossed the attention of half mankind before you.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

2009 is the 250th anniversary of the publication of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. It is a landmark work for several reasons. Firstly, it reveals that Smith was not just one of the founding fathers of modern political economy but a moral philosopher of the first order. One of his strengths is that he melds the two disciplines into a coherent theory of human interaction. Another fact to note is that this volume is the best seller among all the books published by Liberty Fund.

8. ADAM SMITH ON THE "WONDER, SURPRISE, AND ADMIRATION" ONE FEELS WHEN CONTEMPLATING THE PHYSICAL WORLD (1795)



Source: Adam Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, ed. W. P. D. Wightman and J. C. Bryce, vol. III of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1982). Chapter: The HISTORY of ASTRONOMY

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 14-18, 2004.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

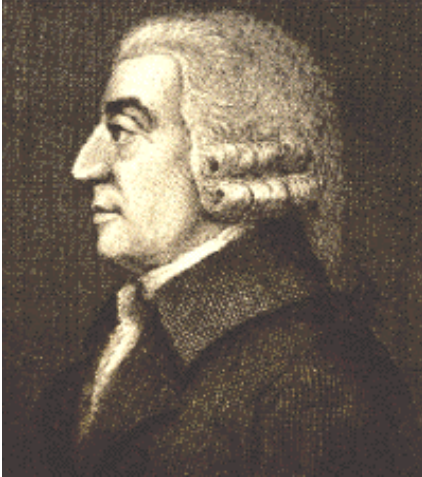
In a lecture on Astronomy Adam Smith explores the range of feelings one feels when observing the wonders of nature and the beauties of the physical world:

We wonder at all extraordinary and uncommon objects, at all the rarer phaenomena of nature, at meteors, comets, eclipses, at singular plants and animals, and at every thing, in short, with which we have before been either little or not at all acquainted; and we still wonder, though forewarned of what we are to see.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As we continue to explore the complete works of Adam Smith in the Glasgow Edition republished by Liberty Fund, we find many unexpected gems. Here we see Smith lecturing on science to undergraduates and expressing his heartfelt admiration for the beauty of the physical world.

9. ADAM SMITH ON THE SYMPATHY ONE FEELS FOR THOSE VANQUISHED IN A BATTLE RATHER THAN FOR THE VICTORS (1762)



Source: Adam Smith, *Lectures On Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, ed. J. C. Bryce, vol. IV of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1985). Chapter: Lecture. 16th.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 21-25, 2004.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the “invisible hand” of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from “The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University.”]

Quotation

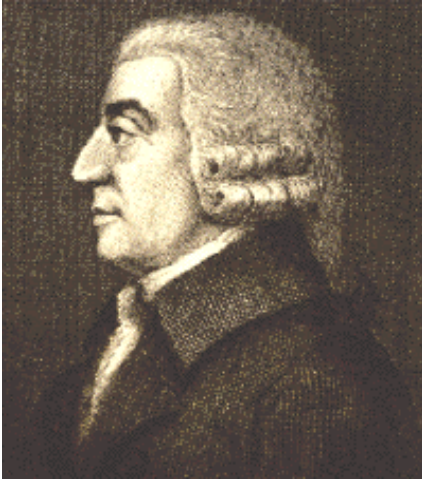
This passage comes from Lecture 16 of Smith’s *Lectures on Rhetoric* which he gave at the University of Glasgow in 1762.

... it is with the misfortunes of others that we most commonly as well as most deeply sympathise.—A Historian who related a battle and the effects attending, if he was no way interested would naturally dwell more on the misery and lamentations of the vanquished than on the triumph and exultations of the Victors.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This passage builds upon the ideas contained in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) where Smith shows that his interest goes far beyond just matters of justice or economic efficiency but extends equally to the issue of having sympathy towards the suffering of others.

10. ADAM SMITH ON THE RIGOROUS EDUCATION OF YOUNG FITZMAURICE (1759)



Source: Adam Smith, *Correspondence of Adam Smith*, ed. E. C. Mossner and I. S. Ross, vol. VI of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1987). Chapter: 30.: To LORD SHELBURNE, 4 April, 1759

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 5-9, 2004.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

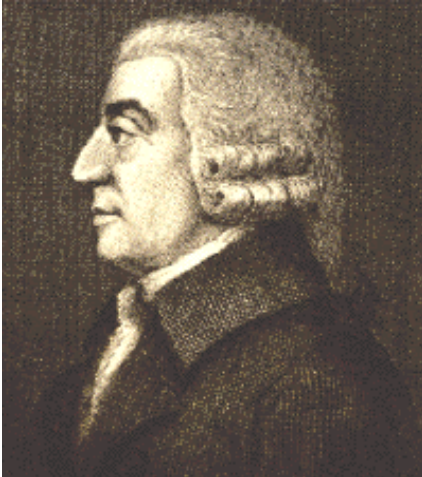
Smith wrote this letter to Lord Shelburne reporting on the progress of young Mr. Fitzmaurice's education.

The College breaks up in the beginning of June and does not sit down again till the beginning of October. During this interval I propose that he should learn french and Dancing and fencing and that besides he should read with me the best greek, latin and french Authors on Moral Philosophy for two or three hours every morning, so that he will not be idle in the vacation.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is important to remember that before he became of professor of moral philosophy Smith worked as a tutor. One stands in wonderment at the intensity and depth of education which the elite in the 18th and 19th century were able to "enjoy" (if that is the right word). It reminds one of the extraordinary education which John Stuart Mill got at the hands of his father James in the early 19th century.

11. ADAM SMITH ON HOW GOVERNMENT REGULATION AND TAXES MIGHT DRIVE A MAN TO DRINK (1766)



Source: Adam Smith, *Lectures On Jurisprudence*, ed. R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein, vol. V of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1982). Chapter: Of Police

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 12-16, 2004.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

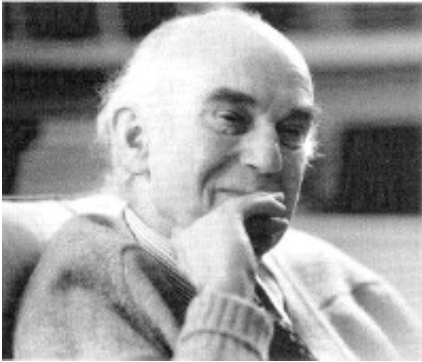
In a discussion of how taxes diminish a nation's "opulence", Smith has some interesting observations on the drinking habits of Europeans:

Man is an anxious animal and must have his care swept off by something that can exhilarate the spirits. It is alledged that this tax upon beer is an artificial security against drunkenness, but if we attend to it, <we shall find> that it by no means prevents it. In countries where strong liquors are cheap, as in France and Spain, the people are generally sober. But in northern countries, where they are dear, they do not get drunk with beer but with spirituous liquors. No body presses his friend to a glass of beer unless he choose it.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In our wanderings through the texts on the OLL website we have come across a surprising number of references to food and drink. Here is one by Adam Smith and we also have found a discussion by David Hume on turkeys (an obvious choice for a Thanksgiving Day quote) and Desiderius Erasmus on the importance of having Philosophers of the Kitchen.

12. ROBERT NISBET ON THE SHOCK THE FOUNDING FATHERS WOULD FEEL IF THEY COULD SEE THE CURRENT SIZE OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (1988)



Source: Robert A. Nisbet, *The Present Age: Progress and Anarchy in Modern America* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003). Chapter: Foreword

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 19-23, 2004.

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

Quotation

In 1988 Nisbet gave a series of lectures to celebrate the bicentennial of the American Constitution. He reflected on what the Framers would be most struck by in America today and concluded that they would be incredulous at the staggering size of the military establishment and the Leviathan-like size of the national government:

What would the Framers (of the U.S. Constitution) be most struck by in America today? ... Three aspects of the present age in America would surely draw their immediate, concerned, and perhaps incredulous attention. First, the prominence of war in American life since 1914, amounting to a virtual Seventy-Five Years War, and with this the staggering size of the American military establishment since World War II. ... Second, the Leviathan-like presence of the national government in the affairs of states, towns, and cities, and in the lives, cradle to grave, of individuals.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is interesting to compare Nisbet's thoughts with the very similar ones expressed by the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises on how war, inflation, and revolution in the 20th century have so greatly expanded the powers of the state to the detriment of individual liberty.

13. JEAN BARBEYRAC ON THE VIRTUES WHICH ALL FREE MEN SHOULD HAVE (1718)



Source: Jean Barbeyrac, in Samuel von Pufendorf, *The Whole Duty of Man According to the Law of Nature*, trans. Andrew Tooke, ed. Ian Hunter and David Saunders, with Two Discourses and a Commentary by Jean Barbeyrac, trans. David Saunders (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003). Chapter: Discourse on the Benefits Conferred by the Laws In which it is shown that a good man should not always take advantage of the benefits conferred on him by the laws

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 26-30, 2004.

About the Author: Jean Barbeyrac (1674-1744) was a Huguenot refugee from religious persecution in France. He taught in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland and became one of the most important disseminators of Protestant natural law as well as an important rights-theorist. His translations of Pufendorf and Grotius, along with his copious notes and commentaries, were an important addition to natural law theory.

Quotation

In his translation of Samuel Pufendorf's treatise on natural law, *The Whole Duty of Man* (1691, 1718), Jean Barbeyrac included a number of essays and commentaries. In one, a "Discourse on the Benefits Conferred by the Laws", he made the following observation:

There are other virtues which, while free from all constraint, nonetheless carry a clear and imperative obligation... humanity, compassion, charity, beneficence, liberality, generosity, patience, gentleness, love of peace, these are not empty names, nor are they indifferent things... they are sentiments which all reasonable persons in all times have counted among their duties...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Jean Barbeyrac is important not only for making available to 18th century readers translations of important 17th century thinkers such as Grotius and Pufendorf, but also for providing extensive notes to these translation in which he expanded the ideas of the men he was translating. The quotation above is a good example of this.

14. BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG ON THE BELIEF OF MANY COLONIAL AMERICANS THAT LIBERTY WAS LOST BECAUSE THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE HAD FAILED IN THEIR DUTY (2003)

GROWTH OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION:
1766-1775

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

*Edited and with a Foreword by
Bernard W. Sheehan*



Source: Bernhard Knollenberg, *Growth of the American Revolution: 1766-1775*, ed. and with a Foreword by Bernard W. Sheehan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003). This book is no longer available in the OLL for copyright reasons.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 2-6, 2004.

About the Author: Bernhard Knollenberg (1892-1973) practiced law for twenty-two years in New York City before leaving to direct the Yale University Library in 1938. He was the senior deputy administrator of the United States Lend-Lease Administration in Washington, D.C., and later a Division Deputy in the O.S.S., during World War II. Thereafter, he dedicated his time to historical research and writing about the American Revolution. He is also the author of *Washington and the Revolution*; *Pioneering Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West*; and *Franklin, Jonathan Williams, and William Pitt*.

Quotation

In his magisterial history of the American Revolution, Bernhard Knollenberg remarks upon the problems facing the Continental Congress in September 1774:

One of the points particularly stressed in the writings in defense of liberty was that liberty, once enjoyed but lost, had commonly been lost because leaders of the people, who ought to have taken timely action to preserve it, had failed in their duty.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Unfortunately this book is no longer available online at the OLL website for reasons of copyright. Nevertheless, Knollenberg's 2 volume history of the American Revolution is a classic which is still available in book form from Liberty Fund.

15. ALGERNON SIDNEY'S MOTTO WAS THAT HIS HAND (I.E. HIS PEN) WAS AN ENEMY TO ALL TYRANTS (1660)



Source: Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, ed. Thomas G. West (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1996). Chapter: FOREWORD

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 9-13, 2004.

About the Author: Algernon Sidney (1622-1683) was a radical English republican political theorist who challenged Filmer's theory of the divine right of kings. He was executed for treason in 1683.

Quotation

In the Foreword to the Liberty Fund edition of Sidney's *Discourses* Thomas G. West discusses the importance of Sidney's work to the American Founding Fathers:

Manus haec inimica tyrannis
Einse petit placidam cum libertate quietem.
(This hand, enemy to tyrants,
By the sword seeks calm peacefulness with liberty.)

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Sidney was executed in 1683 by the restored Stuart monarchy because of his staunch republicanism which harkened back to the revolutionary period of the 1640s. It should be noted that Sidney's motto was adopted as the official seal of the Commonwealth of the State of Massachusetts in 1775.

16. SIR EDWARD COKE DEFENDS BRITISH LIBERTIES AND THE IDEA OF HABEAS CORPUS IN THE PETITION OF RIGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT (1628)



Source: Sir Edward Coke, *The Selected Writings and Speeches of Sir Edward Coke*, ed. Steve Sheppard (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003). Vol. 3. Chapter: D. 1628 Petition of Right

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 16-20, 2004.

About the Author: Sir Edward Coke (pronounced cook) (1552-1634) was a lawyer, Member of Parliament, and judge of great renown. He is considered one of the premier champions of the common law, which he defended against the attempted encroachments of the courts of equity and the royal prerogative of the Stuarts—James I (r. 1603-1625) in particular.

Quotation

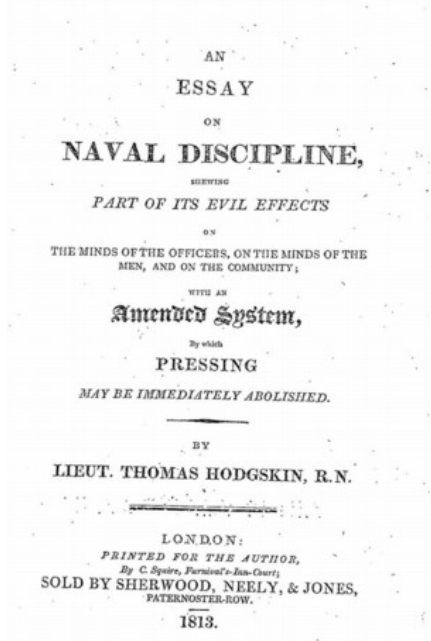
After a series of debates in parliament in early 1628, Sir Edward Coke wrote and got adopted one of the founding documents securing the liberties of Englishmen:

And where also by the statute called the Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted that no free man may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Liberty Fund has published in 2003 a massive 3 volume collection of Coke's writings including many of his lesser known works. In the contemporary debates about the principle of habeas corpus it is informative to go back to the England of the 1620s to see how lawyers like Coke fought for English liberties against the Stuart monarchy and their claims to absolutist rule.

17. THOMAS HODGSKIN ON THE SUFFERING OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN IMPRESSED OR CONSCRIPTED INTO THE DESPOTISM OF THE BRITISH NAVY (1813)



Source: Thomas Hodgskin, *An Essay on Naval Discipline, Shewing Part of its evil Effects on the Minds of the Officers, on the Minds of the Men, and on the Community; with an Amended System, by which Pressing may be immediately abolished*, by Lieut. Thomas Hodgskin, R.N. (London: Printed for the Author, by C. Squire, Furnival's-Inn-Court, sold by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster-Row 1813). Chapter: PREFACE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 23-27, 2004.

About the Author: Thomas Hodgskin (1787-1869) was an officer in the British Navy before leaving because of his opposition to the brutal treatment of sailors. He worked for the free trade magazine *The Economist* and wrote and lectured on laissez-faire economic ideas to working men's institutes. He was one of the earliest popularizers of economics for audiences of non-economists and gave lectures on free trade, the corn laws, and labor even before Jane Haldimand Marcet. Hodgskin passionately cared about the concerns of laborers after his experience with the maltreatment of sailors. His discussions of the labor theory of value followed up on David Ricardo and pre-dated John Stuart Mill's expositions on similar themes. He was later cited by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Marx's *Capital*. He is commonly, though incorrectly, referred to as a Ricardian socialist.

Quotation

Hodgskin was forced to leave the British Navy after being physically punished for complaining about the brutal treatment of sailors who been impressed (conscripted):

I have seen the discipline of the French armies and I have read of the despotism of the French emperor; I have witnessed, and heard of the calamities inflicted on negroes; but with the exceptions of our seamen being better fed, better clothed, and not allowed to be murdered,—what I have seen them suffer, exceeds the cruelties of Buonaparte to his army, exceeds all that the negroes have had inflicted on them: nothing could support them under their sufferings, but a great and noble consciousness, that they are the saviours of their country—that it is visibly their efforts alone, which prevent despotism from overshadowing the earth, and destroying that liberty they were in early life taught to indulge a love of, and which they still regard as sacred, though no longer permitted to taste its blessings.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

One needs to remember that this angry tract in defence of the rights of seamen was written during the Napoleonic War and placed the author under the considerable risk of himself being disciplined for treason by the British Navy. Although he was punished by being passed over for promotion he escaped having the more serious charge leveled against him.

18. BRUNO LEONI ON THE DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH NEEDS CAN BE SATISFIED, EITHER VOLUNTARILY THROUGH THE MARKET OR COERCIVELY THROUGH THE STATE (1963)



Source: Bruno Leoni, *Freedom and the Law*, expanded 3rd edition, foreword by Arthur Kemp (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1991). Chapter: 4: Voting Versus the Market

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 30 - September 3, 2004.

About the Author: Bruno Leoni (1913-1967) was Professor of Legal Theory and the Theory of the State at the University of Pavia, a practicing lawyer, founder editor of the journal *Il Politico*, newspaper columnist, and secretary and president of the Mont Pelerin Society.

Quotation

In a lecture given to the Freedom School in Colorado Springs in 1963, the Italian liberal jurist Leoni examines the differences between satisfying needs through voluntary cooperation (i.e. the market) and coercion (i.e. voting):

Legislation is a result of an all-or-none decision. Either you win and get exactly what you want, or you lose and get exactly nothing. Even worse, you get something that you do not want and you have to pay for it just as if you had wanted it. In this sense winners and losers in voting are like winners and losers in the field. Voting appears to be not so much a reproduction of the market operation as a symbolization of a battle in the field.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Bruno Leoni played an important role in the revival of classical liberal ideas in the post-war period with his legal writings, his editorship of the journal *Il Politico*, and as President of the Mont Pélérin Society. The Mont Pélérin Society was founded in 1947 by the Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek. Leoni was secretary of the society for many many years before being elected president in 1967 shortly before his tragic death.

19. JOHN TAYLOR ON HOW A "SOUND FREEDOM OF PROPERTY" CAN DESTROY THE THREAT TO LIBERTY POSED BY "AN ADORATION OF MILITARY FAME" AND OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENTS (1820)



Source: John Taylor, *Construction Construed and Constitutions Vindicated* (Richmond: Shepherd and Pollard, 1820). Chapter: SECTION 1.: THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR REVOLUTION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 6-10, 2004.

About the Author: John Taylor (1753-1824), of Caroline County Virginia, was the preeminent theorist of Jeffersonian Old Republicanism. He was a strong advocate of individual and states rights in the face of the growing power of the federal government ("tyranny") and opposed increased tariffs and mercantilist economic policy.

Quotation

In 1820 Taylor was concerned that the promise of the American constitution, to radically limit the power of the central state, was being undermined by interventionist economic policies:

An adoration of military fame, specious projects and eminent individuals, has in all ages brought on mankind a multitude of evils; and a sound freedom of property is the only mode that I know of, able to destroy the worship of these idols, by removing beyond their reach the sacrifices upon which themselves, and their proselytes, subsist.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This work by Taylor, *Construction Construed and Constitutions Vindicated* (1820) is considered by some historians of political thought to be the greatest single work on political philosophy written by an American during the 19th century.

20. VOLTAIRE ON THE BENEFITS WHICH TRADE AND ECONOMIC ABUNDANCE BRING TO PEOPLE LIVING IN THE PRESENT AGE (1736)



Source: Voltaire, "The Worlding" (1736) in Henry C. Clark, *Commerce, Culture, and Liberty: Readings on Capitalism before Adam Smith*, ed. Henry C. Clark (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 13-17, 2004.

About the Author: Voltaire (1694-1778) was one of the leading figures of the French Enlightenment. He first made a name for himself as a poet and playwright before turning to political philosophy, history, religious criticism, and other literary activities.

Quotation

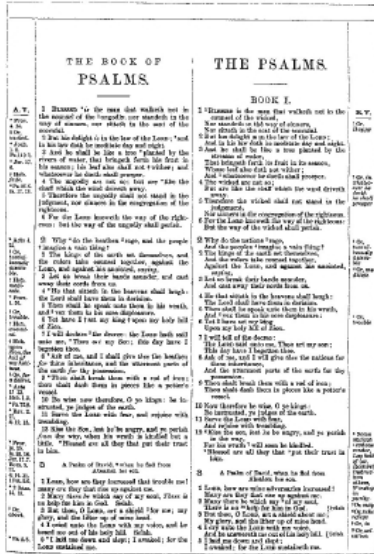
Voltaire's poem celebrating the fact that he was living in an age of developing commerce and markets:

Others may with regret complain
That 'tis not fair Astrea's reign,
That the famed golden age is o'er
That Saturn, Rhea rule no more:
Or, to speak in another style,
That Eden's groves no longer smile.
For my part, I thank Nature sage,
That she has placed me in this age...
I have, I own, a worldly mind,
That's pleased abundance here to find;
Abundance, mother of all arts,
Which with new wants new joys imparts
The treasures of the earth and main,
With all the creatures they contain:
These, luxury and pleasures raise;
This iron age brings happy days.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Voltaire was best known in his lifetime as an author of poetry and plays. To us in the 21st century he is best known for his satirical work *Candide* (1759) and the *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764). Yet as this quote shows even in his poetry and plays Voltaire had sharp observations about political and economic matters.

21. THE PSALMIST LAMENTS THAT HE LIVES IN A SOCIETY WHICH "HATETH PEACE" AND CRIES OUT "I AM FOR PEACE: BUT WHEN I SPEAK THEY ARE FOR WAR" (1000 BC)



Source: King David, *Psalms in The Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues: being the Authorised Version arranged in parallel columns with the Revised Version* (Oxford University Press, 1885). The Book of Psalms. Chapter: 120

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 20-24, 2004.

About the Author: King David was the most powerful king of biblical Israel who ruled from 1010 BC to 970 BC. He expanded the size of his kingdom, created a unitary state, and chose Jerusalem as the new capital city. David was also a gifted poet.

Quotation

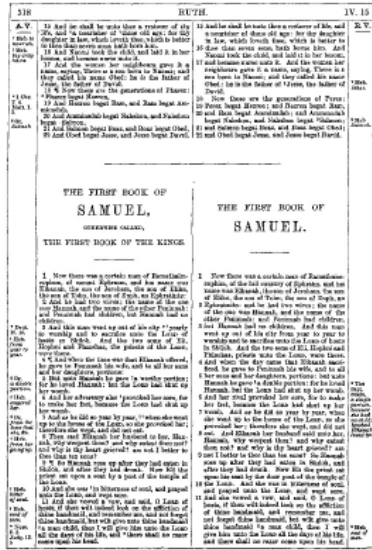
One of the 150 poems, songs, and prayers from the Old Testament’s Book of Psalms:

Psalm 120
 1. In my distress I cried unto the LORD, and he heard me.
 2. Deliver my soul, O LORD, from lying lips, and from a deceitful tongue.
 3. What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue?
 4. Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.
 5. Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar!
 6. My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.
 7. I am for peace: but when I speak, they are for war.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is important to note that among the reasons given for the distress of the psalmist is that he has had to live among people who advocate war and hate peace. Such is often the lonely fate of supporters of peace in a hostile world.

23. SAMUEL WARNS HIS PEOPLE THAT IF THEY DESIRE A KING THEY WILL INEVITABLY HAVE CONSCRIPTION, REQUISITIONING OF THEIR PROPERTY, AND TAXATION (7TH CENTURY BC)



Source: *The Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues: being the Authorised Version arranged in parallel columns with the Revised Version* (Oxford University Press, 1885). The First Book of Samuel. Chapter: 8

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 4-8, 2004.

About the Author: Samuel was a leader of the Israelites, one of the last of the Hebrew Judges, and the first of the major prophets.

Quotation

The prophet Samuel tells the people of Israel what lies in store for them if they have their wish granted that a King rule over them:

10. And Samuel told all the words of the LORD unto the people that asked of him a king.

11. And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots.

12. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots.

13. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.

14. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants.

15. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants.

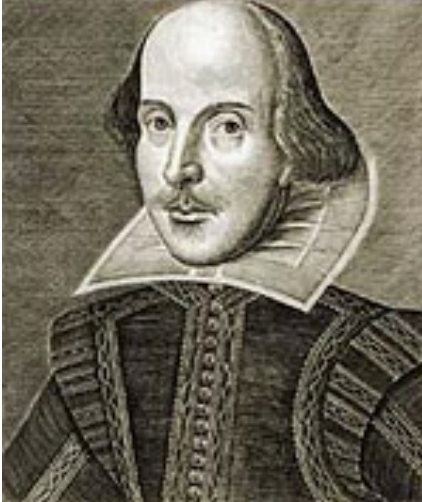
16. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your godliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work.

17. He will take the tenth of your sheep: and ye shall be his servants.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The prophet warns the Israelite people to be careful of what they wish for. If they truly want a king to rule over them, then they are also wishing for whatever comes with rulership by a monarch: conscription of their sons, confiscation of their crops and vineyards, the requisitioning of the labor of their daughters, and a level of taxation which will rise to the appalling level of ten percent of what they own.

24. SHAKESPEARE FAREWELLS HIS LOVER IN A SONNET USING MANY MERCANTILE AND LEGAL METAPHORS (1609)



Source: Sonnet 87 from William Shakespeare, *Twenty-Five Sonnets of Shakespeare* (Stratford-upon-Avon at the Shakespeare Head. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 11-15, 2004.

About the Author: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is probably the best known poet and playwright of the English language. He is considered by many to be the greatest poet and dramatist of all time. The plays he wrote nearly four hundred years ago for a small theater in London are now performed in more countries and more often than those of any other playwright.

Quotation

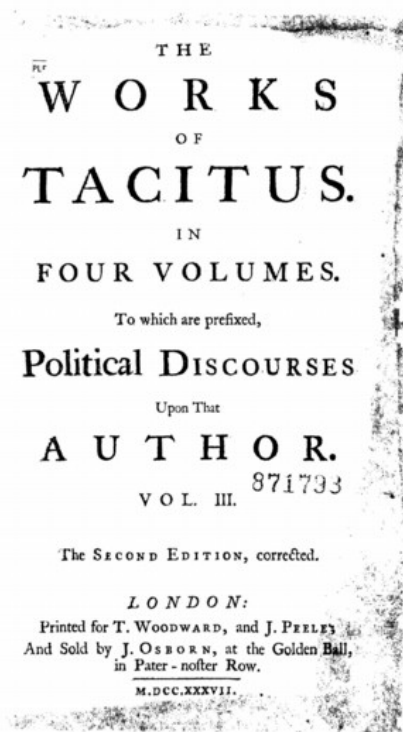
This sonnet is striking for its use of mercantile and legal metaphors, perhaps drawing upon Shakespeare's own experience as an entrepreneur:

Farewell! Thou art too deare for my possessing,
And like enough thou knowst thy estimate,
The charter of thy worth gives thee releasing:
My bonds in thee are all determinate.
For how do I hold thee but by thy granting?
And for that riches where is my deserving?
The cause of this fair gift in me is wanting,
And so my patent back again is swerving.
Thyself thou gav'st, thy own worth then not knowing,
Or me to whom thou gav'st it, else mistaking;
So thy great gift, upon misprision growing,
Comes home again, on better judgement making.
Thus have I had thee as a dream doth flatter,
In sleep a king, but waking no such matter.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In some of his plays and poems William Shakespeare uses metaphors which indicate that he was well aware of some of the political, military, economic, and legal changes which were taking place around him. In this sonnet, the mercantile and legal language is striking.

25. THOMAS GORDON BELIEVES THAT BIGOTED PRINCES ARE SUBJECT TO THE "BLIND CONTROL" OF OTHER "DIRECTORS AND MASTERS" WHO WORK BEHIND THE SCENES (1737)



Source: Thomas Gordon, "Of Bigotry in Princes," *Discourses upon Tacitus II* (1737) in Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *The Works of Tacitus. In Four Volumes. To which are prefixed, Political Discourses upon that Author by Thomas Gordon. The Second Edition, corrected.* (London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1737). Vol. 3. Chapter: Sect. I.: The mischief of Bigotry in a Prince: Its strange efficacy, and what Chimera's govern it.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 18-22, 2004.

About the Author: John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon (?-1750) were two indefatigable English journalists who defended the idea of liberty against political corruption, imperialism and militarism in the early 18th century. They were also much read in the American colonies.

Quotation

Thomas Gordon, one of the co-authors of *Cato's Letters*, introduced his multi-volume translation of the works of Tacitus with a number of Discourses supposedly on Tacitus but which he also used to criticize the behavior of the contemporary British government:

Bigotry in a weak Prince, or in any Prince, is always one of his worst and most dangerous weaknesses, generally ruinous to his People, often to himself; as it subjects him to the blind controul of narrow-spirited and designing Guides (for all Bigots must have Directors and Masters) who in manageing his conscience seldom forget their own interest, and to that interest often sacrifice the Public and all things.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Thomas Gordon was one of the authors of the very popular *Cato's Letters* (1723) which circulated widely in the American colonies before the revolution. He was also well known for his commentaries on Tacitus who chronicled the corruption and tyranny of the Roman Empire. It was obvious to the colonists that he was also indirectly taking about the British Empire. His point here is that behind every "bigoted prince" there lies a "director" or "master" who really controls what is going on.

**26. VOLTAIRE NOTES THAT WHERE COMMERCE AND TOLERATION
PREDOMINATE, A MULTIPLICITY OF FAITHS CAN LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE
AND HAPPINESS (1764)**



Source: Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary* in *The Works of Voltaire. A Contemporary Version. A Critique and Biography by John Morley, notes by Tobias Smollett*, trans. William F. Fleming (New York: E.R. DuMont, 1901). In 21 vols. Vol. VI. Chapter: PRESBYTERIAN.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 25-29, 2004.

About the Author: Voltaire (1694-1778) was one of the leading figures of the French Enlightenment. He first made a name for himself as a poet and playwright before turning to political philosophy, history, religious criticism, and other literary activities.

Quotation

In his *Philosophical Dictionary* Voltaire makes a connection between economic prosperity and religious toleration in England:

Enter into the Royal Exchange of London, a place more respectable than many courts, in which deputies from all nations assemble for the advantage of mankind. There the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian bargain with one another as if they were of the same religion, and bestow the name of infidel on bankrupts only... Was there in London but one religion, despotism might be apprehended; if two only, they would seek to cut each other's throats; but as there are at least thirty, they live together in peace and happiness.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

One of Voltaire's purposes behind writing the *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764) was to provide his readers with a pocket sized volume which could be carried on one's person at all times, and which could be pulled out when one got into an argument with a political or religious bigot. He wanted to be able to provide a summary of the key ideas which would help one win an argument in these difficult circumstances.

27. LUDWIG VON MISES LAMENTS THE PASSING OF THE AGE OF LIMITED WARFARE AND THE COMING OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN THE AGE OF STATISM AND CONQUEST (1949)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics, in 4 vols.*, ed. Bettina Bien Greaves (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). Vol. 3. Chapter: 4.: The Futility of War.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 1-5, 2004.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University.

Quotation

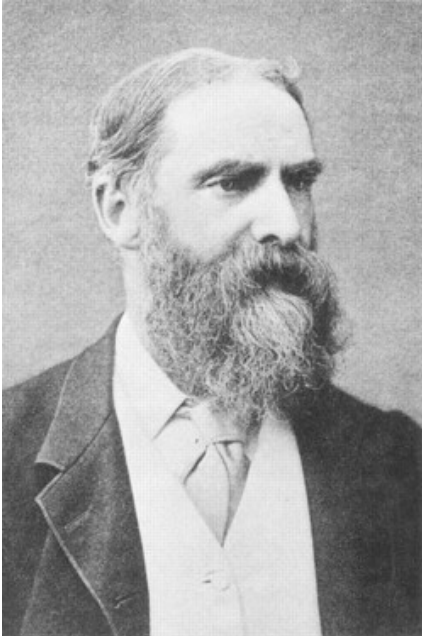
Published in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Mises' magnum opus, *Human Action* (1949) contained a chapter on "The Economics of War" in which he laments the killing of innocents:

How far we are today from the rules of international law developed in the age of limited warfare! Modern war is merciless, it does not spare pregnant women or infants; it is indiscriminate killing and destroying. It does not respect the rights of neutrals. Millions are killed, enslaved, or expelled from the dwelling places in which their ancestors lived for centuries. Nobody can foretell what will happen in the next chapter of this endless struggle.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Mises had the very great misfortune of living through the two world wars of the 20th century and seeing first hand the impact war had on the destruction of life and property. During the First World War he worked as an economic advisor to various private and government bodies in Austria on banking matters and could thus see the terrible inflations which ruined eastern and central Europe, especially in Russia and Germany. During the Second World War he was able to seek refuge in Switzerland before coming to the United States. The problems of war and inflation were a central concern in all his writings.

28. JAMES BRYCE BELIEVED THAT THE FOUNDERS INTENDED THAT THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT WOULD BE "A REDUCED AND IMPROVED COPY OF THE ENGLISH KING" (1885)



Source: Viscount James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, with an Introduction by Gary L. McDowell, 2 vols (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995). Chapter 5: The President.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 1-5, 2004.

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

Quotation

Bryce discusses the office of President and the manner of his election in a Chapter on "The President":

Assuming that there was to be such a magistrate [the office of President], the statesmen of the Convention, like the solid practical men they were, did not try to construct him out of their own brains, but looked to some existing models. They therefore made an enlarged copy of the state governor, or to put the same thing differently, a reduced and improved copy of the English king. He is George III shorn of a part of his prerogative by the intervention of the Senate in treaties and appointments, of another part by the restriction of his action to federal affairs, while his dignity as well as his influence are diminished by his holding office for four years instead of for life. His salary is too small to permit him either to maintain a court or to corrupt the legislature; nor can he seduce the virtue of the citizens by the gift of titles of nobility, for such titles are altogether forbidden. Subject to these precautions, he was meant by the Constitution-framers to resemble the state governor and the British king, not only in being the head of the executive, but in standing apart from and above political parties. He was to represent the nation as a whole, as the governor represented the state commonwealth. The independence of his position, with nothing either to gain or to fear from Congress, would, it was hoped, leave him free to think only of the welfare of the people.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

There are three points to make concerning Bryce. The first is that it is always stimulating to see America through the eyes of a foreigner, like Alexis de Tocqueville or Harriet Martineau. Secondly, that this quote was posted while an election was taking place in the U.S.. And thirdly, that like other Victorian gentlemen such as Herbert Spencer or Lysander Spooner, he sported a luxuriant beard which one can see in the photograph.

29. DAVID HUME ARGUED THAT INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY EMERGED SLOWLY OUT OF THE "VIOLENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT" WHICH HAD EARLIER PREVAILED IN EUROPE (1778)



Source: David Hume, "The Progress of English Liberty" (1778) conclusion to vol. 2 of David Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, Foreword by William B. Todd, 6 vols. (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1983). Vol. 2. Chapter: XXIII: EDWARD V AND RICHARD III

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 8-12, 2004.

About the Author: David Hume (1711-1776) was a moral philosopher and historian and a leading member of the Scottish Enlightenment. In philosophy he was a skeptic. In his multi-volume *History of England* he showed how the rule of law and the creation of an independent judiciary created the foundation for liberty in England. Hume also wrote on economics, was a personal friend of Adam Smith, and was a proponent of free trade. His works highlighted the neutrality of money and the errors of the mercantilists (whose flawed theories in favor of increased exports in order to build up a stock of gold remain the foundations of many public policies even today).

Quotation

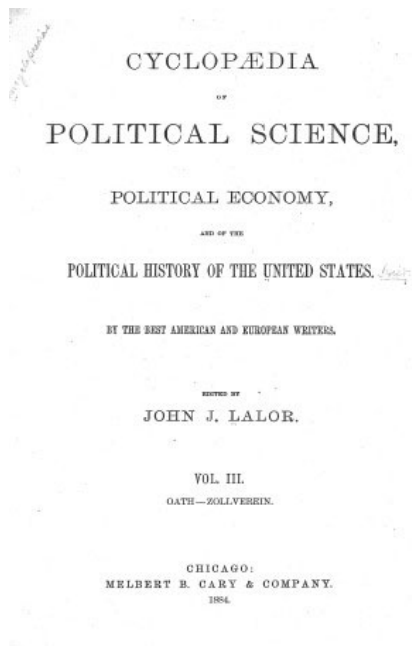
In one of the last sections he wrote in the multi-volume *History of England*, Hume steps back to survey the entire sweep of English constitutional development. One of the key factors in leading to the creation of English liberty was the ending of serfdom:

One chief advantage, which resulted from the introduction and progress of the arts, was the introduction and progress of freedom; and this consequence affected men both in their *personal* and *civil* capacities. If we consider the ancient state of Europe, we shall find, that the far greater part of the society were every where bereaved of their *personal* liberty, and lived entirely at the will of their masters. Every one, that was not noble, was a slave: The peasants were sold along with the land: The few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition... The first incident, which broke in upon this violent system of government, was the practice, begun in Italy, and imitated in France, of erecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges and a separate municipal government, which gave them protection against the tyranny of the barons, and which the prince himself deemed it prudent to respect. The relaxation of the feudal tenures, and an execution somewhat stricter, of the public law, bestowed an independance of vassals, which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peasants themselves, though later than other orders of the state, made their escape from those bonds of villenage or slavery, in which they had formerly been retained... After this manner, villenage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe... Thus *personal* freedom became almost general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the encrease of *political* or *civil* liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this salutary effect, served to give the members of the community some of the most considerable advantages of it.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This section of Hume's *History of England* is not titled "The Progress of English Liberty" in the book. The importance of this essay was brought to our attention by the Hume scholar Eugene Miller who believes that it was written at a late stage in the writing of the book in order to summarize Hume's views on the rise of liberty in England over the centuries. It does appear to be a stand alone piece and we published it online as one of our "Fogotten Gems" .

30. WOLOWSKI AND LEVASSEUR ARGUE THAT PROPERTY IS "THE FRUIT OF HUMAN LIBERTY" AND THAT VIOLENCE AND CONQUEST HAVE DONE MUCH TO DISTURB THIS NATURAL ORDER (1884)



Source: Louis Wolowski and Emil Levasseur, "Note on Property" in John Joseph Lalor, *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States by the best American and European Authors*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Co., 1899). Vol 3 Oath - Zollverein Chapter: PROPERTY

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 15-19, 2004.

About the Author: John Joseph Lalor (?-1899) is best known as the editor of the mammoth three volume cyclopaedia of economics and political science which he published in the late 19th century. He also wrote his own primer of political economy and translated works on musical biography, law, and economics from the German; most notably Roscher's *Principles of Political Economy* and Ihering's *The Struggle for Law*. Louis Wolowski (1810-1876) was born in Poland but his family fled to France after the 1830 revolution. He became a French citizen and taught law and economics in Paris. He took the Chair of Industrial Law in 1839 at the Conservatoire des arts et métiers and in 1864 the Chair of Industrial Economics. He was an active member of the Free Trade Association (1846). From 1866-67 he was the Preseident of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques. He wrote on many topics including banking, free trade, and tariff policy.

Quotation

One of the many articles translated from the French which appeared in Lalor's *Cyclopaedia* in 1884. This one is a spirited defence of the natural right to property:

Property, made manifest by labor, participates in the rights of the person whose emanation it is; like him, it is inviolable so long as it does not extend so far as to come into collision with another right; like him, it is individual, because it has its origin in the independence of the individual, and because, when several persons have co-operated in its formation, the latest possessor has purchased with a value, the fruit of his personal labor, the work of all the fellow-laborers who have preceded him; this is what is usually the case with manufactured articles. When property has passed, by sale or by inheritance, from one hand to another, its conditions have not changed; it is still the fruit of human liberty manifested by labor, and the holder has the same rights as the producer who took possession of it by right.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Lalor's massive encyclopedia was aimed squarely at the American market but included dozens of translations from the French language *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique* published in 1852. The full French original has unfortunately never been translated into English even though it contains a huge number of important essays written by Bastiat and other luminaries of French political economy in the mid-19th century. This quotation comes from one of the more interesting entries on property. A list of the translations in Lalor's encyclopedia can be found in the Forum.

31. ERASMUS ARGUES THAT PHILOSOPHIZING IS ALL VERY WELL BUT THERE IS ALSO A NEED FOR THERE TO BE A PHILOSOPHER OF THE KITCHEN (1518)



Source: Desiderius Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*. Translated by Nathan Bailey. Edited with Notes, by the Rev. E. Johnson, M.A. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1878). Vol. 1. Chapter: The PROFANE FEAST.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 22-26, 2004.

About the Author: Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) was a Christian, humanist scholar; the first editor of the New Testament; a classicist; and a leading voice in the theological debates of the early Reformation in northern Europe. He contended with the reformer Martin Luther (1483-1546), emphasizing the importance of free will in human actions against Luther's belief in the absolute bondage of the will to sin.

Quotation

Erasmus discusses the merits of feasting with two friends, Austin and Christian. After some witty repartee Austin concludes that Christian is a true "Philosopher of the Kitchen":

Austin: And you, my *Christian*, that I may return the Compliment, seem to have been Scholar to *Epicurus*, or brought up in the *Catian* School. For what's more delicate or nice than your Palate?

Christian: Nor indeed would I myself, who am but an ordinary Man, change my Philosophy for *Diogenes's*; and I believe your *Catius* would refuse to do it too. The Philosophers of our Time are wiser, who are content to dispute like *Stoicks*, but in living out-do even *Epicurus* himself. And yet for all that, I look upon Philosophy to be one of the most excellent Things in Nature, if used moderately. I don't approve of philosophising too much, for it is a very jejune, barren, and melancholy Thing. When I fall into any Calamity or Sickness, then I betake myself to Philosophy, as to a Physician; but when I am well again, I bid it farewell.

Austin: I like your Method. You do philosophize very well. Your humble Servant, Mr. Philosopher; not of the *Stoick* School, but the Kitchen.

Christian: If I understood Oratory so well as I do Cookery, I'd challenge *Cicero* himself.

Austin: Indeed if I must be without one, I had rather want Oratory than Cookery.

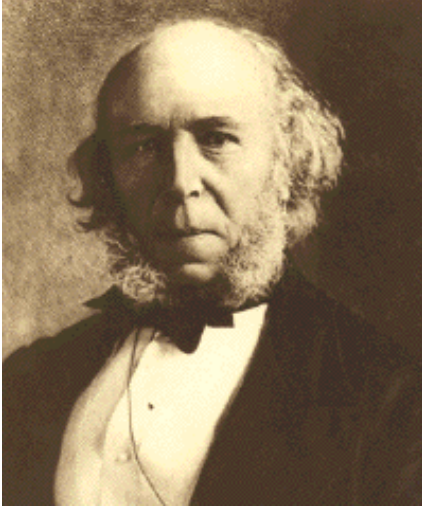
Christian: I am entirely of your Mind, you judge gravely, wisely, and truly. For what is the Prattle of Orators good for, but to tickle idle Ears with a vain Pleasure? But Cookery feeds and repairs the Palate, the Belly, and the whole Man, let him be as big as he will. *Cicero* says, *Concedat laurea linguæ*; but both of them must give place to Cookery. I never very well liked those *Stoicks*, who referring all things to their (I can't tell what) *honestum*, thought we ought to have no regard to our Persons and our Palates. *Aristippus* was wiser than *Diogenes* beyond Expression in my Opinion.

Austin: I despise the *Stoicks* with all their Fasts. But I praise and approve *Epicurus* more than that *Cynic Diogenes*, who lived upon raw Herbs and Water; and therefore I don't wonder that *Alexander*, that fortunate King, had rather be *Alexander* than *Diogenes*.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Erasmus was only a profound linguist and biblical scholar but also a man of great humanity and humor. He is regarded by many as the best Latin writer since the classical period and his Greek language edition of the Bible did much to encourage a much sounder critical analysis. But as one can see from quotes like the one above, he used his scholarship and humor to puncture the pomposities of theologians and philosophers alike. Above all, Erasmus believed, one should live a moral life to the fullest and enjoy every moment.

32. AS IF IN ANSWER TO ERASMUS' PRAYER, SPENCER DOES BECOME A PHILOSOPHER OF THE KITCHEN ARGUING THAT "IF THERE IS A WRONG IN RESPECT OF THE TAKING OF FOOD (AND DRINK) THERE MUST ALSO BE A RIGHT" (1897)



Source: Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, introduction by Tibor R. Machan (Indianapolis: LibertyClassics, 1978). Vol. 1. CHAPTER 4.: Nutrition

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 29-December 3, 2004.

About the Author: Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was one of the leading 19th century English radical individualists. He began working as a journalist for the laissez-faire magazine *The Economist* in the 1850s. Much of the rest of his life was spent working on an all-encompassing theory of human development based upon the ideas of individualism, utilitarian moral theory, social and biological evolution, limited government, and laissez-faire economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In *The Principles of Ethics* Spencer has a section in which he has something to say about the ethics of nutrition and the preference of many to denounce the excess swallowing of liquids rather than of solids:

210. Except perhaps in agreeing that gluttony is to be reprobated and that the *gourmet*, as well as the *gourmand*, is a man to be regarded with scant respect, most people will think it is absurd to imply as the above title does, that ethics has anything to say about the taking of food. Though, by condemning excesses of the kinds just indicated, they imply that men *ought* not to be guilty of them, and by the use of this word class them as *wrong*; yet they ignore the obvious fact that if there is a wrong in respect of the taking of food there must also be a right..

Mention of these facts is a fit preliminary to the question whether, in respect of food, desires ought or ought not to be obeyed. As already said, treatment of this inquiry as ethical will be demurred to by most and by many ridiculed. Though, when not food but drink is in question, their judgments, very strongly expressed, are of the kind they class as moral; yet they do not see that since the question concerns the effect of things swallowed, it is absurd to regard the conduct which causes these effects as moral or immoral when the things are liquid but not when they are solid.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Here we have another impressively hirsute Victorian gentleman, now sporting what were called "mutton chops" or sideburns. He was nothing if not comprehensive in this writing and here he turns to a philosophical analysis of eating and drinking. It is possible that he had in the back of his mind the anti-alcohol temperance movement which tried to place government enforced limits on what people could drink. This quote appeared between Thanksgiving and Christmas when eating and drinking are on many people's minds.

33. DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION THOMAS PAINE PENNED A PATRIOTIC SONG CALLED "HAIL GREAT REPUBLIC" WHICH IS TO BE SUNG TO THE TUNE OF RULE BRITANNIA (OF COURSE!) (1776)



Source: Thomas Paine, "Hail Great Republic" from "Songs and Rymes" in Thomas Paine, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Collected and Edited by Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894). Vol. 4. APPENDIX K.: THE SNOWDROP AND THE CRITIC, 1 To the Editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine, 1775.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 13-17, 2004.

About the Author: Thomas Paine (1737-1809) was a vigorous defender of and participant in both the American and French Revolutions. His most famous work is *Common Sense* (1776) which was an early call for the independence of the American colonies from Britain. His other well known work is *The Rights of Man* (1791) which was a reply to Burke's critique of the French Revolution.

Quotation

Paine is well known for having penned a number of patriotic songs during the period of the American Revolution such as "The Liberty Tree", "The Boston Patriotic Song", and the one which is our quote of the week - "Hail Great Republic" (which is to be sung to the tune of "Rule Britannia").

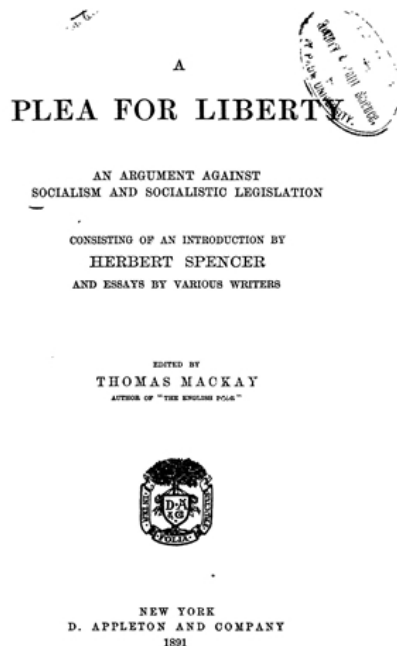
HAIL great Republic of the world,
Which rear'd her empire in the west,
Where fam'd Columbus' flag unfurl'd,
Gave tortured Europe scenes of rest ;
Be thou forever great and free,
The land of Love, and Liberty !

Where'er the Atlantic surges lave,
Or sea the human eye delights,
There may thy starry standard wave,
The Constellation of thy Rights!
Be thou forever, &c.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

After having played a significant role in both the American and French Revolutions, Paine had fallen into almost complete obscurity by the time of his death. William Cobbett tried to repatriate Paine's body to Britain but somehow "lost" it en route. It is in keeping with Paine's efforts to delegitimize the British monarchy by rewriting traditional pro-monarchy and pro-empire songs and putting new republican words to them. This hymn to the republic uses the tune of "Rule Britannia" to new effect.

34. FREDERICK MILLAR IS UPSET THAT ESPECIALLY AT CHRISTMAS TIME THE BAD EFFECTS OF THE LETTER-CARRYING MONOPOLY OF THE POST OFFICE ARE FELT BY THE PUBLIC (1891)



Source: *A Plea for Liberty: An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation, consisting of an Introduction by Herbert Spencer and Essays by Various Writers*, edited by Thomas Mackay (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Foreword by Jeffrey Paul. Chapter: CHAPTER 9: THE EVILS OF STATE TRADING AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE POST OFFICE BY FREDERICK MILLAR.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 20-24, 2004.

About the Author: Frederick Millar was one of the authors in the volume of anti-socialist essays edited by Thomas Mackay and published by the Liberty and Property Defence League. He was one of the driving forces behind the League, a prolific pamphleteer, the editor of its journal *Liberty Review*, and the secretary of the League after the founder's death.

Quotation

In a collection of essays edited by Thomas Mackay over 100 years ago there is this interesting attack on the evils of the government monopoly Post Office at Christmas-time:

Notwithstanding the very profitable nature of the letter-carrying monopoly, it cannot be said that, at times of great press of business, the public is served with that absence of fuss and effort which ought to characterise a great and wealthy corporation. At Christmas-time the Post Office is completely disorganised. Its customers are pitifully implored not to pay exclusive regard to their own convenience, and to despatch their packages and letters according to a timetable drawn up by the Post Office to suit its own convenience...

It may, however, be pointed out that private carriers do not cry to be let off, but rise to the requirements of the occasion, provide additional facilities, and all the time by prodigal advertisement solicit rather than deprecate the patronage of the public.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This book is the first salvo (of two) fired by the Liberty and Property Defence League in their war against the Fabian socialists led by George Bernard Shaw in 1890. As Christmas was approaching and the U.S. and other nationalised postal services were coming under the strain of the heavy seasonal burden, this seemed like an appropriate quotation.

35. VOLTAIRE LAMPOONED THE EXCESSIVELY OPTIMISTIC LEIBNITZIAN PHILOSOPHERS IN HIS PHILOSOPHIC TALE *CANDIDE* BY EXPOSING HIS CHARACTERS TO ONE DISASTER AFTER ANOTHER, LIKE A TSUNAMI IN LISBON, TO SHOW THAT THIS WAS NOT "THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS" (1759)



Source: *The Works of Voltaire. A Contemporary Version. A Critique and Biography by John Morley, notes by Tobias Smollett*, trans. William F. Fleming (New York: E.R. DuMont, 1901). In 21 vols. Vol. I. CHAPTER V.: A tempest, a shipwreck, an earthquake; and what else befell Dr. Pangloss, Candide, and James the Anabaptist.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 3-7, 2005.

About the Author: Voltaire (1694-1778) was one of the leading figures of the French Enlightenment. He first made a name for himself as a poet and playwright before turning to political philosophy, history, religious criticism, and other literary activities.

Quotation

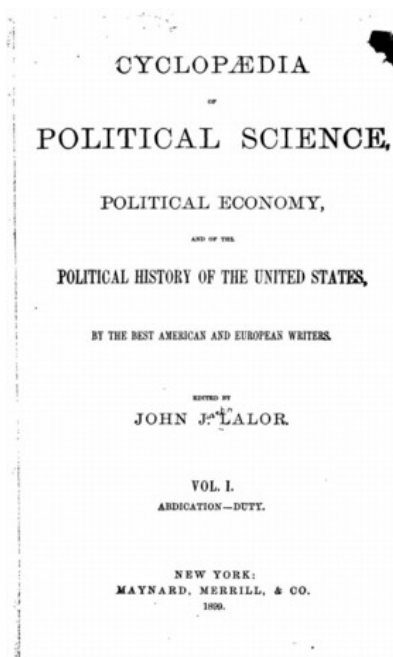
In 1755 an earthquake and tsunami hit the city of Lisbon, at that time the 4th largest city in Europe. Voltaire used the event in his philosophic tale *Candide* to argue that this is not the best of all possible worlds:

As soon as they had recovered from their surprise and fatigue they walked towards Lisbon; with what little money they had left they thought to save themselves from starving after having escaped drowning. Scarcely had they ceased to lament the loss of their benefactor and set foot in the city, when they perceived that the earth trembled under their feet, and the sea, swelling and foaming in the harbor, was dashing in pieces the vessels that were riding at anchor. Large sheets of flames and cinders covered the streets and public places; the houses tottered, and were tumbled topsy-turvy even to their foundations, which were themselves destroyed, and thirty thousand inhabitants of both sexes, young and old, were buried beneath the ruins... The next day, in searching among the ruins, they found some eatables with which they repaired their exhausted strength. After this they assisted the inhabitants in relieving the distressed and wounded. Some, whom they had humanely assisted, gave them as good a dinner as could be expected under such terrible circumstances. The repast, indeed, was mournful, and the company moistened their bread with their tears...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

On December 26, 2004 an earthquake off the coast of Sumatra caused a tsunami which wrecked havoc across South East Asia. We immediately thought of the 1755 earthquake and tsunami which hit Lisbon and Voltaire's reaction to it. The quote above comes from his "philosophic tale" *Candide* which was published soon after in 1759. Furthermore, 2009 is the 150th anniversary of the first publication of this book.

36. AMBROISE CLÉMENT DRAWS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT KINDS OF CHARITY: TRUE VOLUNTARY CHARITY AND COERCED GOVERNMENT "CHARITY" WHICH IS REALLY A TAX (1852)



Source: Ambroise Clément, "Charity, private" in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States by the best American and European Authors*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Co., 1899). Vol 1 Abdication-Duty. Chapter: CHARITY, Private.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 10-14, 2005.

About the Author: Ambroise Clément (1805-86) was an economist and secretary to the mayor of Saint-Étienne for many years. Clément was able to travel to Paris frequently to participate in political economy circles. In the mid 1840s he began writing on economic matters and so impressed Guillaumin that the latter asked him to assume the task of directing the publication of the important and influential *Dictionnaire de l'économie politique*, in 1850. Clément was a member of the Société d'économie politique from 1848, a regular writer and reviewer for the *Journal des économistes*, and was made a corresponding member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in 1872. He wrote the following works: *Recherches sur les causes de l'indigence* (1846); *Des nouvelles Idées de réforme industrielle et en particulier du projet d'organisation du travail de M. Louis Blanc* (1846); *La crise économique et sociale en France et en Europe* (1886); as well as an early review of Bastiat's *Economic Harmonies* for the *Journal des économistes* (1850), in which he praised Bastiat's style but criticized his position on population and the theory of value.

Quotation

In the wake of the tsunamis which destroyed so many lives in south Asia both governments and private individuals have donated funds to help in the relief work. A French classical liberal from the mid-19thC ponders the difference between the two types of charitable giving:

If, however, we understand by society or the state the government, the question is changed altogether; and we must no longer ask whether charity being a virtue in the individual, is not equally a virtue in society, but whether it is proper, moral and advantageous to have charity practiced by the government, or whether it is even possible for the government to practice charity at all. We say not. It is very evident that Charity and fraternity are virtues only when they are free and spontaneous. State and, therefore, forced, charity is not a virtue, it is a tax.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Here we again explore the consequences of the South East Asian tsunami of December 2004. There was an immediate world-wide outburst of private charitable giving, especially in the developed world. Clément in the quote explores the difference between private charitable giving and state funds taken from the tax payers and given to others.

37. VICESIMUS KNOX TRIES TO PERSUADE AN ENGLISH NOBLEMAN THAT SOME DID NOT COME INTO THE WORLD WITH "SADDLES ON THEIR BACKS AND BRIDLES IN THEIR MOUTHS" AND SOME OTHERS LIKE HIM CAME "READY BOOTED AND SPURRED TO RIDE THE REST TO DEATH" (1793)



Source: Vicesimus Knox, Preface to *Personal Nobility, or Letters to a Young Nobleman* (1793) in *The Works of Vicesimus Knox, D.D. with a Biographical Preface*. In Seven Volumes (London: J. Mawman, 1824). Vol. 5.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 17-21, 2005.

About the Author: Vicesimus Knox (1752-1821) was an English minister who ran afoul of the British authorities in the 1790s with his sermons opposing the war against the French. He was educated at home by his father, attended St. John's College, Oxford, where he became a fellow, and then was headmaster of Tonbridge School from 1778 to 1812. His main work, *The Spirit of Despotism*, is an analysis of how political despotism at home can arise under the cover of fighting a foreign war.

Quotation

In the preface to a series of letters written to a young English nobleman in 1793, Vicesimus Knox declares his own love of liberty and explains how the next generation of English aristocrats might reconcile true liberty and peace with their social station, and so avoid what was happening to the aristocracy in France:

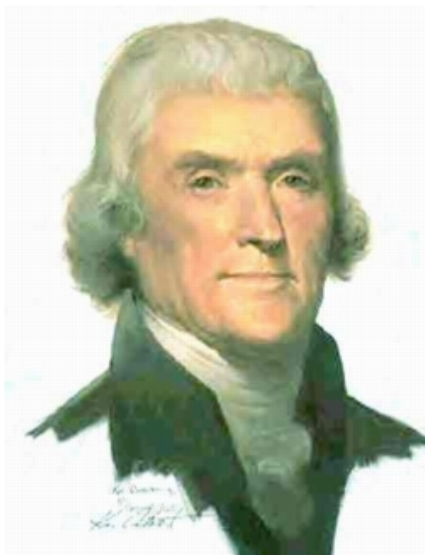
If zeal in a good cause has led to any ardour of expression, I trust I shall need no pardon. I have no sordid interest to serve in what I have done. I have not been obsequious to power. I have nothing to ask of it, nothing to expect from it, and from the candid judgment of the public I have nothing to fear. I have employed my literary leisure in a way that I thought might be useful; and if one idea only is serviceable to the country, it will be acknowledged as meritorious, when the temporary prejudices of party shall be lost in the radiance of eternal truth.

I am attached to the king and to the lords; but I am more attached to the commons; and I will adopt the saying of Rumbald in the reign of Charles the Second, as recorded by Burnet: "I do not imagine the Almighty intended, that the greatest part of mankind should come into the world with saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, and a few ready booted and spurred to ride the rest to death."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Like Adam Smith, his near contemporary, Knox tutored young members of the nobility, trying to instill in them some love of liberty and respect for the rights of others. In this quotation Knox uses an old adage of freedom lovers, that some privileged men are not born to ride on saddles placed on the backs of the poor and weak.

38. THOMAS JEFFERSON BOASTS ABOUT HAVING REDUCED THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT AND ELIMINATED A NUMBER OF "VEXATIOUS" TAXES (1805)



Source: Thomas Jefferson, "Second Inaugural Address" (March 4, 1805) in *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Federal Edition* (New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-5). Vol. 10. Chapter: SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 24-28, 2005.

About the Author: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), a Virginian, was the author of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), an active participant in the Revolution, Governor of Virginia (1779), member of Congress, Minister to France, Secretary of State under President Washington, and president of the United States (1800). He was a polymath who wrote on and was knowledgeable about science, architecture, music, agriculture, law, education, geography, and music.

Quotation

In Jefferson's Second Inaugural Address of March 4, 1805 he boasted of having reduced the size and cost of government enough to eliminate a number of "vexatious" internal taxes which he feared might grow in number and eventually be applied to other goods:

At home, fellow citizens, you best know whether we have done well or ill. The suppression of unnecessary offices, of useless establishments and expenses, enabled us to discontinue our internal taxes. These covering our land with officers, and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation which, once entered, is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of produce and property.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We have gradually added to the OLL a number of collected works of the Founding Fathers known as the Federal Edition which were published in the early 20th century and which were the most authoritative editions available until the mid-20th century. We have editions of Jefferson and Hamilton, and John Quincy Adams and George Washington to come. The powerful search engine built into the OLL website enables one to search the works of Jefferson, for example, in one go and thus uncover unexpected gems. One wonders how many times in American history a President could boast of eliminating a number of "vexatious" internal taxes, as Jefferson does here? A Google search done in September 2009 for the phrase "Federal Edition" produced the OLL edition of the Federal Edition of Hamilton as the number one hit, followed in second place by "Turbo Tax Preparation Software" - an irony I'm sure Jefferson would have appreciated.

39. AUBERON HERBERT DISCUSSES THE "ESSENCE OF GOVERNMENT" WHEN THE VENEER OF ELECTIONS ARE STRIPPED AWAY (1894)



Source: Auberon Herbert, *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State, and Other Essays*, ed. Eric Mack (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1978). ESSAY FIVE. THE ETHICS OF DYNAMITE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 31-February 4, 2005.

About the Author: Auberon Herbert (1838-1906) was an English radical individualist who was influenced by the work of Herbert Spencer. With a group of other late Victorian classical liberals he was active in such organizations as the Personal Rights and Self-Help Association and the Liberty and Property Defense League. He formulated a system of "thorough" individualism that he described as "voluntaryism."

Quotation

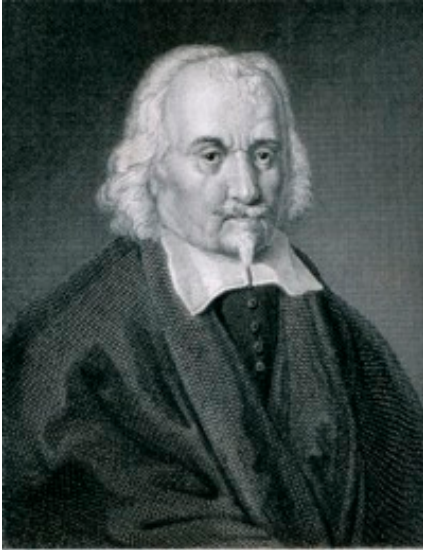
Herbert argues in this essay written in 1894 that the true nature of government is the exercise of coercion and, once the veneer of elections and parliamentary oratory is stripped away, its purer essence is revealed:

We live in an age of active evolution, and the art of government is evolving like everything else round us. Dynamite is its latest and least comfortable development. It is a purer essence of government, more concentrated and intensified, than has ever yet been employed. It is government in a nutshell, government stripped, as some of us aver, of all its dearly beloved fictions, ballot boxes, political parties, House of Commons oratory, and all the rest of it. How, indeed, is it possible to govern more effectively, or in more abbreviated form, than to say: "Do this—or don't do this—unless you desire that a pound of dynamite should be placed tomorrow evening in your ground-floor study." It is the perfection, the *ne plus ultra*, of government.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Auberon Herbert was one of the leading radical individualists in 19th century Britain. As a radical he was most concerned to rebut the charge that he advocated violence in any form. In this quote he asserts strongly that he "detests dynamite" in all its forms and in fact turns the criticism on its head by arguing that "dynamite" (i.e. force and violence) is rather "the essence of government" itself.

40. THOMAS HOBBS SINGS A HYMN OF PRAISE FOR REASON AS "THE PACE", SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE IS "THE WAY", AND THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND IS "THE END" (1651)



Source: Thomas Hobbes, *Hobbes's Leviathan reprinted from the edition of 1651 with an Essay by the Late W.G. Pogson Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909). Chapter: CHAP. V.: Of Reason , and Science.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 7-11, 2005.

About the Author: Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was an English philosopher who lived during the English Revolution. He is most famous for his work of political philosophy *The Leviathan*.

Quotation

In the first part called "Of Man" in his great work of political philosophy *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes explores the nature of speech and imagination, reason and science, virtue and manners, in an effort to establish the foundation of his theory of the laws of nature. Concerning science and reason he concludes:

... The Light of humane minds is Perspicuous Words, but by exact definitions first snuffed, and purged from ambiguity; *Reason* is the *pace*; Encrease of *Science*, the *way*; and the Benefit of man-kind, the *end*. And on the contrary, Metaphors, and senselesse and ambiguous words, are like *ignes fatui*; and reasoning upon them, is wandering amongst innumerable absurdities; and their end, contention, and sedition, or contempt.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We have a number of works by Thomas Hobbes online: his translations from the Greek of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Thucydides' *The Peloponnesian Wars*, and the classic 1909 edition of his great work on political philosophy written during the upheavals of the English Revolution. So, having written on and having lived through so much war and chaos it is remarkable in this quote to see him extolling so highly the virtues of reason, and science, and calm reflection.

41. ANDREW FLETCHER BELIEVED THAT TOO MANY PEOPLE WERE DECEIVED BY THE "ANCIENT TERMS AND OUTWARDS FORMS" OF THEIR GOVERNMENT BUT HAD IN FACT LOST THEIR ANCIENT LIBERTIES (1698)



Source: Andrew Fletcher, *Selected Discourses and Speeches: A Discourse of Government with Relation to Militias* (Edinburgh, 1698); *Two Discourses concerning the Affairs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1698); *Speeches by a Member of the Parliamt* (Edinburgh, 1703); *A Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Government* (Edinburgh, 1704). Chapter: a DISCOURSE of GOVERNMENT with relation to MILITIA'S.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 14-18, 2005.

About the Author: Andrew Fletcher (1655-1716) was a Scottish writer who opposed the 1707 union with England and was staunchly opposed to standing armies which he saw as a means to expand the power of the state and oppress the people. In preference to a standing army Fletcher believed that the ordinary people organised in militias were a bulwark of liberty.

Quotation

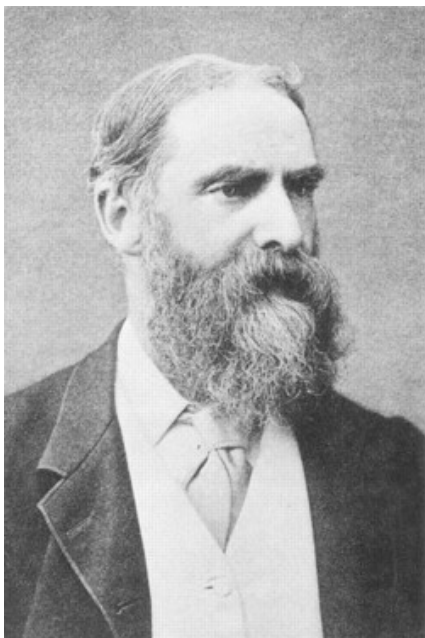
In a discourse about the dangers to liberty of standing armies Fletcher makes an interesting point about how easily deluded people can become about the gradual loss of traditional liberties:

Now if any man in compassion to the miseries of a people should endeavour to disabuse them in anything relating to government, he will certainly incur the displeasure, and perhaps be pursued by the rage of those, who think they find their account in the oppression of the world; but will hardly succeed in his endeavours to undeceive the multitude. For the generality of all ranks of men are cheated by words and names; and provided the ancient terms and outward forms of any government be retained, let the nature of it be never so much altered, they continue to dream that they shall still enjoy their former liberty, and are not to be awakened till it prove too late. Of this there are many remarkable examples in history; but that particular instance which I have chosen to insist on, as most suitable to my purpose, is the alteration of government which happened in most countries of Europe about the year 1500.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As the second anniversary of the invasion of Iraq approached it seemed appropriate to reflect on the concern many 18th century Americans had about standing armies and their preference for citizen militias. It had been an issue which many in the Commonwealthmen tradition discussed, seeing standing armies as an enormous cost for taxpayers as well as a weapon which could be used against them by the ruling monarch. Trenchard and Gordon discussed the problem repeatedly in their *Cato's Letters*. One of the leading theorists on the issue was the Scotsman Andrew Fletcher as this quotation from his 1698 tract shows.

42. JAMES BRYCE TRIES TO EXPLAIN TO A EUROPEAN AUDIENCE WHY "GREAT MEN" ARE NO LONGER ELECTED TO AMERICA'S HIGHEST PUBLIC OFFICE (1888)



Source: Viscount James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, with an Introduction by Gary L. McDowell, 2 vols (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995). Chapter: chapter 8: Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 21-25, 2005.

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

Quotation

In a chapter entitled "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents" in his book *The American Commonwealth* Viscount Bryce explores this question at some length:

Europeans often ask, and Americans do not always explain, how it happens that this great office, the greatest in the world, unless we except the papacy, to which anyone can rise by his own merits, is not more frequently filled by great and striking men. In America, which is beyond all other countries the country of a "career open to talents," a country, moreover, in which political life is unusually keen and political ambition widely diffused, it might be expected that the highest place would always be won by a man of brilliant gifts. But from the time when the heroes of the Revolution died out with Jefferson and Adams and Madison, no person except General Grant, had, down till the end of last century, reached the chair whose name would have been remembered had he not been president, and no president except Abraham Lincoln had displayed rare or striking qualities in the chair. Who now knows or cares to know anything about the personality of James K. Polk or Franklin Pierce? The only thing remarkable about them is that being so commonplace they should have climbed so high.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this quotation James Bryce asks a question which others have also asked, in particular the Nobel Prize winning Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek: namely, "Why the Worst Get on Top", in his book *The Road to Serfdom* (1944). Here Bryce, writing some 64 years before Hayek, reflects on the quality of the men who rise to the top position in American politics.

43. IN JOSEPH ADDISON'S PLAY CATO CATO IS ASKED WHAT IT WOULD TAKE FOR HIM TO BE CAESAR'S "FRIEND" - HIS ANSWER IS THAT CAESAR WOULD HAVE TO FIRST "DISBAND HIS LEGIONS" AND THEN "RESTORE THE COMMONWEALTH TO LIBERTY" (1713)



Source: Joseph Addison, *Cato: A Tragedy and Selected Essays*, ed. by Christine Dunn Henderson and Mark E. Yellin, with a Foreword by Forrest McDonald (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004). Chapter: SCENE II.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 28 - March 4, 2005.

About the Author: Joseph Addison (1672-1719) was educated at Oxford, served as a member of Parliament, and became widely known as an essayist, playwright, poet, and statesman. His play about Cato was very popular in the American colonies before the Revolution.

Quotation

In Act II Scene II of Addison's play, Decius, the Ambassador from Caesar, asks Cato what it would take for Cato to be Caesar's "friend" as Caesar began using his military successes to pave the way to his political conquest of Rome:

Bid him disband his legions,
Restore the commonwealth to liberty,
Submit his actions to the public censure,
And stand the judgment of a Roman senate:
Bid him do this, and Cato is his friend.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The image of Caesar as the general and then dictator who turned Rome from a republic into an empire fascinated 18th century intellectuals. There seemed to be two schools of thought on the issue: those who focused on Brutus the assassin who used violence to end Caesar's life in order to save the Republic (an act of tyrannicide); and those who focused on Cato who used political and moral suasion to oppose Caesar. Shakespeare and Voltaire wrote plays in which Brutus played an important role. Trenchard and Gordon in *Cato's Letters* and Addison in this play turned to the figure of Cato. This debate came to mind in early 2005 when Liberty Fund published its edition of Addison's play.

44. EDMUND BURKE ASKS A KEY QUESTION OF POLITICAL THEORY: QUIS CUSTODIET IPSOS CUSTODES? (HOW IS ONE TO BE DEFENDED AGAINST THE VERY GUARDIANS WHO HAVE BEEN APPOINTED TO GUARD US?) (1756)



Source: Edmund Burke, *A Vindication of Natural Society: or, a View of the Miseries and Evils arising to Mankind from every Species of Artificial Society. In a Letter to Lord *** by a Late Noble Writer*, ed. Frank N. Pagano (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, Inc., 1982). Chapter: A Letter To Lord???

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 7-11, 2005.

About the Author: Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was an English political philosopher who is often seen as laying the foundations of modern conservatism. Although he supported the American colonies in the revolution against the British crown, he strongly opposed the French Revolution, the rise of unbridled democracy, and the growing corruption of government.

Quotation

In a youthful essay, which may or may not be satirical, Burke criticizes all forms of government intervention, or what he calls "artificial society":

I have defended Natural Religion against a Confederacy of Atheists and Divines. I now plead for Natural Society against Politicians, and for Natural Reason against all three. When the World is in a fitter Temper than it is at present to hear Truth, or when I shall be more indifferent about its Temper; my Thoughts may become more publick. In the mean time, let them repose in my own Bosom, and in the Bosoms of such Men as are fit to be initiated in the sober Mysteries of Truth and Reason. My Antagonists have already done as much as I could desire. Parties in Religion and Politics make sufficient Discoveries concerning each other, to give a sober Man a proper Caution against them all. The Monarchic, Aristocratical, and Popular Partizans have been jointly laying their Axes to the Root of all Government, and have in their Turns proved each other absurd and inconvenient. In vain you tell me that Artificial Government is good, but that I fall out only with the Abuse. The Thing! the Thing itself is the Abuse!

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

There is a debate among scholars on whether or not Burke wrote this as a serious piece of political theory or as a satire. If the former, then it is youthful piece which is far more radical in its implications than his later writings. If the latter, then one can dismiss the content of the essay as an amusing attempt to push questioning of the legitimacy of the state too far. Whether or not it was intended as satire, Burke, perhaps unwittingly, asks a very pertinent question in this quotation: who is to guard us from the mistakes or worse of those whose task it is to guard us? Or, in the Latin, Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?

45. WILLIAM EMERSON, IN HIS ORATION TO COMMEMORATE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, REMINDED HIS LISTENERS OF THE "UNCONQUERABLE SENSE OF LIBERTY" WHICH AMERICANS HAD (1802)

Political Sermons
of the American
Founding Era,
1730–1805

VOLUME 2

Edited by Ellis Sandoz

SECOND EDITION


Liberty Fund
INDIANAPOLIS

Source: *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era: 1730-1805*, 2 vols, Foreword by Ellis Sandoz (2nd ed. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998). Vol. 2. Chapter: 54: William Emerson, AN ORATION IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 14-18, 2005.

About the Author: William Emerson (1769–1811). The son of William Emerson—a Congregational pastor at Concord Church who was present at the Battle of Concord—and the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson (the fourth of eight children), Emerson was a Unitarian clergyman and pastor of the First Church in Boston after 1799. A decade earlier he was graduated from Harvard, where he had been ordained as a Unitarian pastor. Interested in the social, literary, and musical life of Boston, as well as its religious affairs, he was criticized for worldliness. Theologically liberal and an eloquent, if formal, preacher, he served as chaplain of the Massachusetts Senate and an overseer of Harvard College. Emerson participated in the Massachusetts Historical Society, edited the *Monthly Anthology* literary magazine, and founded the Anthology Club, from whose library the Boston Athenaeum Library developed. He died at the age of forty-one, leaving as his most substantial work *An Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston*, published posthumously in 1812.

Quotation

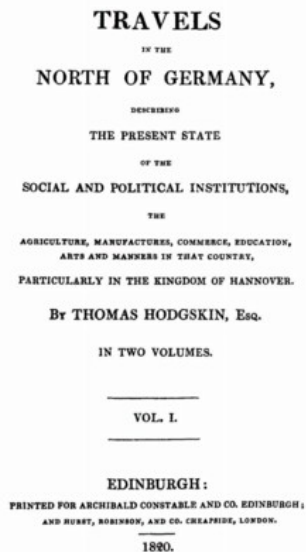
On the first anniversary of the public launch of the Online Library of Liberty it is appropriate to look back at another anniversary, in this case an oration given in Boston 1802 by William Emerson (the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson) on the anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence:

The *feelings* of Americans were always the feelings of freemen. Those venerable men, from whom you boast your descent, brought with them to these shores an unconquerable sense of liberty. They felt, that mankind were universally entitled to be free; that this freedom, though modified by the restrictions of social compact, could yet never be annulled; and that slavery, in any of its forms, is an execrable monster, whose breath is poison, and whose grasp is death. Concerning this liberty, however, they entertained no romantick notions. They neither sought nor wished the freedom of an irrational, but that of a rational being; not the freedom of savages, not the freedom of anchorites, but that of civilized and social man. Their doctrine of equality was admitted by sober understandings. It was an equality not of wisdom, but of right; not a parity of power, but of obligation. They felt and advocated a right to personal security; to the fruits of their ingenuity and toil; to reputation; to choice of mode in the worship of God; and to such a liberty of action, as consists with the safety of others, and the integrity of the laws.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

On the first anniversary of the public launch of the Online Library of Liberty it is appropriate to look back at another anniversary, in this case an oration given in Boston 1802 by William Emerson (the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson) on the anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence. In this quotation Emerson celebrates the "unconquerable sense of liberty" brought to the American shores by the founding settlers from Britain and elsewhere, and their hatred of slavery as "an execrable monster". We believe the OLL shares much in common with the men and women Emerson was celebrating in his sermon.

46. THOMAS HODGSKIN NOTED IN HIS JOURNEY THROUGH THE NORTHERN GERMAN STATES THAT THE BURDEN OF HEAVY TAXATION WAS NO BETTER THAN IT HAD BEEN UNDER THE CONQUEROR NAPOLEON (1820)



Source: Thomas Hodgskin, *Travels in the North of Germany*, describing the Present State of the Social and Political Institutions, the Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Education, Arts and Manners in that Country, particularly in the Kingdom of Hannover (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1820). Vol. 1. Chapter: CHAPTER XV.: hannover.—the army.—revenue.—taxes.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 21-25, 2005.

About the Author: Thomas Hodgskin (1787-1869) was an officer in the British Navy before leaving because of his opposition to the brutal treatment of sailors. He worked for the free trade magazine *The Economist* and wrote and lectured on laissez-faire economic ideas to working men's institutes. He was one of the earliest popularizers of economics for audiences of non-economists and gave lectures on free trade, the corn laws, and labor even before Jane Haldimand Marcet. Hodgskin passionately cared about the concerns of laborers after his experience with the maltreatment of sailors. His discussions of the labor theory of value followed up on David Ricardo and pre-dated John Stuart Mill's expositions on similar themes. He was later cited by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Marx's *Capital*. He is commonly, though incorrectly, referred to as a Ricardian socialist.

Quotation

A few years after the defeat of Napoleon, the English radical individualist Thomas Hodgskin toured northern Germany where he observed the economic, political, and social condition of the people:

The pressure of governments on subjects is at present so exclusively felt through taxes, that these latter are always sure to be complained of. At present, also, men complain more than before. The pressure they labour under is augmented, while the hope they had formed of its being decreased has been disappointed. The ex-emperor had so long been the object of reproach, he had done so many unusual and very often oppressive things, and men are so ready to attribute every evil they suffer to every thing but their own deeds and opinions, that it was only natural all Europe should believe he was the cause of every calamity and suffering. People consequently hoped when he was destroyed that golden days of enjoyment would be their lot. He is destroyed, and the only difference discovered is, that the evils suffered are still as great, but they are more systematically, regularly, and, according to opinion, legitimately inflicted.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The impact of the Napoleonic Wars on European society was of great interest to classical liberals and political economists. In many respects it had turned into a nearly 25 year long "world war" which had severely limited trade, caused inflation, imposed heavy taxation and confiscation of property on civilians, and led to the rise of dictatorship and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people. The French government sent the economist Jean-Baptiste Say to see at first hand the impact of the war and economic blockade on Britain. He was shocked by what he saw. Thomas Hodgskin took himself to northern Germany and he concluded that the ordinary people still labored under just as heavy a tax burden in 1820 as they had under Napoleon's empire. This experience was part of the gradual radicalisation of Hodgskin into a stronger and stronger advocate of economic liberty.

47. DAVID HUME PONDERES WHY THE MANY CAN BE GOVERNED SO EASILY BY THE FEW AND CONCLUDES THAT BOTH FORCE AND OPINION PLAY A ROLE (1777)



Source: David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, Literary*, edited and with a Foreword, Notes, and Glossary by Eugene F. Miller, with an appendix of variant readings from the 1889 edition by T.H. Green and T.H. Grose, revised edition (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1987). Chapter: ESSAY IV: OF THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 28 - April 1, 2005.

About the Author: David Hume (1711-1776) was a moral philosopher and historian and a leading member of the Scottish Enlightenment. In philosophy he was a skeptic. In his multi-volume *History of England* he showed how the rule of law and the creation of an independent judiciary created the foundation for liberty in England. Hume also wrote on economics, was a personal friend of Adam Smith, and was a proponent of free trade. His works highlighted the neutrality of money and the errors of the mercantilists (whose flawed theories in favor of increased exports in order to build up a stock of gold remain the foundations of many public policies even today).

Quotation

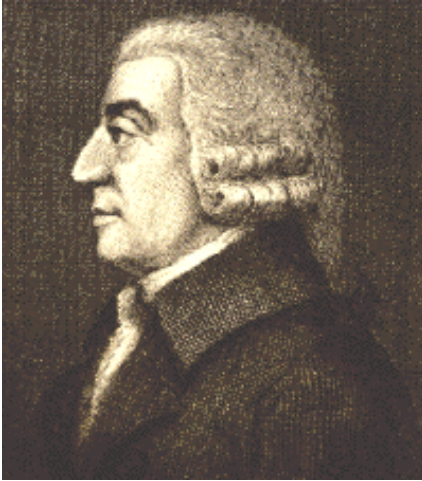
In a collection of brilliant essays ranging over a number of disciplines, Hume reflects on the key aspect of the state - why people obey:

Nothing appears more surprizing to those, who consider human affairs with a philosophical eye, than the easiness with which the many are governed by the few; and the implicit submission, with which men resign their own sentiments and passions to those of their rulers. When we enquire by what means this wonder is effected, we shall find, that, as Force is always on the side of the governed, the governors have nothing to support them but opinion. It is therefore, on opinion only that government is founded; and this maxim extends to the most despotic and most military governments, as well as to the most free and most popular. The soldan of Egypt, or the emperor of Rome, might drive his harmless subjects, like brute beasts, against their sentiments and inclination: But he must, at least, have led his *mamalukes*, or *prætorian bands*, like men, by their opinion.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

If Edmund Burke pondered over one of the key questions of political theory, "who guards us from the guardians?", David Hume was pondering an equally difficult problem: "why is it so easy for the few in power to govern the many?" His answer was that "opinion", or the beliefs the many hold about the legitimacy of those who rule, keeps the many from throwing off their rulers. This means that minimal force is required by the rulers to keep the many in line.

48. ADAM SMITH ARGUED THAT THE "PROPENSITY TO TRUCK, BARTER, AND EXCHANGE" WAS INHERENT IN HUMAN NATURE AND GAVE RISE TO THINGS SUCH AS THE DIVISION OF LABOUR (1776)



Source: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, vol. II of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Chapter: CHAPTER II: Of the Principle which gives occasion to the Division of Labour.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 4-8, 2005.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In his discussion of the division of labor, Adam Smith argues that the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange is part of human nature:

This division of labour, from which so many advantages are derived, is not originally the effect of any human wisdom, which foresees and intends that general opulence to which it gives occasion. It is the necessary, though very slow and gradual consequence of a certain propensity in human nature which has in view no such extensive utility; the propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Adam Smith raises an important point in this quotation: is the "propensity to truck, barter, and exchange" something that is inherent in human nature or is it something learned or otherwise acquired by living in society? His conclusion was that it was a "natural" and not an "artificial" aspect of all humanity. It was from this "inherent" property of human nature that he derived the idea of the division of labour which was crucial for the development of complex economic structures in all societies wherever they may be located.

49. JOHN LOCKE TELLS A "GENTLEMAN" HOW IMPORTANT READING AND THINKING IS TO A MAN OF HIS STATION WHOSE "PROPER CALLING" SHOULD BE THE SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY (LATE 1600S)



Source: *The Works of John Locke in Nine Volumes*, (London: Rivington, 1824 12th ed.). Vol. 2. Chapter: SOME THOUGHTS concerning READING AND STUDY for a GENTLEMAN.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 11-15, 2005.

About the Author: John Locke (1632-1704) was an English philosopher who is considered to be one of the first philosophers of the Enlightenment and the father of classical liberalism. In his major work *Two Treatises of Government* Locke rejects the idea of the divine right of kings, supports the idea of natural rights (especially of property), and argues for a limited constitutional government which would protect individual rights.

Quotation

Locke begins his advice to a Gentleman on the importance of reading with the following thoughts:

Reading is for the improvement of the understanding.
The improvement of the understanding is for two ends; first, for our own increase of knowledge; secondly, to enable us to deliver and make out that knowledge to others.
The latter of these, if it be not the chief end of study in a gentleman; yet it is at least equal to the other, since the greatest part of his business and usefulness in the world is by the influence of what he says, or writes to others.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Just as Vicesimus Knox tried to persuade a young nobleman under his care to abandon the aristocratic notion that he had a right to rule over others, John Locke tells his "gentleman" friend that if he wished to be of true service to his country it might be more profitable to read good books than to pursue other more "gentlemanly" activities.

50. JOHN MILTON BELIEVES MEN LIVE UNDER A "DOUBLE TYRANNY" WITHIN (THE TYRANNY OF CUSTOM AND PASSIONS) WHICH MAKES THEM BLIND TO THE TYRANNY OF GOVERNMENT WITHOUT (1649)



Source: John Milton, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, edited with Introduction and Notes by William Talbot Allison (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1911). Chapter: THE TEXT A REPRODUCTION OF THE FIRST EDITION, WITH VARIANTS FROM THE SECOND EDITION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 18-22, 2005.

About the Author: John Milton (1608-1674) ranks among the greatest poets of the English language. He is best known for the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), but he also wrote prose works on history, religion, and contemporary politics. Although his academic talents marked him for a career in the Anglican church, Milton turned away from the Church of England at an early age and was a consistent supporter of the Puritan cause. He spent most of his life in academia or as a civil servant working for the Puritan Commonwealth.

Quotation

Milton draws upon classical authorities and Christian writers to support his argument that the people have the right and duty to rise up in rebellion and overthrow a tyrant:

If men within themselves would be governed by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyranny, of custom from without, and blind affections within; they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vicious rule, by which they govern themselves. For indeed none can love freedom heartily, but good men: the rest love not freedom, but license: which never hath more scope, or more indulgence than under tyrants.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We have turned to the writings of John Milton many times in the selection of these quotations. It is not just because 2008 is the 400th anniversary of his birth, or that he is one of the greatest poets in the English language, or that he was a participant in the English Revolution of the 1640s which saw the overthrow of the Stuart monarchy, the execution of a king, the installation of a republic which turned into a new form of tyranny under Cromwell. It is all these facts which make him a fascinating figure. In this long passage Milton is keen to demonstrate the justice of overthrowing a tyrant king, something which the American colonists were to do in their own way 150 years after Milton wrote these words. What is interesting in this passage is the exploration of what happens to men who live under a corrupt and tyrannical regime.

51. JOHN MILTON GAVE A SPEECH BEFORE PARLIAMENT DEFENDING THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN WHICH HE LIKENED THE GOVERNMENT CENSORS TO AN "OLIGARCHY" AND FREE SPEECH TO A "FLOWERY CROP OF KNOWLEDGE" (1644)



Source: John Milton, *Areopagitica, with a Commentary by Sir Richard C. Jebb and with Supplementary Material* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1918). Chapter: AREOPAGITICA A SPEECH OF Mr JOHN MILTON For the Liberty of Unlicensed PRINTING To the Parliament of ENGLAND.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 25-29, 2005.

About the Author: John Milton (1608-1674) ranks among the greatest poets of the English language. He is best known for the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), but he also wrote prose works on history, religion, and contemporary politics. Although his academic talents marked him for a career in the Anglican church, Milton turned away from the Church of England at an early age and was a consistent supporter of the Puritan cause. He spent most of his life in academia or as a civil servant working for the Puritan Commonwealth.

Quotation

In a speech written for Parliament, the great English poet John Milton gave one of the most stirring defences of freedom of speech ever penned:

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city? Should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? ... Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Milton was not the only author to run afoul of the government censors. With this book he courageously put his name to the unlicensed work, thus risking a fine or a prison sentence. In 18th century France it was common to have banned books printed in the Netherlands or Switzerland and then have them smuggled across the French border in order to avoid the censors. Another trick was to put a fake title page in the book or to write under a nom de plume. Milton chose to directly challenge the authorities because he so highly valued the freedom of expression and printing.

52. MONTESQUIEU STATES THAT THE ROMAN EMPIRE FELL BECAUSE THE COSTS OF ITS MILITARY EXPANSION INTRODUCED CORRUPTION AND THE LOYALTY OF ITS SOLDIERS WAS TRANSFERRED FROM THE CITY TO ITS GENERALS (1734)



Source: Montesquieu, "Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Declension of the Roman Empire" (1734) in Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Complete Works of M. de Montesquieu* (London: T. Evans, 1777), 4 vols. Vol. 3. CHAP. IX.: Two Causes which destroyed Rome.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 2-6, 2005.

About the Author: Montesquieu (1689-1755) was one of the most influential legal theorists and political philosophers of the 18th century. His ideas about the separation of powers and checks on the power of the executive had a profound impact on the architects of the American constitution.

Quotation

Montesquieu argues that the military expansion of Rome led to its inevitable decline by introducing corruption and the transferring of the loyalty of its citizen soldiers from the city of Rome to their generals:

The reason why free states are not so permanent as other forms of government, is, because the misfortunes and successes which happen to them, generally occasion the loss of liberty; whereas the successes and misfortunes of an arbitrary government, contribute equally to the enslaving of the people. A wise republic ought not to run any hazard which may expose it to good or ill fortune; the only happiness the several individuals of it should aspire after, is, to give perpetuity to their state.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Many 18th century authors were drawn to the historical example of the fall of the Roman Empire: Montesquieu, Gibbon, Gordon, and others. They saw in the high taxes, standing army, military conquest, and political corruption a strong parallel with the present. Many of the American Founding Fathers were avid readers of Roman history, especially Tacitus, and hoped to design a new republic's constitution in order avoid Rome's fate.

53. J.S. MILL DENOUNCED THE LEGAL SUBJECTION OF WOMEN AS "WRONG IN ITSELF" AND AS "ONE OF THE CHIEF HINDRANCES TO HUMAN IMPROVEMENT" (1869)



Source: John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (1869) in *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXI - Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, ed. John M. Robson, Introduction by Stefan Collini (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984). Chapter I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 9-13, 2005.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age. He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

John Stuart Mill, the great 19th century English classical liberal, began his book on *The Subjection of Women* with the following unequivocal statement:

... the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It was with some excitement that we put online the complete works of John Stuart Mill - all 33 volumes published under the editorship of John Robson for the University of Toronto Press edition. It was a mammoth undertaking which took some decades to complete. What was particularly exciting for us was to be able to use the OLL's powerful search engine to search for key words and phrases across the whole 32 volumes (the 33rd volume, the index, is online only as a PDF and it not searchable). This quotation is just the first of many from this admirable collection.

54. WITH THE RETURN OF SPRING THE MEMORIES OF PETRARCH'S BELOVED LAURA AWAKEN A NEW PANG IN HIM (LATE 14THC)



Source: Francesco Petrarca, *Some Love Songs of Petrarch*, translated and annotated with a Biographical Introduction by William Dudley Foulke (Oxford University Press, 1915). Chapter: Zefiro torna, e 'l bel tempo rimena.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 16-20, 2005.

About the Author: Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) was an Italian scholar and poet who is regarded by many scholars as being among the first humanists. He contributed to the Renaissance flowering of lyric poetry and literature through his poems addressed to Laura, his idealized beloved. Petrarch's love of classical authors and learning inspired him to visit men of learning and search monastic libraries for classical texts. His discovery of several of Cicero's letters encouraged the revival of the Ciceronian style that characterized Renaissance humanistic education.

Quotation

With the return of spring the memories of Petrarch's beloved Laura awaken a new pang in him:

Again with gladsome feet Zephyr returns
Mid grass and flowers, his goodly family
And Procne chatters, Philomela mourns,
While Spring comes forth in all her finery.
The meadows laugh; the skies are bright and fair,
And Aphrodite wins the smile of Jove,
While full of passion is the earth and air
And every creature turns his thoughts to love.
For me, alas! these vernal days are shorn
Of all delight and laden with the sighs
Which from my heart's recesses she hath torn
Who bore its hopes and pangs to Paradise!
Till birds and flowers and woman's graces mild
To me are but a desert, stern and wild.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is one of the many qualities of Liberty Fund's founder, Pierre F. Goodrich, that his reading interests were so broad that they included medieval Italian poetry. As spring came to Indianapolis it seemed only natural then to turn to Petrarch and his deep love for Laura.

55. ERASMUS HAS THE PERSONIFICATION OF PEACE COME DOWN TO EARTH TO SEE WITH DISMAY HOW WAR RAVAGES HUMAN SOCIETIES (1521)



Source: Desiderius Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace. Translated from the Querela Pacis (A.D. 1521) of Erasmus* (Chicago: Open Court, 1917). Chapter: THE COMPLAINT OF PEACE. (Peace speaks in her own person.)

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 23-27, 2005.

About the Author: Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) was a Christian, humanist scholar; the first editor of the New Testament; a classicist; and a leading voice in the theological debates of the early Reformation in northern Europe. He contended with the reformer Martin Luther (1483-1546), emphasizing the importance of free will in human actions against Luther's belief in the absolute bondage of the will to sin.

Quotation

The personification of Peace visits Earth and sees with dismay how war ravages human societies. This is, of course, a thinly veiled critique by Erasmus of Europe in the early 16th century:

If the lower orders of the people were to act in this manner [hurting their brethren in war], some apology might be found in their supposed ignorance; if very young men were to act in this manner, the inexperience of youth might be pleaded in extenuation; if the poor laity only were concerned, the frailty of the agents might lessen the atrocity of the action: but the very reverse of this is the truth. The seeds of war are chiefly sown by those very people whose wisdom and moderation, characteristic of their rank and station, ought to compose and assuage the impetuous passions of the people.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

During Erasmus' lifetime Europe was torn apart by wars, often fought in the name of religion, as the Reformation divided individuals and nations into Protestant and Catholic. Some wars were fought even by the Pope. This appalled Erasmus who truly believed that the Christian religion was a religion of peace.

56. WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER DENOUNCED AMERICA'S WAR AGAINST SPAIN AND THOUGHT THAT "WAR, DEBT, TAXATION, DIPLOMACY, A GRAND GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM, POMP, GLORY, A BIG ARMY AND NAVY, LAVISH EXPENDITURES, POLITICAL JOBBERY" WOULD RESULT IN IMPERIALISM (1898)



Source: William Graham Sumner, *War and Other Essays*, ed. Albert Galloway Keller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919). Chapter: XV: THE CONQUEST OF THE UNITED STATES BY SPAIN [1898].

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 30 - June 10, 2005.

About the Author: William Graham Sumner (1840-1910) was one of the founding fathers of American sociology. Although he trained as an Episcopalian clergyman, Sumner went on to teach at Yale University where he wrote his most influential works. His interests included money and tariff policy, critiques of socialism, social classes, and anti-imperialism.

Quotation

In a lecture given in 1898, the great American sociologist William Graham Sumner pondered the long term economic and constitutional consequences of the war against Spain:

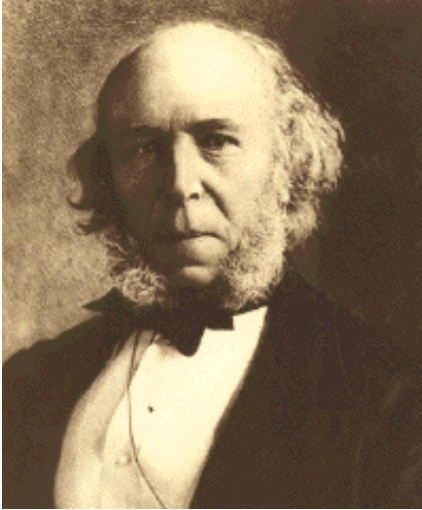
Now what will hasten the day when our present advantages will wear out and when we shall come down to the conditions of the older and densely populated nations? The answer is: war, debt, taxation, diplomacy, a grand governmental system, pomp, glory, a big army and navy, lavish expenditures, political jobbery - in a word, imperialism...

The point which I have tried to make in this lecture is that expansion and imperialism are at war with the best traditions, principles, and interests of the American people, and that they will plunge us into a network of difficult problems and political perils, which we might have avoided, while they offer us no corresponding advantage in return.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Numerous thinkers have argued that there is a continuity in American foreign policy that goes back at least to the Spanish-American War of 1898. Sumner, who lived through this war, was one of these thinkers. He predicted that the end result of continuous "war, debt, taxation, diplomacy, a grand governmental system, pomp, glory, a big army and navy, lavish expenditures, political jobbery" would be the opposite of what America was intended to be, namely "imperialism".

57. HERBERT SPENCER MAKES A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE "MILITANT TYPE OF SOCIETY" BASED UPON VIOLENCE AND THE "INDUSTRIAL TYPE OF SOCIETY" BASED UPON PEACEFUL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (1882)



Source: Herbert Spencer, *Political Institutions, being Part V of the Principles of Sociology (The Concluding Portion of Vol. II)* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1882). Chapter: CHAPTER XVII.: the militant type of society.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 13-17, 2005.

About the Author: Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was one of the leading 19th century English radical individualists. He began working as a journalist for the laissez-faire magazine *The Economist* in the 1850s. Much of the rest of his life was spent working on an all-encompassing theory of human development based upon the ideas of individualism, utilitarian moral theory, social and biological evolution, limited government, and laissez-faire economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

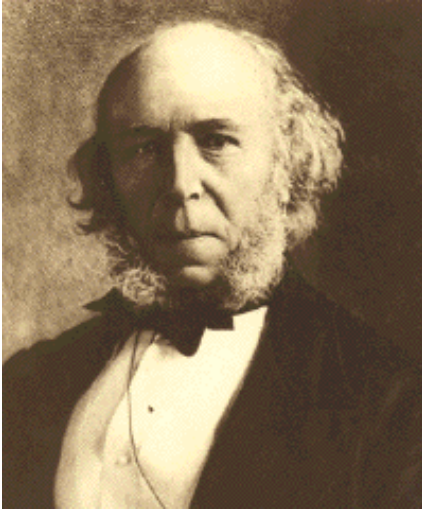
Central to Spencer's sociology of the state was the distinction between what he called "militant" types of society and "industrial" types of society. In the former type of society he observed a close link between militant activities and economic protectionism as the following quote shows:

Whence it follows that the desire "not to be dependent on foreigners" is one appropriate to the militant type of society. So long as there is constant danger that the supplies of needful things derived from other countries will be cut off by the breaking out of hostilities, it is imperative that there shall be maintained a power of producing these supplies at home, and that to this end the required structures shall be maintained. Hence there is a manifest direct relation between militant activities and a protectionist policy.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The distinction which Spencer makes between "militant" types of society and "industrial" types of society was one shared by a number of classical liberal writers who emerged during and after the Napoleonic Wars. These included Benjamin Constant, Jean-Baptiste Say, Charles Comte, Charles Dunoyer, and Frédéric Bastiat. Herbert Spencer made this idea a central part of his sociology and it would also play an important role in the thinking of economists such as Ludwig von Mises and many in the Austrian school.

58. HERBERT SPENCER ARGUED THAT IN A MILITANT TYPE OF SOCIETY THE STATE WOULD BECOME MORE CENTRALISED AND ADMINISTRATIVE, AS COMPULSORY EDUCATION CLEARLY SHOWED (1882)



Source: Herbert Spencer, *Political Institutions, being Part V of the Principles of Sociology (The Concluding Portion of Vol. II)* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1882). Chapter: CHAPTER XVIII.: the militant type of society.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 20 - July 1, 2005.

About the Author: Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was one of the leading 19th century English radical individualists. He began working as a journalist for the laissez-faire magazine *The Economist* in the 1850s. Much of the rest of his life was spent working on an all-encompassing theory of human development based upon the ideas of individualism, utilitarian moral theory, social and biological evolution, limited government, and laissez-faire economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

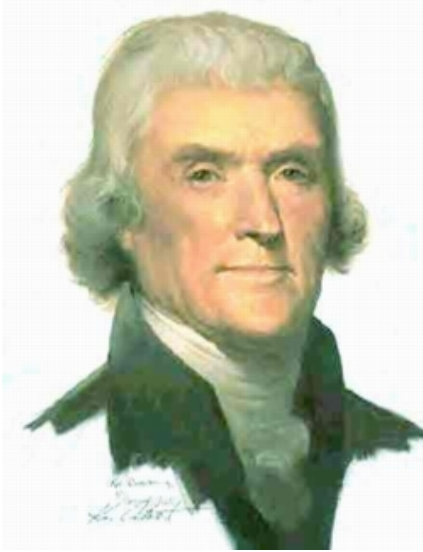
Central to Spencer's sociology of the state was the distinction between what he called militant types of society and industrial types of society. In the latter type of society he observed that administration by the state is either non-existent or extremely decentralized, as the following quote shows:

Those who are forced to send their children to this or that school, those who have, directly or indirectly, to help in supporting a State priesthood, those from whom rates are demanded that parish officers may administer public charity, those who are taxed to provide gratis reading for people who will not save money for library subscriptions, those whose businesses are carried on under regulation by inspectors, those who have to pay the costs of State science-and-art-teaching, State emigration, &c., all have their individualities trampled upon, either by compelling them to do what they would not spontaneously do, or by taking away money which else would have furthered their private ends. Coercive arrangements of such kinds, consistent with the militant type, are inconsistent with the industrial type.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Herbert Spencer continues his discussion of the differences between the "militant" and "industrial" types of societies. In this passage he details some of the activities of the state in a "militant" type of society, namely compulsory state education, an established church, pervasive state regulation of industry, and so on. The sad thing about Spencer is that he aged, he seemed to become more radical in his liberalism whilst the society around became more statist and interventionist.

59. LESS WELL KNOWN IS THOMAS JEFFERSON'S FIRST DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN WHICH HE DENOUNCED THE SLAVE TRADE AS AN "EXECRABLE COMMERCE" AND SLAVERY ITSELF AS A "CRUEL WAR AGAINST NATURE ITSELF" (1776)



Source: Thomas Jefferson 's first draft of the Declaration of Independence (1776) in *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Federal Edition* (New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-5). Vol. 2. Chapter: First Draft.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 4-8, 2005.

About the Author: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), a Virginian, was the author of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), an active participant in the Revolution, Governor of Virginia (1779), member of Congress, Minister to France, Secretary of State under President Washington, and president of the United States (1800). He was a polymath who wrote on and was knowledgeable about science, architecture, music, agriculture, law, education, geography, and music.

Quotation

Less well known than the official version of the Declaration of Independence of the American colonies is Thomas Jefferson's first draft where Jefferson makes the following points about slavery:

He has waged cruel War against human Nature itself, violating its most sacred Rights of Life and Liberty in the Persons of a distant People who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into Slavery in another Hemisphere, or to incur miserable Death, in their Transportation thither. This piratical Warfare, the opprobrium of infidel Powers, is the Warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain.
He has prostituted his Negative for Suppressing every legislative Attempt to prohibit or to restrain an execrable Commerce, determined to keep open a Markett where Men should be bought and sold, and that this assemblage of Horrors might want no Fact of distinguished Die

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We chose this quote to coincide with the July 4 celebrations in this country. It is always a puzzlement to consider Jefferson's obvious abhorrence of slavery, as this draft of the Declaration of independence clearly shows, and his ownership of slaves. One wonders how the two could exist side by side in the same individual. If a man like Jefferson was able to make compromises like this what does this mean for the rest of us?

60. DAVID RICARDO CONSIDERED TAXATION TO BE A "GREAT EVIL" WHICH HINDERED THE ACCUMULATION OF PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL AND REDUCED CONSUMPTION (1817)



Source: *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, ed. Piero Sraffa with the Collaboration of M.H. Dobb (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005). Vol. 1 Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. Chapter: viii: On Taxes.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 11-15, 2005.

About the Author: David Ricardo (1772-1823), born in London of parents recently emigrated from Amsterdam, where he was educated as a youth in yeshivas. He returned to London and made a large fortune as a stockbroker, and eventually was elected to Parliament; but he also enjoyed reading about economics. He was ultimately inspired by Smith's *The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, and, using his background in the stock market and his natural incisive ability, actively disagreed with the mercantilist views on gold accumulation and the pricing of gold. He eventually took on some of Smith's inconsistencies, and in the process developed the role of comparative advantage in international trade. He is one of the early describers of what has become known as "Ricardian equivalence" - the condition that real interest rates are influenced by government spending, but not necessarily by the way the government finances that spending (via borrowing or taxation). His contributions to the economics of rent, monetary theory, and the theory of value influenced economists of his day and since. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In Chapter VIII On Taxes p. 152 Ricardo reflects on the impact of taxation and concludes:

There are no taxes which have not a tendency to lessen the power to accumulate. All taxes must either fall on capital or revenue. If they encroach on capital, they must proportionably diminish that fund by whose extent the extent of the productive industry of the country must always be regulated; and if they fall on revenue, they must either lessen accumulation, or force the contributors to save the amount of the tax, by making a corresponding diminution of their former unproductive¹ consumption of the necessaries and luxuries of life. Some taxes will produce these effects in a much greater degree than others; but the great evil of taxation is to be found, not so much in any selection of its objects, as in the general amount of its effects taken collectively.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Another very important scholarly edition to which Liberty Fund acquired the republishing and electronic rights is the Sraffa edition of the *Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo* in 11 volumes which appeared in early 2005. This set is now added to the two other outstanding collections which we have, i.e. the *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* in 7 volumes, and *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* in 33 volumes. Scholars all over the world now have access to these collections and can do powerful key word searches using our search engine.

61. EDWARD GIBBON BELIEVED THAT UNLESS PUBLIC LIBERTY WAS DEFENDED BY "INTREPID AND VIGILANT GUARDIANS" ANY CONSTITUTION WOULD DEGENERATE INTO DESPOTISM (1776)



Source: Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury with an Introduction by W.E.H. Lecky (New York: Fred de Fau and Co., 1906), in 12 vols. Vol. 1. CHAPTER III.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 18-22, 2005.

About the Author: Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) is regarded as the greatest historian of the Enlightenment. His multi-volume history of the decline of Rome was both scholarly and full of humane scepticism. Although he was a Member of Parliament he was a long-time resident of Lausanne.

Quotation

In Chapter III of the first volume of his magisterial history of the decline of Rome, Gibbon reflects upon the Constitution of the Roman Empire in the Age of the Antonines:

The obvious definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state, in which a single person, by whatsoever name he may be distinguished, is entrusted with the execution of the laws, the management of the revenue, and the command of the army. But unless public liberty is protected by intrepid and vigilant guardians, the authority of so formidable a magistrate will soon degenerate into despotism. The influence of the clergy, in an age of superstition, might be usefully employed to assert the rights of mankind; but so intimate is the connection between the throne and the altar, that the banner of the church has very seldom been seen on the side of the people. A martial nobility and stubborn commons, possessed of arms, tenacious of property, and collected into constitutional assemblies, form the only balance capable of preserving a free constitution against enterprises of an aspiring prince.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

1776, the year Gibbon's great work on the decline of the Roman Empire was first published, was also the year in which Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations* as well as the year in which the American Declaration of Independence was signed, thus beginning the revolution and war against Great Britain.

62. WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT ARGUED THAT FREEDOM WAS THE "GRAND AND INDISPENSABLE CONDITION" (1792)



Source: Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Sphere and Duties of Government*. Translated from the German of Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, by Joseph Coulthard, Jun. (London: John Chapman, 1854). CHAPTER II.: Of the individual man, and the highest ends of his existence.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 25-29, 2005.

About the Author: Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) was described by Friedrich Hayek as "Germany's greatest philosopher of freedom". He wrote a path-breaking defense of the minimal state which had a profound influence on John Stuart Mill. Humboldt later became Director of the Section for Public Worship and Education, in the Ministry of Interior. In this capacity, he directed the reorganization of the Prussian public education system, and, in particular, founded the University of Berlin.

Quotation

In Chapter II "Of the Individual Man, and the Highest Ends of his Existence" Humboldt explains the connection between liberty and a variety of situations, and their connection to the flourishing of the individual:

The true end of Man, or that which is prescribed by the eternal and immutable dictates of reason, and not suggested by vague and transient desires, is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole. Freedom is the grand and indispensable condition which the possibility of such a development presupposes; but there is besides another essential,—intimately connected with freedom, it is true,—a variety of situations. Even the most free and self-reliant of men is thwarted and hindered in his development by uniformity of position. But as it is evident, on the one hand, that such a diversity is a constant result of freedom, and on the other, that there is a species of oppression which, without imposing restrictions on man himself, gives a peculiar impress of its own to surrounding circumstances; these two conditions, of freedom and variety of situation, may be regarded, in a certain sense, as one and the same.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This book is a celebration of the fact that liberty is an essential precondition for human flourishing to take place. This is an idea which so inspired John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty* (1859) that he dedicated his book to Humboldt. It is a reminder that liberty not only makes economic development possible but creates the society in which all manner of human activities can best blossom and bloom.

63. EDWARD GIBBON REVEALS THE REASONS WHY HE WROTE ON THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, "THE GREATEST, PERHAPS, AND MOST AWFUL SCENE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND" (1776)



Source: Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury with an Introduction by W.E.H. Lecky (New York: Fred de Fau and Co., 1906), in 12 vols. Vol. 12. CHAPTER LXXI.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 8-12, 2005.

About the Author: Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) is regarded as the greatest historian of the Enlightenment. His multi-volume history of the decline of Rome was both scholarly and full of humane scepticism. Although he was a Member of Parliament he was a long-time resident of Lausanne.

Quotation

After 20 years of work, Gibbon finally completed his history of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in 1776. The final paragraph of that monumental work reads as follows:

...every reader('s) ... attention will be excited by an History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorder of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is interesting to occasionally come across the innermost thoughts of an author, revealed in some stray paragraph which may not get the attention it deserves. Here is one by Edward Gibbon in the very last paragraph of the last and 12th volume of his massive work. He confesses to the reader how he, 20 years previously, like so many "pilgrims" from the "remote and savage countries of the North", stood in awe of the Roman ruins they saw around them and thought about who had lived among them and why they had disappeared.

64. THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL LIBERAL BRUCE SMITH LAYS DOWN SOME VERY STRICT RULES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN THE ACTIONS OF ANY LEGISLATOR (1887)



Source: Bruce Smith, *Liberty and Liberalism: A Protest against the Growing Tendency toward undue Interference by the State, with Individual Liberty, Private Enterprise and the Rights of Property* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1888). Chapter IX PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF TRUE LIBERALISM.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 15 - September 2, 2005.

About the Author: Bruce Smith (1851-1937) was an Australian Barrister and a Member of the Parliament of New South Wales in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Smith was one of the very few (perhaps the only one) Spencerite liberals in the Australian colonies. He was influenced by the writings of the English "Liberty and Property Defence League" which was a group of radical individualists and free traders who had among their members Thomas Mackay and Auberon Herbert.

Quotation

Even in 1887 there were classical liberals, like the Australian barrister Bruce Smith, who lamented the fact that state intervention was on the increase and that legislators had little regard for individual liberty. Here is his list of principles which all legislators should keep in mind:

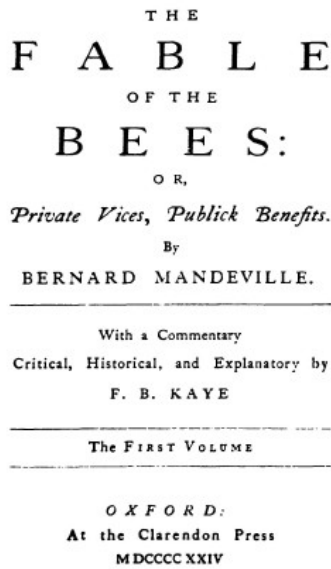
The broad principles, then, which I should venture to lay down as guides for any one assuming the responsible position of a legislator are three in number.

1. The state should not *impose taxes*, or use the *public revenue* for any purpose other than that of *securing equal freedom to all citizens*.
2. The state should not interfere with the *legally acquired property* of any section of its citizens for any other purpose than that of *securing equal freedom to all citizens*; and in the event of any such justifiable interference amounting to appropriation; then, only conditional upon the lawful owner being *fully compensated*.
3. The state should not in any way restrict the *personal liberty* of citizens for any other purpose than that of *securing equal freedom to all citizens*.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As an Australian and an admirer of late 19th century radicals such as Herbert Spencer, Auberon Herbert, and Thomas Mackay I was very surprised to come across one of their kind in Australia. This work did not deserve the obscurity into which it had sunk and it was a pleasure to put it online on the OLL.

65. BERNARD MANDEVILLE USES A FABLE ABOUT BEES TO SHOW HOW PROSPERITY AND GOOD ORDER COMES ABOUT THROUGH SPONTANEOUS ORDER (1705)



Source: Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, 2 vols. With a Commentary Critical, Historical, and Explanatory by F.B. Kaye (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988). Vol. 1. Chapter: [1]The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves turn'd Honest.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 5-9, 2005.

About the Author: Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) was born in Holland in 1670 into a family of physicians and naval officers. He received his degree of Doctor of Medicine at Leiden in 1691 and began to practice as a specialist in nerve and stomach disorders, his father's specialty. Perhaps after a tour of Europe, he ended up in London, where he soon learned the language and decided to stay. He married in 1699, fathered at least two children, and brought out his first English publication in 1703 (a book of fables in the La Fontaine tradition). He wrote works on medicine (*A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, 1711), poetry (*Wishes to a Godson, with Other Miscellany Poems*, 1712), and religious and political affairs (*Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and National Happiness*, 1720). He died in 1733. His most famous work, *The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, came out in more than half a dozen editions beginning in 1714 (the poem *The Grumbling Hive* upon which it was based appeared in 1705) and became one of the most enduringly controversial works of the eighteenth century for its claims about the moral foundations of modern commercial society.

Quotation

This year is the the 300th anniversary of the publication of the poem "The Grumbling Hive" which began Mandeville's exploration of the idea that the pursuit of selfish goals by individuals, within the confines of the free market, could produce beneficial public benefits:

A Spacious Hive well stockt with Bees,
That liv'd in Luxury and Ease;
And yet as fam'd for Laws and Arms,
As yielding large and early Swarms;
Was counted the great Nursery
Of Sciences and Industry.
No Bees had better Government,
More Fickleness, or less Content:
They were not Slaves to Tyranny,
Nor rul'd by wild *Democracy*;
But Kings, that could not wrong, because
Their Power was circumscrib'd by Laws.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This poem, which formed the basis of Mandeville's longer work *The Fable of the Bees*, is a clever and witty attempt to make a profound point of economic theory, namely that structure and order can arise from individual action and does not have to be imposed from above by a King (in this case shouldn't it be a "Queen"?).

66. HUGO GROTIUS DISCUSSES THE JUST CAUSES OF GOING TO WAR, ESPECIALLY THE IDEA THAT THE CAPACITY TO WAGE WAR MUST BE MATCHED BY THE INTENT TO DO SO (1625)



Source: Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, edited and with an Introduction by Richard Tuck, from the Edition by Jean Barbeyrac (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005). Vol. 2. CHAPTER XXII: Of the unjust Causes of War.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 12-16, 2005.

About the Author: Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) was a Dutch scholar and jurist whose legal masterpiece, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (On the law of war and peace) (1625), contributed significantly to the formation of international law as a distinct discipline. In addition to that work, Grotius wrote a number of literary pieces of lasting merit, including *Sacra* (a collection of Latin poems) and the drama *Christus Patiens*. Like Erasmus, Grotius sought to end the religious schism and urged the papacy to reconcile with the Protestant faiths.

Quotation

Grotius attempted to codify the historical, moral, and legal grounds for justly waging war against an enemy. Here are his thoughts on waging war against a perceived threat:

First therefore, the Dread (as we before observed) of our Neighbour's encreasing Strength, is not a warrantable Ground for making War upon him. To justify taking up Arms in our own Defence, there ought to be a Necessity for so doing, which there is not, unless we are sure, with a moral Certainty, that he has not only Forces sufficient, but a full Intention to injure us.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We first used a quotation from Grotius' *The Rights of War and Peace* in May 2004 and the edition we used was from 1901. Since then the marvelous three volume edition published by Liberty Fund and edited by Richard Tuck has appeared (2005) which supercedes all earlier editions and translations. In this quotation Grotius explores an important contemporary topic, when is it just to go to war?

67. HUGO GROTIUS STATES THAT IN AN UNJUST WAR ANY ACTS OF HOSTILITY DONE IN THAT WAR ARE "UNJUST IN THEMSELVES" (1625)



Source: Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, edited and with an Introduction by Richard Tuck, from the Edition by Jean Barbeyrac (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005). Vol. 3. CHAPTER X: Advice concerning Things done in an unjust War.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 19-23, 2005.

About the Author: Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) was a Dutch scholar and jurist whose legal masterpiece, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (On the law of war and peace) (1625), contributed significantly to the formation of international law as a distinct discipline. In addition to that work, Grotius wrote a number of literary pieces of lasting merit, including *Sacra* (a collection of Latin poems) and the drama *Christus Patiens*. Like Erasmus, Grotius sought to end the religious schism and urged the papacy to reconcile with the Protestant faiths.

Quotation

Grotius attempted to codify the historical, moral, and legal grounds for justly waging war against an enemy. Here are his thoughts on acts committed in an unjust war:

III. We then first declare, if the Cause of the War be unjust, tho' it be undertaken in a solemn Manner, yet all the Acts of Hostility done in it are unjust in themselves. So that they who knowingly do these Acts, or join in the acting of them, Are to be accounted in the Number of those, who without Repentance cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, 1 Cor. vi. 10. But true Repentance, if Opportunity and Ability will allow, absolutely requires that he who has done any Damage, either by killing, ravaging or plundering, should make full Restitution.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue to explore Liberty Fund's new edition of this great work. In this passage Grotius argues that if the cause of a war be unjust, then any acts of hostility done in that war are also unjust; and the party which does any damage in that war must pay full restitution. These thoughts remind one of what Bates says to King Henry on the eve of battle in Shakespeare's play *Henry V*.

68. ADAM FERGUSON NOTES THAT "IMPLICIT SUBMISSION TO ANY LEADER, OR THE UNCONTROLLED EXERCISE OF ANY POWER" LEADS TO A FORM OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND ULTIMATELY DESPOTISM (1767)



Source: Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 5th ed. (London: T. Cadell, 1782). SECTION VI.: Of the Progress and Termination of Despotism.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 26-30, 2005.

About the Author: Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) was a member of the Scottish Enlightenment who succeeded David Hume in his post as Librarian of the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh. Ferguson later became professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and wrote important works on philosophy and history.

Quotation

In SECTION VI. "Of the Progress and Termination of Despotism" of his pioneering work of "philosophical history," Adam Ferguson reflects on how free and prosperous nations might step-by-step degenerate into despotism:

We have already observed, that where men are remiss or corrupted, the virtue of their leaders, or the good intention of their magistrates, will not always secure them in the possession of political freedom. Implicit submission to any leader, or the uncontrolled exercise of any power, even when it is intended to operate for the good of mankind, may frequently end in the subversion of legal establishments. This fatal revolution, by whatever means it is accomplished, terminates in military government; and this, though the simplest of all governments, is rendered complete by degrees.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

A common theme in many 18th century authors was that of decline, corruption, and the descent into despotism. This can be clearly seen in Edward Gibbon's (1776) and here in Adam Ferguson's book. The image Ferguson uses, of decline and loss of liberty by "slow, and almost imperceptible steps" reminds one of the story of the frog in the pot of boiling water. It does not know when to jump out of the pot until it is too late.

69. JOHN MILTON LAMENTS THE CASE OF A PEOPLE WHO WON THEIR LIBERTY "IN THE FIELD" BUT WHO THEN FOOLISHLY "RAN THEIR NECKS AGAIN INTO THE YOKE" OF TYRANNY (1660)



Source: John Milton, *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by Evert Mordecai Clark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915). Chapter: THE READY AND EASY WAY TO ESTABLISH A FREE COMMONWEALTH.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 3-7, 2005.

About the Author: John Milton (1608-1674) ranks among the greatest poets of the English language. He is best known for the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), but he also wrote prose works on history, religion, and contemporary politics. Although his academic talents marked him for a career in the Anglican church, Milton turned away from the Church of England at an early age and was a consistent supporter of the Puritan cause. He spent most of his life in academia or as a civil servant working for the Puritan Commonwealth.

Quotation

After having fought for individual liberty in the English Revolution, the English poet John Milton was appalled that oppressive monarchy would be returned in 1660:

That a nation should be so valorous and courageous to win their liberty in the field, and when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in their counsels, as not to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, or with themselves; but after ten or twelve years' prosperous war and contestation with tyranny, basely and besottedly to run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken, and prostrate all the fruits of their victory for nought at the feet of the vanquished...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It must be heartbreaking for a man with the intellectual gifts and liberal sentiments Milton had, as a poet and political theorist and defender of free speech, to see the Republic and the revolution he had fought so hard for, turn into a dictatorship under Cromwell and then face the ignominy of a restoration of the oppressive Stuarts monarchy. It did mean however that Milton was forced to return to writing poetry. For that at least, we must be grateful.

70. MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT BELIEVES THAT WOMEN ARE NO MORE NATURALLY SUBSERVIENT THAN MEN AND NOBODY, MALE OR FEMALE, VALUES FREEDOM UNLESS THEY HAVE HAD TO STRUGGLE TO ATTAIN IT (1792)



Source: Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (London: J. Johnson, 1792).

CHAPTER IV: observations on the state of degradation to which woman is reduced by various causes.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 10-14, 2005.

About the Author: Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) was an English author who rose to prominence with a very quick response to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. She extended her analysis two years later to defend the idea of equal rights for women in one of the founding texts of modern feminism - *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Wollstonecraft lived in France during the Revolution and wrote an early history of that event. She also wrote travel letters and novels.

Quotation

Mary Wollstonecraft begins chapter 4 on "Observations on the State of the Degradation to which Woman is reduced by various Causes" with the following observation:

That woman is naturally weak, or degraded by a concurrence of circumstances, is, I think, clear. But this position I shall simply contrast with a conclusion, which I have frequently heard fall from sensible men in favour of an aristocracy: that the mass of mankind cannot be any thing, or the obsequious slaves, who patiently allow themselves to be driven forward, would feel their own consequence, and spurn their chains. Men, they further observe, submit every where to oppression, when they have only to lift up their heads to throw off the yoke; yet, instead of asserting their birthright, they quietly lick the dust, and say, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Women, I argue from analogy, are degraded by the same propensity to enjoy the present moment; and, at last, despise the freedom which they have not sufficient virtue to struggle to attain.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Mary Wollstonecraft raises a very interesting point about why humans allow themselves to be ruled by others. This is question which occupied Edmund Burke and David Hume as well. Her answer was that, just as men had "willingly" submitted to aristocratic rule for centuries, so too had women "willingly" submitted to their husbands in unequal marriages. Is the habituation to rule then the justification for that rule by others?

71. JOHN MILTON IN *PARADISE REGAINED* HAS CHRIST DEPLORE THE "FALSE GLORY" WHICH COMES FROM MILITARY CONQUEST AND THE DESPOILING OF NATIONS IN BATTLE (1671)



Source: John Milton, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, edited after the Original Texts by the Rev. H.C. Beeching M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900). *Paradise Regained*. Chapter: The Third Book. Line 70.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 17-21, 2005.

About the Author: John Milton (1608-1674) ranks among the greatest poets of the English language. He is best known for the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), but he also wrote prose works on history, religion, and contemporary politics. Although his academic talents marked him for a career in the Anglican church, Milton turned away from the Church of England at an early age and was a consistent supporter of the Puritan cause. He spent most of his life in academia or as a civil servant working for the Puritan Commonwealth.

Quotation

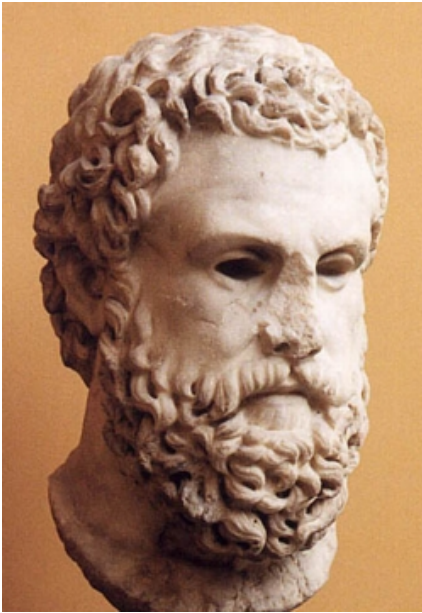
In Milton's great poem Christ and Satan argue about the nature of greatness and glory. Christ makes the following points about the true nature of glory:

They err who count it glorious to subdue
By Conquest far and wide, to over-run
Large Countries, and in field great Battels win,
Great Cities by assault: what do these Worthies,
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable Nations, neighbouring, or remote,
Made Captive, yet deserving freedom more
Then those thir Conquerours, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe're they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy,
Then swell with pride, and must be titl'd Gods,
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
Worship't with Temple, Priest and Sacrifice;
One is the Son of *Jove*, of *Mars* the other,
Till Conquerour Death discover them scarce men,
Rowling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
Violent or shameful death thir due reward.
But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may be means far different be attain'd
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue our exploration of John Milton's thought, this time turning to one of his great epic poems *Paradise Regained* (1671). After seeing the rise of Cromwell, the defeat of the Republic and the restoration of the monarchy Milton had time and opportunity to reflect on the nature of martial glory and conquest. He concluded rather sadly in this poem that "if there be in glory aught of good, It may be means far different be attain'd Without ambition, war, or violence." Perhaps he had in mind Cromwell's invasion of Ireland.

72. AESCHYLUS HAS PROMETHEUS DENOUNCE THE LORD OF HEAVEN FOR UNJUSTLY PUNISHING HIM FOR GIVING MANKIND THE GIFT OF FIRE (5THC BC)



Source: *The Lyrical Dramas of Aeschylus*, translated into English Verse by John Stuart Blackie (London: J.M. Dent, 1906). PROMETHEUS BOUND A LYRICO-DRAMATIC SPECTACLE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 24-28, 2005.

About the Author: Aeschylus (525-456 BC) was the first of the great Athenian dramatists and playwrights. Aeschylus fought and was wounded at Marathon and took part in the defense of Greece when it was invaded by the Persians in 480 B.C. During his lifetime, Greece was marked by intense political rivalries and conflicts. In his plays Aeschylus dealt with these and other issues, including religious and philosophical ones, such as the nature of the divine power governing the universe.

Quotation

Prometheus has become a symbol of resistance to injustice and the deprivation of liberty. In the words of the Greek playwright Aeschylus, Prometheus defies the gods thusly:

By my Titan soul, I swear it!
Though with harsh chains now he mocks me,
Even now the hour is ripening,
When this haughty lord of Heaven
Shall embrace my knees, beseeching
Me to unveil the new-forged counsels
That shall hurl him from his throne.
But no honey-tongued persuasion,
No smooth words of artful charming,
No stout threats shall loose my tongue,
Till he loose these bonds of insult,
And himself make just atonement
For injustice done to me.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Prometheus' fiery denunciation of kingly injustice has spoken to many generations since it was penned in the 5th century BC. But it spoke most clearly to the generation who lived in the revolutionary decades of the late 18th and early 19th centuries when popular movements toppled kings, new countries seceded from empires, and popular constituencies created new political arrangements which were more accountable to the people.

73. CICERO URGES THE SENATE TO APPLY THE LAWS EQUALLY IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE REPUTATION OF ROME AND TO PROVIDE JUSTICE FOR THE VICTIMS OF A CORRUPT MAGISTRATE (1STC BC)



Source: *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, trans. C.D. Yonge (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1913-21). Vol. 1. THE FIRST BOOK OF THE SECOND PLEADING AGAINST CAIUS VERRES. RESPECTING HIS CONDUCT IN THE CITY PRÆTORSHIP.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 31 - November 4, 2005.

About the Author: Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC) was a Roman lawyer and statesman who was active during the late Republic in resisting the rise of dictatorship. His polished style of writing Latin greatly influenced later generations.

Quotation

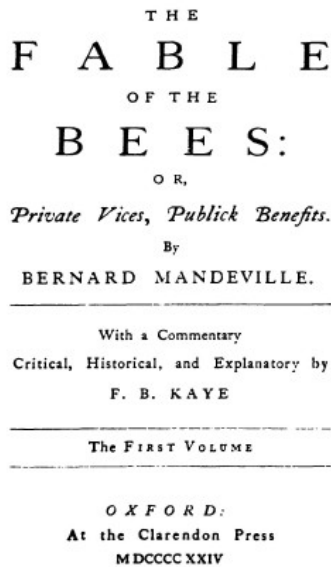
In a speech in favor of the impeachment of a corrupt magistrate, Caius Verres, Cicero urges the Senate to apply the laws equally in order to protect the reputation of Rome and to provide justice for his victims:

You, when you have been besieged by so illustrious a city on account of your own wickedness and crime—when you have compelled men, miserable and maddened by calamity, as if in despair of our laws and tribunals, to fly to violence, to combat, and to arms—when you have shown yourself in the towns and cities of our friends, not as a lieutenant of the Roman people, but as a lustful and inhuman tyrant—when among foreign nations you have injured the reputation of our dominion and our name by your infamy and your crimes—when you have with difficulty saved yourself from the sword of the friends of the Roman people, and escaped from the fire of its allies, do you think you will find an asylum here? You are mistaken—they allowed you to escape alive that you might fall into our power here, not that you might find rest here.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

A key feature of the liberal order is the idea of the equality of all citizens before the law, i.e. that no individual or group is above the law, that all must submit to and be punished if they infringe upon the rights of others. Here we see Cicero, the great Roman orator and lawyer, listing the crimes of Caius Verres and stating that he is not immune from impeachment and conviction by the Roman Senate.

74. BERNARD MANDEVILLE CONCLUDES HIS FABLE OF THE BEES WITH A MORAL HOMILY ON THE VIRTUES OF PEACE, HARD WORK, AND DILIGENCE (1705)



Source: Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, 2 vols. With a Commentary Critical, Historical, and Explanatory by F.B. Kaye (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988). Vol. 1. Chapter: [1]The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves turn'd Honest.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 7-11, 2005.

About the Author: Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) was born in Holland in 1670 into a family of physicians and naval officers. He received his degree of Doctor of Medicine at Leiden in 1691 and began to practice as a specialist in nerve and stomach disorders, his father's specialty. Perhaps after a tour of Europe, he ended up in London, where he soon learned the language and decided to stay. He married in 1699, fathered at least two children, and brought out his first English publication in 1703 (a book of fables in the La Fontaine tradition). He wrote works on medicine (*A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, 1711), poetry (*Wishes to a Godson, with Other Miscellany Poems*, 1712), and religious and political affairs (*Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and National Happiness*, 1720). He died in 1733. His most famous work, *The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, came out in more than half a dozen editions beginning in 1714 (the poem *The Grumbling Hive* upon which it was based appeared in 1705) and became one of the most enduringly controversial works of the eighteenth century for its claims about the moral foundations of modern commercial society.

Quotation

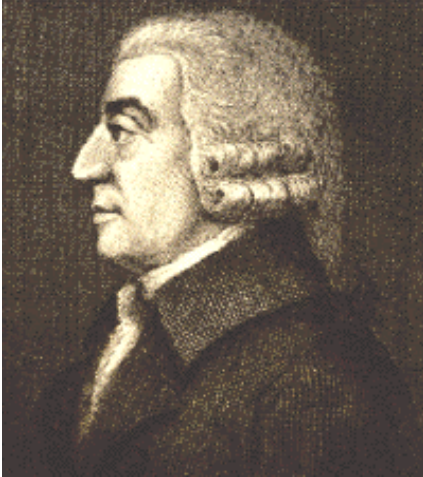
2005 is the 300th anniversary of the publication of the poem "The Grumbling Hive" which began Mandeville's exploration of the idea that the pursuit of selfish goals by individuals, within the confines of the free market, could produce beneficial public benefits. This Moral concludes the poem:

THEN leave Complaints: Fools only strive
To make a Great an Honest Hive
T' enjoy the World's Conveniencies,
Be fam'd in War, yet live in Ease,
Without great Vices, is a vain
Eutopia seated in the Brain.
Fraud, Luxury and Pride must live,
While we the Benefits receive:
Hunger's a dreadful Plague, no doubt,
Yet who digests or thrives without?
Do we not owe the Growth of Wine
To the dry shabby crooked
Which, while its Shoots neglected stood,
Chok'd other Plants, and ran to Wood;
But blest us with its noble Fruit,
As soon as it was ty'd and cut:
So Vice is beneficial found,
When it's by Justice lopt and bound;
Nay, where the People would be great,
As necessary to the State,
As Hunger is to make 'em eat.
Bare Virtue can't make Nations live
In Splendor; they, that would revive
A Golden Age, must be as free,

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue our exploration of Mandeville's "The Grumbling Hive" (1705) in this anniversary year. In the conclusion to the poem Mandeville makes the then shocking claim that often out of Vice comes much good, that when Vice is bound by Justice it becomes beneficial, and that if we wish to enter another Golden Age of mankind then we must be "as free for Acorns as for Honesty."

75. ADAM SMITH ARGUES THAT THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT IS A GREAT SECURITY AGAINST THE TYRANNY OF THE KING (1763)



Source: Adam Smith, *Lectures On Jurisprudence*, ed. R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein, vol. V of the *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1982). Chapter: Wednesday. March. 9th 1763.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 14-18, 2005.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

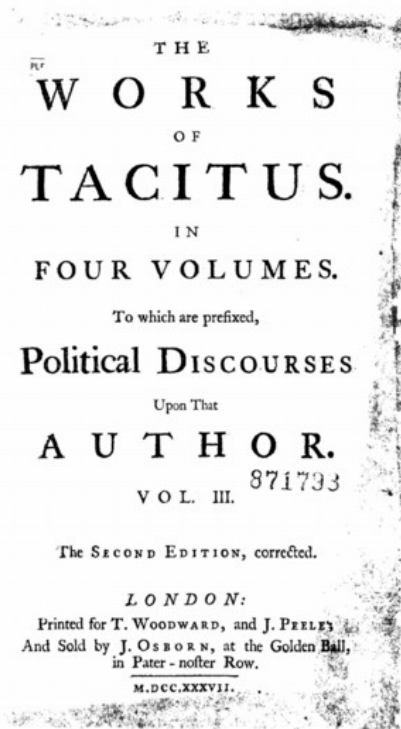
In his lectures on jurisprudence Smith notes the importance of the law of habeas corpus in protecting the liberty of subjects against oppression by the king:

The *Habeas Corpus* Act is also a great security against oppression, as by it any one can procure triall at Westminster within 40 days who can afford to transport himself thither. Before this Act the Privy Council could put any one they pleased into prison and detain him at pleasure without bringing him to triall. Now no one can be imprisoned anywhere but in the county gaol or the nearest to it where the crime is said to have been committed; he cant be sent out of Britain to Jersey, | Guernsey, or the plantations, that is, alway<s> within the extent of the Hab. Corp. Act.—This sufficiently secures the liberty of the people; for tho many could not afford the expense, yet it is not such who will be in greatest danger from the king. The rich and powerfull are most obnoxious to his displeasure; tis rich and not poor folk who are sent to the Bastile in France. No judge can oppose the Habeas Corpus Act; infamy and a high penalty are the punishment which attend it. No influence of the king could ever induce them to make any such attem<p>t. And so strict is this Act that in the time of rebellions or other exigencies of the state, when it is necessary to imprison without such speedy triall, it is commonly taken off for 6 months. But it will never be allowed to be repealed, as that would destroy in a great measure the liberty of the subject.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

On Wednesday, March 9th, 1763 Adam Smith lectured his students at the University of Glasgow on the importance of the Habeas Corpus Act. He argued that the right to appear before a court in person, to have the charges against one read out in a public court, to have legal representation, and the chance to refute the charges, is a key defence against any potential tyranny of the King. He concluded confidently that this legal right "sufficiently secures the liberty of the people." Smith was not the only classical liberal to ardently support this right. We would also recommend the writings of Coke and Voltaire in this regard.

76. THOMAS GORDON GIVES A LONG LIST OF RIDICULOUS AND FRIVOLOUS REASONS WHY KINGS AND TYRANTS HAVE STARTED WARS WHICH HAVE LED ONLY TO THE ENSLAVEMENT AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE (1737)



Source: Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *The Works of Tacitus. In Four Volumes. To which are prefixed, Political Discourses upon that Author by Thomas Gordon.* The Second Edition, corrected. (London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1737). Vol. 1. Chapter: Sect. VI.: The Folly of conquering further urged and exemplified..

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 21-25, 2005.

About the Author: John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon (?-1750) were two indefatigable English journalists who defended the idea of liberty against political corruption, imperialism and militarism in the early 18th century. They were also much read in the American colonies.

Quotation

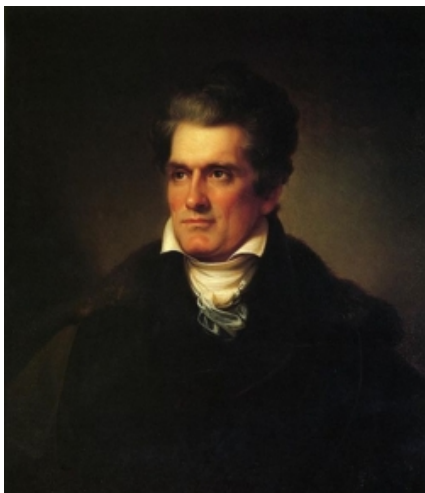
Gordon is best known as one of the authors of *Cato's Letters*, a severe critique of the political corruption and wars of the British Empire which very much influenced the American colonists. In his lengthy "Discourses on Tacitus" he concludes a section on the Follies of Conquering with the following:

I might here display what ridiculous causes do often pique and awaken the vanity and ambition of Princes, and prompt them to lavish lives and treasure, and utterly undo those whom they should tenderly protect. For a beast of burden, or even for the tooth of a beast; for a mistress, for a river, for a senseless word hastily spoken, for words that had a foolish meaning, or no meaning at all; for an empty sepulchre or an empty title; to dry the tears of a coquette, to comply with the whims of a pedant, or to execute the curses of a bigot; important Wars have sometimes been waged, and nations animated to destroy one another; nor is there any security against such destructive follies, where the sense of every man must acquiesce in the wild passion of one; and where the interest and peace, and preservation of a State, are found too light to ballance his rage or caprice. Hence the policy of the Romans to tame a people not easy to be subdued; they committed such to the domination of Tyrants. Thus they did in Armenia, and thus in Britain. And these instruments did not only enslave their subjects, but by continual fighting with one another, consume them.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Thomas Gordon used the writings of Tacitus on the corruption and tyranny of the Roman Empire as a handy weapon with which to flog the British Empire under which he lived. One wonders if one might do the same in our own time? In this passage Gordon considers the "follies of conquering", in particular the foolish and sometimes frivolous reasons why kings and emperors have gone to war such as "for words that had a foolish meaning, or no meaning at all."

77. JOHN C. CALHOUN NOTES THAT TAXATION DIVIDES THE COMMUNITY INTO TWO GREAT ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES, THOSE WHO PAY THE TAXES AND THOSE WHO BENEFIT FROM THEM (1850)



Source: John C. Calhoun, *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Ross M. Lence (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992). Chapter: A DISQUISITION ON GOVERNMENT.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 28 - December 2, 2005.

About the Author: John C. Calhoun (1782-1850) is one of the most important American politicians and political theorists in the first half of the 19th century. He served as a member of the House of Representatives, Secretary of War, Vice-President, and Senator. In his writings he was concerned with states rights, tariff policy, limits to federal power and majority rule, and slavery.

Quotation

In an extended critique of *The Federalist*, the pre-Civil War Southern political philosopher John C. Calhoun argued that any system of taxation inevitably divided citizens into two antagonistic groups - the net tax payers and the net tax consumers:

... it must necessarily follow, that some one portion of the community must pay in taxes more than it receives back in disbursements; while another receives in disbursements more than it pays in taxes... The necessary result, then, of the unequal fiscal action of the government is, to divide the community into two great classes; one consisting of those who, in reality, pay the taxes, and, of course, bear exclusively the burthen of supporting the government; and the other, of those who are the recipients of their proceeds, through disbursements, and who are, in fact, supported by the government; or, in fewer words, to divide it into tax-payers and tax-consumers.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In 1850 John C. Calhoun penned one of the most important pieces of political theory in 19th century America, his *Disquisition on Government*. In it he proposed a new way of viewing societies as torn between two competing and antagonistic groups, "classes" if you will. On the one hand there are those who pay the taxes upon which all government activities ultimately depend (the "tax-payers"), and on the other hand there are those whose livelihoods depend upon this tax revenue (the "tax-consumers"). At the same time in France, Frédéric Bastiat had developed very similar ideas. In Germany, Marx was becoming increasingly confused on this same issue.

78. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY STATES THAT CIVILITY AND POLITENESS IS A CONSEQUENCE OF LIBERTY BY WHICH "WE POLISH ONE ANOTHER, AND RUB OFF OUR CORNERS AND ROUGH SIDES" (1709)



Source: Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Douglas den Uyl (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001). 3 vols. Vol. 1. Chapter: An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour (1709).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 5-9, 2005.

About the Author: Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713) was the grandson of a founder and leader of the English Whigs and was tutored by none other than John Locke. Cooper was the Third Earl of Shaftesbury and wrote one of the most intellectually influential works in English of the eighteenth century, the *Characteristicks*. Widely regarded as the first exponent of the view that ethics derives from reason and "sentiment," Shaftesbury criticizes not only Locke but, especially, Hobbes for the dim view that "the state of nature" is "a war of all against all." To the contrary, Shaftesbury argued that human nature responds most fully to representations of the good, the true, and the beautiful, and that human beings naturally desire society.

Quotation

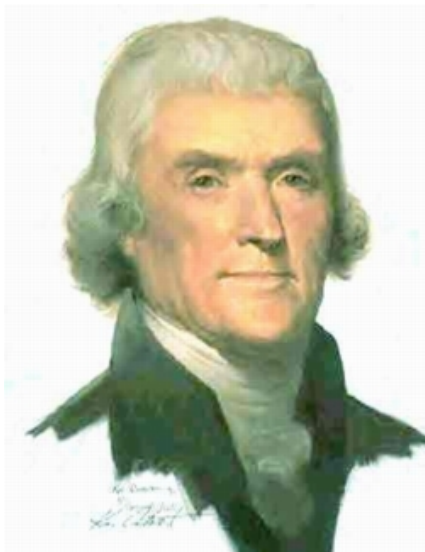
Central to Shaftesbury's idea of liberty is the notion of the free interchange of ideas, even if some of those ideas grate against those of others (p. 42, last paragraph of Section I):

And thus in other respects Wit will mend upon our hands, and *Humour* will refine it-self; if we take care not to tamper with it, and bring it under Constraint, by severe Usage and rigorous Prescriptions. All Politeness is owing to Liberty. We polish one another, and rub off our Corners and rough Sides by a sort of *amicable Collision*. To restrain this, is inevitably to bring a Rust upon Mens Understandings. 'Tis a destroying of Civility, Good Breeding, and even Charity it-self, under pretence of maintaining it.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This is a clever lapidary analogy concerning the improvement of politeness and manners through the free intercourse of human beings, an "amicable collision" between individuals as Shaftesbury puts it. To use force or coercion to improve civility, good breeding, and charity will create its very opposite, as any good free market economist will tell you regarding economic regulations. One wonders however about his condemnation of punning as the language of the court. Perhaps we have been court out as a closet monarchists?

79. THOMAS JEFFERSON OPPOSED VEHEMENTLY THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS OF 1798 WHICH GRANTED THE PRESIDENT ENORMOUS POWERS SHOWING THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD BECOME A TYRANNY WHICH DESIRED TO GOVERN WITH "A ROD OF IRON" (1798)



Source: *The American Republic: Primary Sources*, ed. Bruce Frohnen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2002). Chapter: Thomas Jefferson, "The Kentucky Resolutions" (1798).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 19-30, 2005.

About the Author: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), a Virginian, was the author of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), an active participant in the Revolution, Governor of Virginia (1779), member of Congress, Minister to France, Secretary of State under President Washington, and president of the United States (1800). He was a polymath who wrote on and was knowledgeable about science, architecture, music, agriculture, law, education, geography, and music.

Quotation

Jefferson opposed vehemently the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 which granted the President enormous powers to restrict the activities of supporters of the French Revolution in the United States. Jefferson kept his authorship of the opposing Kentucky Resolutions a secret until 1821. In the 8th resolution Jefferson asserts that the US government had become a tyranny which desired to govern with "a rod of iron":

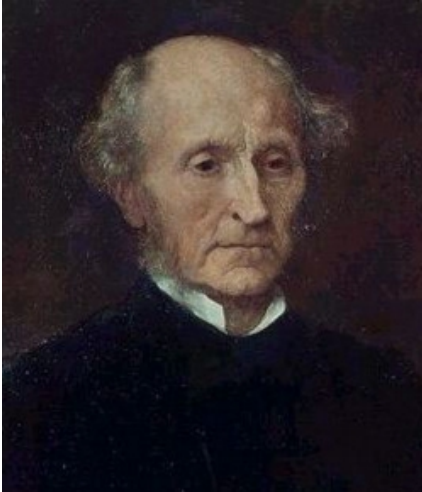
8th. ... that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them; that the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes and punish it themselves whether enumerated or not enumerated by the constitution as cognizable by them: that they may transfer its cognizance to the President, or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge and jury, whose suspicions may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction...
... that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested at the threshold, necessarily drive these States into revolution and blood and will furnish new calumnies against republican government, and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron: that it would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights: that confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism — free government is founded in jealousy, and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions, to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power: that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which, and no further, our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the Alien and Sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits, Let him say what the government is, if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have conferred on our President, and the President of our choice has assented to, and accepted over the friendly stranger to whom the mild spirit of our country and its law have pledged hospitality and protection: that the men of our choice have more respected the bare suspicion of the President, than the solid right of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of law and justice. In questions of powers, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We thought it might be interesting to end 2005 with another quotation from Thomas Jefferson. This one was penned anonymously by Jefferson in 1798 as part of the campaign to oppose president John Adam's "Alien and Sedition Acts" which Jefferson believed allowed the government to act in an arbitrary and despotic manner and turned the government into a "rod of iron". Jefferson's advised that citizens should never have confidence that their government will remained

limited in its powers, but rather they should always be jealous and suspicious of its actions - "free government is founded in jealousy" as he put it.

80. J.S. MILL'S GREAT PRINCIPLE WAS THAT "OVER HIMSELF, OVER HIS OWN BODY AND MIND, THE INDIVIDUAL IS SOVEREIGN" (1859)



Source: *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XVIII - Essays on Politics and Society Part I*, ed. John M. Robson, Introduction by Alexander Brady (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977). On Liberty: CHAPTER I: Introductory.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 2-6, 2006.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age, He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

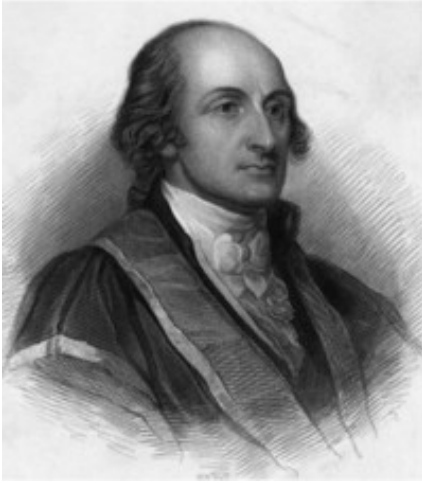
In the Introductory section of his great work *On Liberty* Mill states clearly the limits to state power over the liberty of the individual:

The object of this Essay is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties, or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. ... In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

2009 was the 150th anniversary of the first publication of J.S. Mill's *On Liberty* (1859). Mill makes it very clear from line one of the book what his concerns are, namely to explore the consequences of the one central idea which he thinks should predominate in politics - "the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection". This should be compared to the opening of *The Subjection of Women* (1869) where he states concisely a similar governing principle for the book: "That the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other." It took an editor after Mill's death to publish a volume (1879) which combined these two complementary works. We have this volume online at the OLL.

81. JOHN JAY IN THE *FEDERALIST PAPERS* DISCUSSED WHY NATIONS GO TO WAR AND CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS NOT FOR JUSTICE BUT "WHENEVER THEY HAVE A PROSPECT OF GETTING ANY THING BY IT" (1787)



Source: *The Federalist (The Gideon Edition)*, Edited with an Introduction, Reader's Guide, Constitutional Cross-reference, Index, and Glossary by George W. Carey and James McClellan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001). Chapter: John Jay, Concerning Dangers from Foreign Force and Influence, No. 4.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 9-13, 2006.

About the Author: John Jay (1745-1829) was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774 through 1779 and its president in 1778-79, drafter of New York's first constitution in 1777, chief justice of the New York supreme court from 1777 to 1778, U. S. minister to Spain in 1779, a member of the commission to negotiate peace with Great Britain in Paris in 1787, U. S. secretary of foreign affairs from 1784 to 1789, Chief Justice of the United States from 1789 to 1795, and governor of New York from 1795 to 1801.

Quotation

In a series of Federalist Papers, John Jay explores how a national government in America might deal with the problems of war and peace:

It is too true, however disgraceful it may be to human nature, that nations in general will make war whenever they have a prospect of getting any thing by it; nay, that absolute monarchs will often make war when their nations are to get nothing by it, but for purposes and objects merely personal, such as, a thirst for military glory, revenge for personal affronts, ambition, or private compacts to aggrandize or support their particular families, or partisans. These, and a variety of motives, which affect only the mind of the sovereign, often lead him to engage in wars not sanctioned by justice, or the voice and interests of his people.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Jay returns to an idea expressed by Thomas Gordon on the often frivolous and personal reasons why rulers take their nations to war.

**82. FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT, WHILE PONDERING THE NATURE OF WAR,
CONCLUDED THAT SOCIETY HAD ALWAYS BEEN DIVIDED INTO TWO
CLASSES - THOSE WHO ENGAGED IN PRODUCTIVE WORK AND THOSE WHO
LIVED OFF THEIR BACKS (1850)**



Source: Frédéric Bastiat, *Economic Harmonies*, trans by W. Hayden Boyers, ed. George B. de Huszar, introduction by Dean Russell (Irvington-on-Hudson: Foundation for Economic Education, 1996). Chapter 19: War.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 16-20, 2006.

About the Author: Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) was one of the leading advocates of free markets and free trade in the mid-19 century. He was inspired by the activities of Richard Cobden and the organization of the Anti-Corn Law League in Britain in the 1840s and tried to mimic their success in France. Bastiat was an elected member of various French political bodies and opposed both protection and the rise of socialist ideas in these forums. His writings for a broader audience were very popular and were quickly translated and republished in the U.S. and throughout Europe. His incomplete magnum opus, *Economic Harmonies*, is full of insights into the operation of the market and is still of great interest to economists. He died at a young age from cancer of the throat. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In chapter 19 of the last work he ever completed, Bastiat pondered on the nature of war and who benefits from it. He concluded that society is divided into two groups: those who live off the productive activity of others and the vast bulk of the people who engage in productive activities:

... [in the ancient world] a very small number of men managed to live without working, supported by the labor of the oppressed masses. This small leisured group made their slaves construct sumptuous palaces, vast castles, or somber fortresses. They loved to surround themselves with all the sensuous pleasures of life and with all the monuments of art. They delighted in discoursing on philosophy and cosmogony; and, above all, they carefully cultivated the two sciences to which they owed their supremacy and their enjoyments: the science of force and the science of fraud. For beneath this aristocracy were the countless multitudes occupied in creating, for themselves, the means of sustaining life and, for their oppressors, the means of surfeiting them with pleasures. Since the historians never make the slightest mention of these multitudes, we forget their existence; they do not count for us at all. We have eyes only for the aristocracy. [in ancient life] ... the only difference was that the labor that a few men had managed to escape fell crushingly on the oppressed masses, to the great detriment of justice, liberty, property, wealth, equality, and progress...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Bastiat had a scathing attitude towards the study of classical languages and the ancient world because he had a very low regard for the morals of the slave owning and conquering Romans. Like Milton he thought that military glory was a "false glory" and Like Calhoun he thought that society was divided into classes of people - those who worked and traded peacefully and who paid the taxes, and those who lived off those taxes and often served in the military to boot. When this quotation was chosen in January 2005 Liberty Fund was preparing to translate the complete works of Bastiat (the mid-19th century French edition runs to 7 volumes). Soon there will a cornucopia of the writings in English of this great defender of liberty.

83. BENJAMIN CONSTANT ARGUED THAT MEDIOCRE MEN, WHEN THEY ACQUIRED POWER, BECAME "MORE ENVIOUS, MORE OBSTINATE, MORE IMMODERATE, AND MORE CONVULSIVE" THAN MEN WITH TALENT (1815)



Source: Benjamin Constant, *Principles of Politics Applicable to a all Governments*, trans. Dennis O’Keeffe, ed. Etienne Hofmann, Introduction by Nicholas Capaldi (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003). Chapter five: Further Thoughts on the Preceding Chapter.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 23-27, 2006.

About the Author: Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) was born in Switzerland and became one of France’s leading writers, as well as a journalist, philosopher, and politician. His colorful life included a formative stay at the University of Edinburgh; service at the court of Brunswick, Germany; election to the French Tribunate; and initial opposition and subsequent support for Napoleon, even the drafting of a constitution for the Hundred Days. Constant wrote many books, essays, and pamphlets. His deepest conviction was that reform is hugely superior to revolution, both morally and politically. Sir Isaiah Berlin called Constant “the most eloquent of all defenders of freedom and privacy” and believed to him we owe the notion of “negative liberty,” that is, what Bianca Maria Fontana describes as “the protection of individual experience and choices from external interferences and constraints.” To Constant it was relatively unimportant whether liberty was ultimately grounded in religion or metaphysics—what mattered were the practical guarantees of practical freedom —“autonomy in all those aspects of life that could cause no harm to others or to society as a whole.”

Quotation

In a lengthy discussion of the composition and behavior of representative assemblies Constant has this to say about mediocrity (pp. 329-30):

The choice of the people belongs to men who command attention, who attract respect, who have acquired the right to esteem, confidence, and popular recognition. And these more energetic men will also be moderate. People always take mediocrity as peaceful. It is peaceful only when it is locked up. When chance invests it with power, it is a thousand times more incalculable in its motion, more envious, more obstinate, more immoderate, and more convulsive than talent, even when emotions lead the latter astray.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Benjamin Constant is concerned here that "mediocre men" when they get elected to power, often do dangerous or foolish things. Viscount Bryce later in the century had similar concerns about the kind of men who were elected to the office of president in the United States. Friedrich Hayek just dismissed the lot when he wrote a chapter in *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) entitled "Why the Worst get on Top."

84. MONTESQUIEU THOUGHT THAT COMMERCE IMPROVES MANNERS AND CURES "THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE PREJUDICES" (1748)



Source: Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Complete Works of M. de Montesquieu* (London: T. Evans, 1777), 4 vols. Vol. 2. CHAP. I.: Of Commerce.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 27 - February 3, 2006.

About the Author: Montesquieu (1689-1755) was one of the most influential legal theorists and political philosophers of the 18th century. His ideas about the separation of powers and checks on the power of the executive had a profound impact on the architects of the American constitution.

Quotation

Montesquieu, like many writers in the 18th century, thought that commerce would have more than just economic benefits for societies. It would also improve morals.

Commerce is a cure for the most destructive prejudices; for it is almost a general rule, that wherever we find agreeable manners, there commerce flourishes; and that wherever there is commerce, there we meet with agreeable manners.

Let us not be astonished, then, if our manners are now less savage than formerly. Commerce has every where diffused a knowledge of the manners of all nations; these are compared one with another, and from this comparison arise the greatest advantages.

Commercial laws, it may be said, improve manners, for the same reason as they destroy them. They corrupt the purest morals; this was the subject of Plato's complaints: and we every day see, that they polish and refine the most barbarous.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Henry Clark selected this passage in his anthology *Commerce, Culture and Liberty: Readings on Capitalism Before Adam Smith* (published by Liberty Fund, 2003). He rightly points to the somewhat neglected but important contribution made by French authors such as Montesquieu, Turgot, Voltaire, Gournay, and Condillac. A common perception, especially among contemporary Europeans, is that free market ideas are a pernicious "Anglo-Saxon" phenomenon, when in fact, they have deep roots in Francophone culture.

85. LANCE BANNING ARGUES THAT WITHIN A DECADE OF THE CREATION OF THE US CONSTITUTION THE NATION WAS ENGAGED IN A BITTER BATTLE OVER THE SOUL OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC (2004)



Source: Lance Banning, *Liberty and Order: The First American Party Struggle*, ed. and with a Preface by Lance Banning (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004). Chapter: Preface.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 6-10, 2006.

About the Author: 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. He was coeditor of the University Press of Kansas series "American Political Thought" and the author of many articles, essays, and books on the American founding and first party struggle, including three award-winning books: *Jefferson and Madison: Three Conversations from the Founding*, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology*, and *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic*, the latter two of which were nominated for the Pulitzer Prize.

Quotation

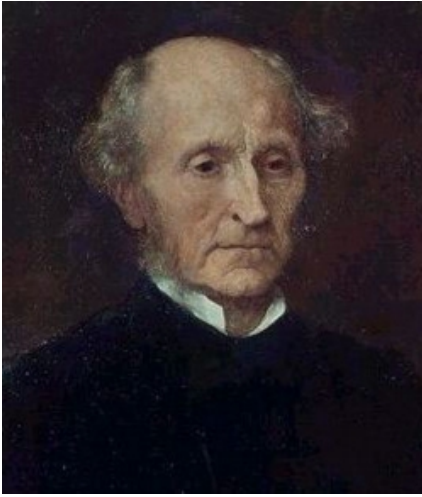
In the Preface to his anthology of writings by the Federalists (the "friends of order") and the Jeffersonian Republicans (the "friends of liberty") the late Lance Banning noted that it was a struggle over concepts that are at the core of the American political tradition: popular self-governance, federalism, constitutionalism, and liberty:

Within three years of the inauguration of the new federal Constitution, America's revolutionary leaders divided bitterly over the policies most appropriate for the infant nation. Within five years, two clashing groups were winning thousands of ordinary voters to their side. Within a decade, the collision had resulted in a full-blown party war. There has never been another struggle like it. These were the first true parties in the history of the world—the first, that is, to mobilize and organize a large proportion of a mass electorate for a national competition. More than that, these parties argued at a depth and fought with a ferocity that has never been repeated. The Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans—the friends of order and the friends of liberty as they sometimes called themselves— were both convinced that more than office, more than clashing interests, and more, indeed, than even national policy in the ordinary sense were fundamentally at stake in their quarrel. Their struggle, they believed, was over nothing less profound than the sort of future the United States would have, the sort of nation America was to be. Each regarded the other as a serious threat to what was not yet called the American way. And from their own perspectives, both were right.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

When we hear people complaining about the "gridlock" which afflicts congressional politics in Washington, D.C. it is good to remind them of what Lance Banning had to say about the early rise of political "collision" and "full-blown party war" between 1788 and 1812. There seems to have been little "consensus" between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, or between the Jeffersonians and the Hamiltonians. Each group had a very different vision of what kind of politics and economics they wanted for the new nation. He suggests that their bitter conflicts may "still have much to teach about the system they bequeathed us, along with entertaining stories of our roots."

86. J.S. MILL IN A SPEECH BEFORE PARLIAMENT DENOUNCED THE SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS AND THE USE OF FLOGGING IN IRELAND, SAYING THAT THOSE WHO ORDERED THIS "DESERVED FLOGGING AS MUCH AS ANY OF THOSE WHO WERE FLOGGED BY HIS ORDERS" (1866)



Source: *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXVIII - Public and Parliamentary Speeches Part I November 1850 - November 1868*, ed. John M. Robson and Bruce L. Kinzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988). Chapter: 14.: Suspension of Habeas Corpus In Ireland 17 FEBRUARY, 1866.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 13-17, 2006.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age. He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

We continue to explore the great treasures which are hidden away in the 33 volume collection of the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill. The key to unlocking this treasure is of course our powerful search engine. Here is an example of what one can find. In 1866 Mill gave a speech in the House of Commons denouncing the English mode of governing Ireland. The occasion was a bill granting the Chief Governor of Ireland the power to suspend habeus corpus, that is "to Apprehend and Detain ... Such Persons as He or They Shall Suspect of Conspiring against Her Majesty's Person and Government.":

The occasion was one for deep grief, not for irritation. He agreed with the honourable Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) that this Bill was a cause for shame and humiliation to this country. We were present at the collapsing of a great delusion. England had for a considerable number of years been flattering itself that the Irish people had come to their senses; that they were now sensible that they had got Catholic Emancipation and the Incumbered Estates Bill, which were the only things they could possibly want; and had become aware that a nation could not have anything to complain of when it was under such beneficent rulers as us, who, if we do but little for them, would so gladly do much if we only knew how... But we had fallen into the mistake of thinking that good intentions were enough... He hardly knew to what to compare the position of England towards Ireland, but some illustration of his meaning might be drawn from the practice of flogging. Flogging in some few cases was probably a necessary abomination, because there were some men and boys whom long persistence in evil had so brutalized and perverted that no other punishment had any chance of doing them good. But when any man in authority-- whether he was the captain of a ship or the commander of a regiment, or the master of a school, needed the instrument of flogging to maintain his authority--that man deserved flogging as much as any of those who were flogged by his orders.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Mid-February 2006 was the official launch of the University of Toronto Press edition of the works of J.S. Mill which went live to the public on the OLL website. This is significant for a number of reasons:

1. It is the most authoritative scholarly edition of the works of Mill which is available.
2. An excellent search engine makes it possible to search across the entire 32 volumes for key words or phrases.
3. J.S. Mill is a towering figure in the history of political thought.

Mill stood up in Parliament in February 1866 to denounce the right given to the Chief Governor of

Ireland to suspend habeas corpus and to order floggings of the unruly Irish. One might recall Thomas Hodgskin's outrage at the use of flogging in the British Navy during the Napoleonic Wars which led to his own disciplining and the long intellectual journey he began towards laissez-faire individualism. Mill came to the interesting conclusion that people in positions of authority who resorted to flogging needed to be flogged themselves.

87. J.M. KEYNES REFLECTED ON THAT "HAPPY AGE" OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE AND FREEDOM OF TRAVEL THAT WAS DESTROYED BY THE CATAclySM OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1920)



Source: John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Howe: 1920). CHAPTER II: EUROPE BEFORE THE WAR.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 20-24, 2006.

About the Author: John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) studied mathematics and economics (under Marshall and Pigou) at King's College, Cambridge before going to work in the British Civil Service where he became an expert on India's monetary system. While working for the British Treasury he attended the Versailles Peace Conference after World War One. He resigned his government post in opposition to the harsh terms of the Treaty. After the war he taught economics at Cambridge and later represented Britain at the Bretton Woods Conference which established the International Monetary Fund. He is best known for his books on *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1920), a *Tract on Monetary Reform* (1923), and *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

2006 is the 90th anniversary of two of the bloodiest battles of the First World War, Verdun and the Somme. Keynes reminds us of the classical liberal world which was destroyed by that war:

... any man of capacity or character at all exceeding the average, into the middle and upper classes, for whom life offered, at a low cost and with the least trouble, conveniences, comforts, and amenities beyond the compass of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages. The inhabitant of London could order by telephone, sipping his morning tea in bed, the various products of the whole earth, in such quantity as he might see fit, and reasonably expect their early delivery upon his doorstep; he could at the same moment and by the same means adventure his wealth in the natural resources and new enterprises of any quarter of the world, and share, without exertion or even trouble, in their prospective fruits and advantages; or he could decide to couple the security of his fortunes with the good faith of the townspeople of any substantial municipality in any continent that fancy or information might recommend. He could secure forthwith, if he wished it, cheap and comfortable means of transit to any country or climate without passport or other formality, could despatch his servant to the neighboring office of a bank for such supply of the precious metals as might seem convenient, and could then proceed abroad to foreign quarters, without knowledge of their religion, language, or customs, bearing coined wealth upon his person, and would consider himself greatly aggrieved and much surprised at the least interference. But, most important of all, he regarded this state of affairs as normal, certain, and permanent, except in the direction of further improvement, and any deviation from it as aberrant, scandalous, and avoidable. The projects and politics of militarism and imperialism, of racial and cultural rivalries, of monopolies, restrictions, and exclusion, which were to play the serpent to this paradise, were little more than the amusements of his daily newspaper, and appeared to exercise almost no influence at all on the ordinary course of social and economic life, the internationalization of which was nearly complete in practice.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

2006 is the 90th anniversary of two of the bloodiest battles of the First World War, Verdun and the Somme, where hundreds of thousands of men were killed and injured. In this quotation Keynes reminds us of the classical liberal world which was destroyed forever by that war. It also makes me think of a slightly rewritten song by John Lennon, "Imagine": "Imagine there are no borders, it's easy if you try" (and then add in place of "borders" - "currency control", "passports",

"fiat money", and so on. In the post 9/11 world imagine if you can such a world. A very useful companion piece to Keynes' book is that by the great Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises, *Nation, State, and Economy* (1919) which says much the same only better.

88. J.S. MILL WAS CONVINCED HE WAS LIVING IN A TIME WHEN HE WOULD EXPERIENCE AN EXPLOSION OF CLASSICAL LIBERAL REFORM BECAUSE "THE SPRIT OF THE AGE" HAD DRAMATICALLY CHANGED (1831)



Source: *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXII - Newspaper Writings December 1822 - July 1831 Part I*, ed. Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson, Introduction by Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986). Chapter: 73.: THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE, I EXAMINER, 9 JAN., 1831, PP. 20-1

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 27 - March 3, 2006.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age. He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

In an essay which Mill wrote in 1831 at the age of 26 he confidently announces that "the spirit of the age" in which he lived would bring about revolutionary changes because men had suddenly "insisted on being governed in a new way":

A change has taken place in the human mind; a change which, being effected by insensible gradations, and without noise, had already proceeded far before it was generally perceived. When the fact disclosed itself, thousands awoke as from a dream. They knew not what processes had been going on in the minds of others, or even in their own, until the change began to invade outward objects; and it became clear that those were indeed new men, who insisted upon being governed in a new way.

But mankind are now conscious of their new position. The conviction is already not far from being universal, that the times are pregnant with change; and that the nineteenth century will be known to posterity as the era of one of the greatest revolutions of which history has preserved the remembrance, in the human mind, and in the whole constitution of human society.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The young John Stuart Mill could sense that he was living in a revolutionary age when liberal reforms were in the air (he was writing one year before the First Reform Act of 1832 granted the middle class in England the right to vote). He quite rightly thought these changes would be revolutionary in nature, such as the Anti-Corn Law League's success in 1846 in repealing the corn laws and ushering in a period of virtual free trade. Richard Cobden was the leader of the free trade movement in England, and his counter part in France was Frédéric Bastiat. Mill himself became of Member of Parliament, the leading philosopher of the classical liberal tradition in the 19th century, and a staunch defender of women's rights.

**89. VOLTAIRE ARGUED THAT RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE WAS AGAINST THE
LAW OF NATURE AND WAS WORSE THAN THE "RIGHT OF THE TIGER"
(1763)**



Source: Voltaire, *Toleration and Other Essays by Voltaire*. Translated, with an Introduction, by Joseph McCabe (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912). Chapter: On Toleration In Connection with the Death of Jean Calas (1763).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 13-17, 2006.

About the Author: Voltaire (1694-1778) was one of the leading figures of the French Enlightenment. He first made a name for himself as a poet and playwright before turning to political philosophy, history, religious criticism, and other literary activities.

Quotation

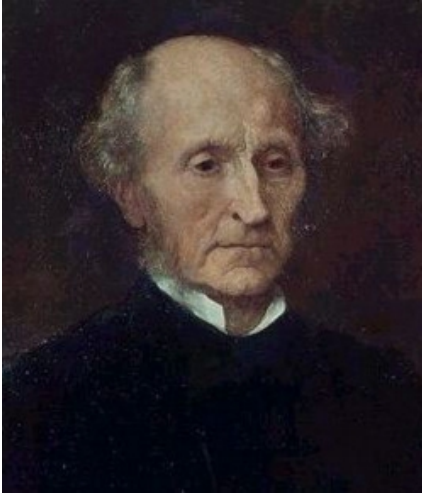
Towards the end of his long life Voltaire took the courageous stand of defending a Protestant family against religious intolerance and legal persecution. In his *Treatise on Toleration* he argued that religious intolerance was against the law of nature and was worse than the "right of the tiger":

Human law must in every case be based on natural law. All over the earth the great principle of both is: Do not unto others what you would that they do not unto you. Now, in virtue of this principle, one man cannot say to another: "Believe what I believe, and what thou canst not believe, or thou shalt perish." Thus do men speak in Portugal, Spain, and Goa. In some other countries they are now content to say: "Believe, or I detest thee; believe, or I will do thee all the harm I can. Monster, thou sharest not my religion, and therefore hast no religion; thou shalt be a thing of horror to thy neighbours, thy city, and thy province." ... The supposed right of intolerance is absurd and barbaric. It is the right of the tiger; nay, it is far worse, for tigers do but tear in order to have food, while we rend each other for paragraphs.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Voltaire was one of those thinkers who got more radical as he got older. After a successful life as a best selling poet and playwright Voltaire could have chosen a life of peace and quiet but instead became fired up with a passion to rectify the great wrong to the Calas family cause by religious intolerance. He began a crusade to have their case brought to the public's attention and compensation be paid to the distraught family. He succeeded in doing both.

90. J.S. MILL SPOKE IN PARLIAMENT IN FAVOUR OF GRANTING WOMEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE, TO HAVE "A VOICE IN DETERMINING WHO SHALL BE THEIR RULERS" (1866)



Source: *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXVIII - Public and Parliamentary Speeches Part I November 1850 - November 1868*, ed. John M. Robson and Bruce L. Kinzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988). Chapter: 25.: Electoral Franchise for Women 17 JULY, 1866.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 20-24, 2006.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age. He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

In July 1866 Mill spoke in moving "for an Address for 'Return of the number of Freeholders, Householders, and others in England and Wales who, fulfilling the conditions of property or rental prescribed by Law as the qualification for the Electoral Franchise, are excluded from the Franchise by reason of their sex.'":

Sir, I rise to make the Motion of which I have given notice... When the complaint is made that certain citizens of this nation, fulfilling all the conditions and giving all the guarantees which the Constitution and the law require from those who are admitted to a voice in determining who shall be their rulers, are excluded from that privilege for what appears to them, and for what appears to me, an entirely irrelevant consideration, the least we can do is to ascertain what number of persons are affected by the grievance, and how great an addition would be made to the constituency if this disability were removed... I entertain the firmest conviction that whatever holds out an inducement to one-half of the community to exercise their minds on the great social and political questions which are discussed in Parliament, and whatever causes the great influence they already possess to be exerted under the guidance of greater knowledge, and under a sense of responsibility, cannot be ultimately advantageous to the Conservative or any other cause, except so far as that cause is a good one. And I rejoice in the knowledge that in the estimation of many honourable Gentlemen of the party opposite, the proposal made in the petition is, like many of the most valuable Reforms, as truly Conservative, as I am sure it is truly Liberal. I listened with pleasure and gratitude to the right honourable Gentleman who is now Chancellor of the Exchequer, when in his speech on the second reading of the Reform Bill, he said he saw no reason why women of independent means should not possess the electoral franchise, in a country where they can preside in manorial courts and fill parish offices-- to which let me add, and the Throne. (Hear, hear.)

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Stuart Mill began work on his companion piece to *On Liberty* soon after the latter appeared in print in 1859. This was to be *The Subjection of Women* which eventually appeared after some delay, perhaps for political reasons, in 1869 shortly before his death. The former work was designed to be a defence of liberty in the general case; the latter a defence of a particular kind of liberty affecting one group of people. During the period he was working on the book Mill repeatedly stood up in parliament to argue for the right of women to participate in politics, or as he slyly put it, to have "a voice in determining who shall be their rulers." Of course, he was unsuccessful. Women in Britain did not get to choose their rulers until 1928 (however they could participate in local council elections in 1869, the year Mill's book appeared).

91. EDWARD GIBBON WONDERS IF EUROPE WILL AVOID THE SAME FATE AS THE ROMAN EMPIRE, COLLAPSE BROUGHT ON AS A RESULT OF PROSPERITY, CORRUPTION, AND MILITARY CONQUEST (1776)



Source: Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury with an Introduction by W.E.H. Lecky (New York: Fred de Fau and Co., 1906), in 12 vols. Vol. 6. Chapter: General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 27 - April 7, 2006.

About the Author: Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) is regarded as the greatest historian of the Enlightenment. His multi-volume history of the decline of Rome was both scholarly and full of humane scepticism. Although he was a Member of Parliament he was a long-time resident of Lausanne.

Quotation

In an aside in Chapter XXXVIII of Volume VI of his massive work on the fall of Rome Gibbon summarized his thoughts and drew lessons for the present:

The rise of a city, which swelled into an empire, may deserve, as a singular prodigy, the reflection of a philosophic mind. But the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay; the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest; and, as soon as time or accident had removed the artificial supports, the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight. The story of its ruin is simple and obvious; and, instead of inquiring why the Roman empire was destroyed, we should rather be surprised that it had subsisted so long. The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the purple. The emperors, anxious for their personal safety and the public peace, were reduced to the base expedient of corrupting the discipline which rendered them alike formidable to their sovereign and to the enemy; the vigour of the military government was relaxed, and finally dissolved, by the partial institutions of Constantine; and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of Barbarians...

This awful revolution may be usefully applied to the instruction of the present age. It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the exclusive interest and glory of his native country; but a philosopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to consider Europe as one great republic, whose various inhabitants have attained almost the same level of politeness and cultivation. The balance of power will continue to fluctuate, and the prosperity of our own or the neighbouring kingdoms may be alternately exalted or depressed; but these partial events cannot essentially injure our general state of happiness, the system of arts, and laws, and manners, which so advantageously distinguish, above the rest of mankind, the Europeans and their colonies. The savage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilised society; and we may inquire with anxious curiosity, whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome. Perhaps the same reflections will illustrate the fall of that mighty empire, and explain the probable causes of our actual security.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Edward Gibbon talks about the Roman Empire as if it had become a large, over-ripe piece of fruit which had reached the point of natural decay. Yet when one looks at these passages more closely one sees that there is a strong linkage between "immoderate greatness", imperial over-reach, oppressive acts by the legions, the relative weakness of the emperors, and "dissolution". What is additionally interesting is his concluding section where he postulates that "Europe" might be seen as "one great republic," along with its colonies, and that it might suffer the same "awful revolution" that befell the Roman Empire.

92. PIERRE BAYLE BEGINS HIS DEFENCE OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION WITH THIS APPEAL THAT THE LIGHT OF NATURE, OR REASON, SHOULD BE USED TO SETTLE RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES AND NOT COERCION (1708)



Source: Pierre Bayle, *A Philosophical Commentary on These Words of the Gospel, Luke 14.23, 'Compel Them to Come In, That My House May Be Full'*, edited, with an Introduction by John Kilcullen and Chandran Kukathas (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005). Chapter: Chapter I: That the Light of Nature, or the first Principles of Reason universally receiv'd, are the genuin and original Rule of all Interpretation of Scripture; especially in Matters of Practice and Morality.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 10-14, 2006.

About the Author: Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) was a Protestant philosopher and critic who was born in France. In 1675 he became professor of philosophy at Sedan until forced into exile in Rotterdam in 1681, where he published works on religion with a liberal and tolerant tendency. He was dismissed from his position at the Huguenot refugees academy in 1693 following the accusation that he was an agent of France and an enemy of Protestantism. In 1696 he completed his major work, the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*.

Quotation

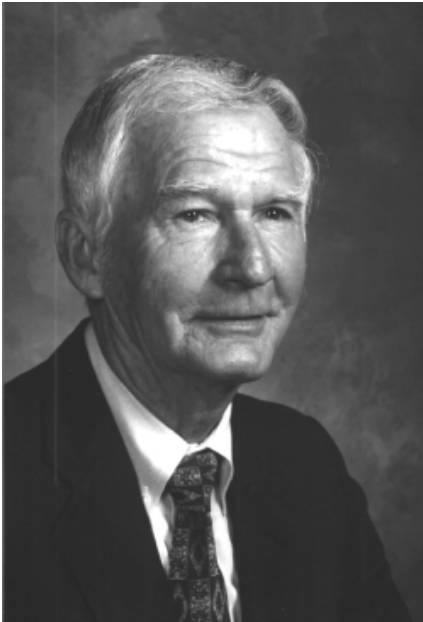
Pierre Bayle begins his defence of religious toleration with this appeal that the light of nature, or Reason, should be used to settle religious differences and not coercion:

Thus the whole Body of Divines, of what Party soever, after having cry'd up Revelation, the Meritoriousness of Faith, and Profoundness of Mysterys, till they are quite out of breath, come to pay their homage at last at the Footstool of the Throne of Reason, and acknowledg, tho they won't speak out (but their Conduct is a Language expressive and eloquent enough) That Reason, speaking to us by the Axioms of natural Light, or metaphysical Truths, is the supreme Tribunal, and final Judg without Appeal of whatever's propos'd to the human Mind. Let it ne'er then be pretended more, that Theology is the Queen, and Philosophy the Handmaid; for the Divines themselves by their Conduct confess, that of the two they look on the latter as the Sovereign Mistress: and from hence proceed all those Efforts and Tortures of Wit and Invention, to avoid the Charge of running counter to strict Demonstration. Rather than expose themselves to such a Scandal, they'l shift the very Principles of Philosophy, discredit this or that System, according as they find their Account in it; by all these Proceedings plainly recognizing the Supremacy of Philosophy, and the indispensable obligation they are under of making their court to it; they'd ne'er be at all this Pains to cultivate its good Graces, and keep parallel with its Laws, were they not of Opinion, that whatever Doctrine is not vouch'd, as I may say, confirm'd and register'd in the supreme Court of Reason and natural Light, stands on a very tottering and crazy Foundation.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Voltaire and Bayle were two great French defenders of the ideas of Reason and religious toleration. Writing some 60 or 70 years later, Voltaire took a more popular route writing his *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764) for a more popular audience whilst Bayle wrote for a decidedly more scholarly group. This passage shows very clearly Bayle's scorn for those divines who would so twist reason, or "the light of nature," in order to defend the undefendable

93. FORREST MCDONALD DISCUSSES THE READING HABITS OF COLONIAL AMERICANS AND CONCLUDES THAT THEIR THINKING ABOUT POLITICS AND THEIR SHARED VALUES WAS BASED UPON THEIR WIDE READING, ESPECIALLY OF HISTORY (1978)



Source: *Literature of Liberty: A Review of Contemporary Liberal Thought* was published first by the Cato Institute (1978-1979) and later by the Institute for Humane Studies (1980-1982) under the editorial direction of Leonard P. Liggio. Vol. 1, no. 1. Chapter: Bibliographic Essay: Forrest McDonald, A Founding Father's Library.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 17-21, 2006.

About the Author: Forrest McDonald is Distinguished University Professor (Emeritus) at the University of Alabama.

Quotation

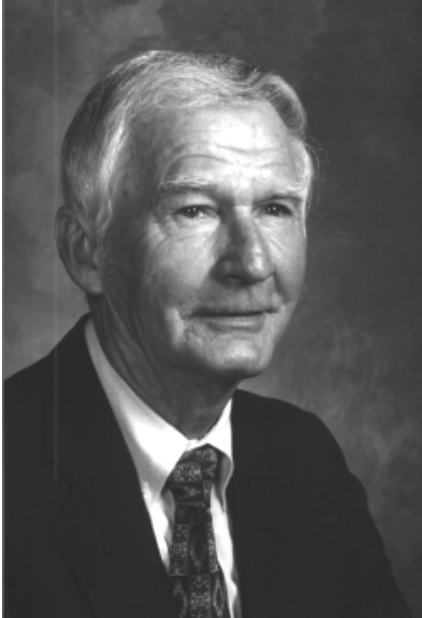
In the very first issue of the journal *Literature of Liberty: A Review of Contemporary Liberal Thought* the distinguished historian of the American Revolution, Forrest McDonald discussed the reading habits of Americans before the revolution and concluded that much of what they thought was based upon their wide reading, especially of history:

... despite their differences the Revolutionary generation did achieve independence, they did write a number of strikingly similar state constitutions, and they did draft and put into operation the federal Constitution. What underlay and made possible these monumental accomplishments, however, was not a universally accepted set of philosophical principles. Rather, I suggest, most Americans shared a common matrix of ideas and assumptions about government and society, about liberty and property, about politics and law. These ideas and assumptions, together with the belief (however inaccurate) that they shared a common historical heritage, made their achievements possible. They derived those ideas and assumptions, as well as their perception of their heritage, from a variety of sources, but the principal wellspring was the printed word.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As Forrest McDonald shows, the founding generation of the American republic was very well read, especially in history, and it was the commonly shared perspective on the world, derived from this reading, which shaped their political actions. This made booksellers in the colonies, like Thomas Hollis, especially important. For example, his edition of Locke's *Two Treatises* was widely distributed as were works by Montesquieu, Blackstone, Hume, Coke, Cicero, and Grotius, to mention a few. There is an interesting essay on "The Founding Fathers' Library" in The Forum which lists the most popular authors read at that time.

94. FORREST MCDONALD ARGUES THAT THE FOUNDING FATHERS ENVISAGED A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER BASED UPON LOCKEAN NOTIONS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE CREATION OF THE LARGEST CONTIGUOUS AREA OF FREE TRADE IN THE WORLD (2006)



Source: Forrest McDonald, "The Founding Fathers and the Economic Order" a speech before the Economic Club of Indianapolis, April 19, 2006.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 24-28, 2006.

About the Author: Forrest McDonald is Distinguished University Professor (Emeritus) at the University of Alabama.

Quotation

Forrest McDonald begins his speech to the Economic Club of Indianapolis by asking what kind of economic order did the Founding Fathers intend building:

If I should ask you what kind of economic order the Founding Fathers contemplated when they established the constitutional order, you would doubtless reply capitalism or a market economy. If I addressed that question to a similar number of professional American historians, the answer would be the same, the difference being that most of you would add "Thank God" and most of them would add "unfortunately."

In certain important particulars, your answer is supported by the historical record. For one thing, Americans were committed to John Locke's proposition that mankind has a God-given right to life, liberty, and property, and that legitimate governments are required to protect those rights. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 James Madison, Gouverneur Morris, and others listed the protection of property rights as the primary reason for instituting government; the sole dissenter was James Wilson.

For a second thing, the Constitution created the largest contiguous area of free trade in the world. Neither the states nor the Congress could levy taxes on the interstate movement of goods which the states had been theoretically able to do prior to the adoption of the Constitution.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Forrest McDonald reminds us of the very important role that Lockean notions of property played in the thinking of the Founding generation and consequently on the kind of political, legal, and economic order they wanted to create. This view can be summarised as "that mankind has a God-given right to life, liberty, and property, and that legitimate governments are required to protect those rights." A consequence of this belief is the resulting creation of what McDonald calls the "largest contiguous area of free trade in the world." A significant area for political battle as the 19th century was then the level of tariff protection which would exist for trade outside of this free trade area. This struggle also occurred within the Zollverein and later the German Reich. Economic nationalists like Friedrich List (1798-1846) were in favor of considerable free trade within the Reich but high tariffs for external, foreign trade. One might say that this is also the position taken in the European Union today.

95. MONTESQUIEU WAS FASCINATED BY THE LIBERTY WHICH WAS ENJOYED IN ENGLAND, WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO SECURITY OF PERSON AND THE RULE OF LAW (1748)



Source: Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Complete Works of M. de Montesquieu* (London: T. Evans, 1777), 4 vols. *The Spirit of Laws* Vol. 1. CHAP. VI.: Of the Constitution of England.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 1-5, 2006.

About the Author: Montesquieu (1689-1755) was one of the most influential legal theorists and political philosophers of the 18th century. His ideas about the separation of powers and checks on the power of the executive had a profound impact on the architects of the American constitution.

Quotation

Montesquieu was fascinated by the liberty which was enjoyed in England, which he attributed to the sharp separation of political powers:

The political liberty of the subject is a tranquillity of mind arising from the opinion each person has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted as one man need not be afraid of another.

When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

For many 18th century Europeans there were two end points on the spectrum concerning liberty. On the far end was Turkey which embodied all that was bad about "oriental despotism". Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* is full of references to the evils of the Turkish model. At the other end of the spectrum was the English constitution which was seen as the embodiment of measured and balanced government under which individuals could flourish. Things began to change after the American Revolution. European classical liberals were now torn between the American "republican" model of liberty and the British "constitutional monarchist" model.

96. JOHN MILTON OPPOSED CENSORSHIP FOR MANY REASONS BUT ONE THOUGHT STICKS IN THE MIND, THAT "HE WHO DESTROYS A GOOD BOOK, KILLS REASON ITSELF" (1644)



Source: John Milton, *Areopagitica, with a Commentary by Sir Richard C. Jebb and with Supplementary Material* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1918). Chapter: II. Origin of the Restrictions on Printing.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 15-19, 2006.

About the Author: John Milton (1608-1674) ranks among the greatest poets of the English language. He is best known for the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), but he also wrote prose works on history, religion, and contemporary politics. Although his academic talents marked him for a career in the Anglican church, Milton turned away from the Church of England at an early age and was a consistent supporter of the Puritan cause. He spent most of his life in academia or as a civil servant working for the Puritan Commonwealth.

Quotation

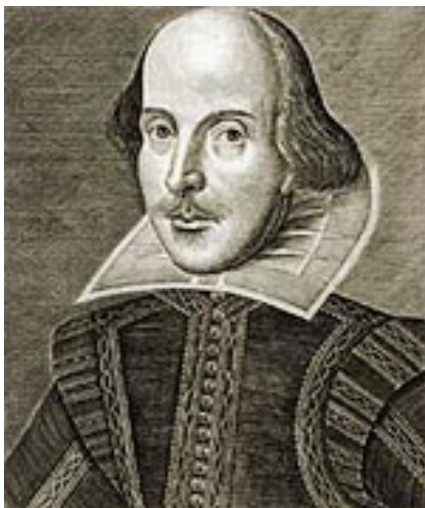
When Parliament did not relax the law requiring the prior censorship of books after the English Revolution had broken out but in fact passed an ordinance requiring the licensing of the press in 1643, Milton urged it to reconsider:

...books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth: and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Here speaks a true book lover. Milton thinks of bound books as though they were living, breathing creatures and that to censor, restrict, or "license them is like killing a man. Furthermore, they encapsulate the "seasoned life of man" by containing the thoughts and desires of the man who wrote them as well those of the man or woman who reads them. Perhaps he goes too far in his bibliophilia by likening the destruction of a book to killing "the image of God" by poking it "in the eye," no less. For good measure Milton also inserts a good pun in his tirade by denying that by "introducing license, while I oppose licensing." As a book lover myself I could only read this passage with some guilt as our task is to convert bound books into a digital form for transmitting via the internet. Is this a form of "book killing"? I hope Milton might have understood and appreciated our reasons for doing so.

97. IN SHAKESPEARE'S *HENRY V* THE SOLDIER WILLIAMS CONFRONTS THE KING BY SAYING THAT "FEW DIE WELL THAT DIE IN A BATTLE" AND THAT "A HEAVY RECKONING" AWAITS THE KING THAT LED THEM TO IT (1598)



Source: *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (The Oxford Shakespeare), ed. with a glossary by W.J. Craig M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1916). *The Life of King Henry V* (1598). Scene I.—: The English Camp at Agincourt.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 22-26, 2006.

About the Author: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is probably the best known poet and playwright of the English language. He is considered by many to be the greatest poet and dramatist of all time. The plays he wrote nearly four hundred years ago for a small theater in London are now performed in more countries and more often than those of any other playwright.

Quotation

On the eve of battle King Henry V goes secretly amongst his own soldiers and is challenged by two of them about the morality of going to war:

King Henry: I dare say you love him not so ill to wish him here alone, howsoever you speak this to feel other men's minds. Methinks I could not die any where so contented as in the king's company, his cause being just and his quarrel honourable.

William: That's more than we know.

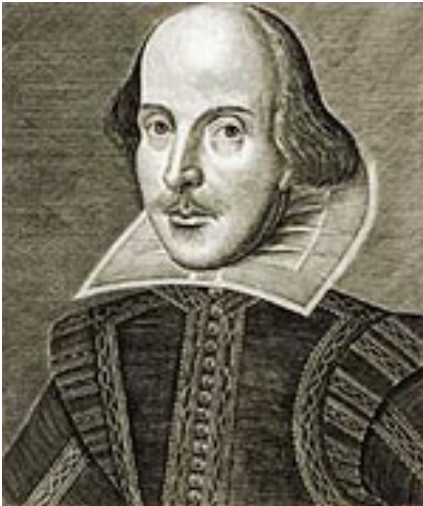
Bates: Ay, or more than we should seek after; for we know enough if we know we are the king's subjects. If his cause be wrong, our obedience to the king wipes the crime of it out of us.

William: But if the cause be not good, the king himself hath a heavy reckoning to make; when all those legs and arms and heads, chopped off in a battle, shall join together at the latter day, and cry all, 'We died at such a place;' some swearing, some crying for a surgeon, some upon their wives left poor behind them, some upon the debts they owe, some upon their children rawly left. I am afeard there are few die well that die in a battle; for how can they charitably dispose of any thing when blood is their argument? Now, if these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for the king that led them to it, whom to disobey were against all proportion of subjection.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We quote this play because of its timeless importance and because it was only recently added to the OLL collection. We also have online a facsimile edition of the 1623 Folio Edition of the plays for those readers who wish to try reading it in the original. The discussion between two ordinary soldiers and a thinly disguised King Henry raises a most important legal and moral point, namely who is in fact responsible for atrocities and crimes committed in war? The foot soldiers who do the hacking and maiming, or the king and generals who sent them into battle in the first place? With wars going on around us now, this remains a pertinent question. Bates seems to argue that his obedience to the King absolves him of all moral and legal consequences of his actions on the battle field. William however, perhaps taking a more Erasmian perspective on the matter, believes the King has "a heavy reckoning" to make, and that he seems to feel some qualms about what he may do in the fighting. The justification Harry provides to the obedient soldiers under him is tortured and unconvincing at best.

98. IN SHAKESPEARE'S *HENRY V* THE KING IS TOO EASILY PERSUADED BY HIS ADVISORS THAT THE ENGLISH ECONOMY WILL CONTINUE TO FUNCTION SMOOTHLY, LIKE OBEDIENT LITTLE HONEY-BEES IN THEIR HIVE, WHILE HE IS AWAY WITH HIS ARMIES CONQUERING FRANCE (1598)



Source: *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (The Oxford Shakespeare), ed. with a glossary by W.J. Craig M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1916). *The Life of King Henry V* (1598). Scene II.—: The Same. The Presence Chamber.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 29-June 2, 2006.

About the Author: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is probably the best known poet and playwright of the English language. He is considered by many to be the greatest poet and dramatist of all time. The plays he wrote nearly four hundred years ago for a small theater in London are now performed in more countries and more often than those of any other playwright.

Quotation

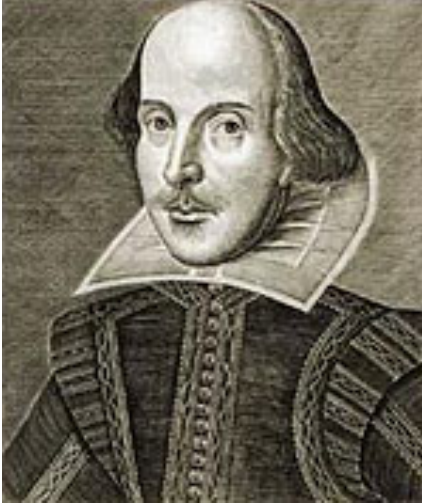
King Henry V is too easily persuaded by his advisors that the English economy will continue to function smoothly, like a well-ordered bee hive, while he is away with his armies conquering France. The Archbishop of Canterbury advises him that:

Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions,
Setting endeavour in continual motion;
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
Obedience: for so work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
... I this infer,
That many things, having full reference
To one consent, may work contrariously;
As many arrows, loosed several ways,
Fly to one mark; as many ways meet in one town;
As many fresh streams meet in one salt sea;
As many lines close in the dial's centre;
So may a thousand actions, once afoot,
End in one purpose, and be all well borne
Without defeat. Therefore to France, my liege.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue our exploration of the newly added Oxford Shakespeare to the OLL collection. Here we find Henry's noble and churchly senior advisors providing him with reasons why he can and should invade France. Do they persuade a fence-sitting King, or has he already made up his mind for war and just wants to hear the kind of arguments they can come up with? When they have finished telling him that the realm will be safe while he is away in France and the productive "honey bees" will continue to produce the taxes to fund his adventure, Henry declares war on France and promises to "bend it to our awe or break it all to pieces."

99. IN SHAKESPEARE'S *THE TEMPEST* CALIBAN COMPLAINS ABOUT THE WAY THE EUROPEAN LORD PROSPERO TAUGHT HIM LANGUAGE AND SCIENCE THEN ENSLAVED HIM AND DISPOSSESSED HIM OF THE ISLAND ON WHICH HE WAS BORN (1611)



Source: *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (The Oxford Shakespeare)*, ed. with a glossary by W.J. Craig M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1916). *The Tempest* (1611). Scene II.—: The Island: before the Cell of Prospero.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 12-16, 2006.

About the Author: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is probably the best known poet and playwright of the English language. He is considered by many to be the greatest poet and dramatist of all time. The plays he wrote nearly four hundred years ago for a small theater in London are now performed in more countries and more often than those of any other playwright.

Quotation

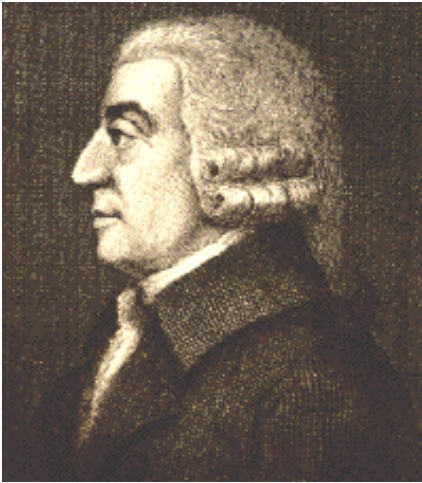
In an exchange between Prospero and Caliban (Act I, Scene II, line 320) the latter complains about the way the European lord Prospero taught him language and science but enslaved him and dispossessed him of the island on which he was born:

I must eat my dinner.
This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou camest first,
Thou strok'dst me, and mad'st much of me; wouldst give me
Water with berries in't; and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night: and then I lov'd thee
And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle,
The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place, and fertile.
Cursed be I that did so!—All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you!
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king; and here you sty me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest o' th' island.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The Tempest has been the source of science fiction movies and many tedious "post-colonialist" analyses of western literature. Yet what we see here is a master or tyrant with extraordinary power conversing with his slave who resents his treatment (whipping seems to be a common punishment). Caliban asks an apt question, why did his master teach him to use language and all that goes with it such as thought and critical reasoning, if he did not expect him to use it? And then of course, there is the little matter of original ownership of the island. A Lockean analysis would probably not look too favorably on Prospero's claim.

100. ADAM SMITH NOTES THAT COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS MIGHT EXERCISE RELATIVE FREEDOM IN THE METROPOLIS BUT IMPOSE TYRANNY IN THE DISTANT PROVINCES (1776)



Source: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I and II, ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, vol. II of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). CHAPTER VII: Of Colonies

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 19-23, 2006.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

Adam Smith, In the chapter "Of Colonies" in vol. 2 of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), discusses how colonial governments exercise tyranny in the distant provinces but relative freedom in the metropolis:

The sovereign himself can never have either interest or inclination to pervert the order of justice, or to oppress the great body of the people. In the capital his presence overawes more or less all his inferior officers, who in the remoter provinces, from whence the complaints of the people are less likely to reach him, can exercise their tyranny with much more safety.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Adam Smith asks a pertinent question of the colonial powers Spain, Portugal, France, and Great Britain concerning the relative freedom experienced in the capital cities versus the often dictatorial powers exercised by their respective armies in the field. His response is that the junior officers are in awe of the sovereign when at home in the capital and the great distance to the colonies means they can act tyrannically because of the lack of adequate legal supervision. The exception is Britain, and to some degree France, in their North American colonies where the rule of law and respect for property rights has been transplanted and thus restrains the actions of the army officers when they are so far away from home.

101. IN PERCY SHELLEY'S POEM *LIBERTY* LIBERTY IS COMPARED TO A FORCE OF NATURE SWEEPING THE GLOBE, WHERE "TYRANTS AND SLAVES ARE LIKE SHADOWS OF NIGHT" WHICH WILL DISAPPEAR IN "THE VAN OF THE MORNING LIGHT" (1824)



Source: Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Posthumous Poems* (London: John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824). Poem: LIBERTY.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 17-21, 2006.

About the Author: Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) was one of the leading English romantic poets who had a strong feeling for individual liberty.

Quotation

In a collection of his posthumously published poems there is this little gem about Liberty which likens it to a force of nature sweeping the globe:

LIBERTY.

The fiery mountains answer each other;
Their thunderings are echoed from zone to zone;
The empestuous oceans awake one another,
And the ice-rocks are shaken round winter's zone
When the clarion of the Typhoon is blown.

From a single cloud the lightning flashes,
Whilst a thousand isles are illumined around,
Earthquake is trampling one city to ashes,
An hundred are shuddering and tottering; the sound
Is bellowing underground.

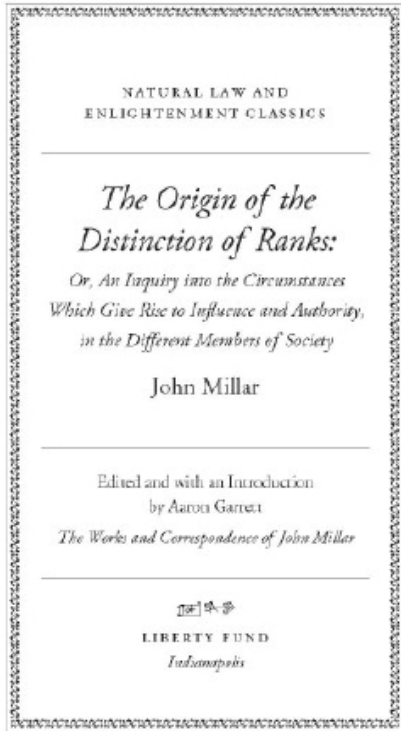
But keener thy gaze than the lightning's glare,
And swifter thy step than the earthquake's tramp;
Thou deafenest the rage of the ocean; thy stare
Makes blind the volcanos; the sun's bright lamp
To thine is a fen-fire damp.

From billow and mountain and exhalation
The sunlight is darted through vapour and blast;
From spirit to spirit, from nation to nation,
From city to hamlet thy dawning is cast,—
And tyrants and slaves are like shadows of night
In the van of the morning light.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In Aeschylus' play *Prometheus Unbound* there is the imagery of fire as enlightenment and industrial progress which the titan steals from the gods in order to make the life of humans more bearable. Here, Shelley contrasts the forces of nature (some like the earthquake are destructive of human civilization) with the sunlight of liberty which, in the optimistic spirit of the early 19th century romantics, he concludes "From billow and mountain and exhalation, The sunlight is darted through vapour and blast; From spirit to spirit, from nation to nation, From city to hamlet thy dawning is cast,— And tyrants and slaves are like shadows of night in the van of the morning light."

102. JOHN MILLAR ARGUES THAT AS A SOCIETY BECOMES WEALTHIER DOMESTIC FREEDOM INCREASES, EVEN TO THE POINT WHERE SLAVERY IS THOUGHT TO BE PERNICIOUS AND ECONOMICALLY INEFFICIENT (1771)



Source: John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks; or, An Inquiry into the Circumstances which give rise to Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society*, edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2006). Chapter: SECTION IV: Political consequences of Slavery.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 24-28, 2006.

About the Author: John Millar (1735-1801) attended the University of Glasgow where he heard Adam Smith lecture. He became an advocate in 1760, and in 1761 he accepted the Regius Chair of civil law at Glasgow. During his career Millar enjoyed the patronage and friendship of Smith, Lord Kames, and David Hume and his son J.S. Mill.

Quotation

A major concern of Millar in *The Distinction of Ranks* was to show how unjust and inefficient social arrangements, like slavery, were gradually abolished as nations became more prosperous and commercial:

It may in general be observed, that according as men have made greater progress in commerce and the arts, the establishment of domestic freedom is of greater importance; and that, in opulent and polished nations, its influence extends to the great body of the people, who form the principal part of a community, and whose comfortable situation ought never to be overlooked in the provisions that are made for national happiness and prosperity. In whatever light we regard the institution of slavery, it appears equally inconvenient and pernicious. No conclusion seems more certain than this, that men will commonly exert more activity when they work for their own benefit, than when they are compelled to labour for the benefit merely of another. The introduction of personal liberty has therefore an infallible tendency to render the inhabitants of a country more industrious; and, by producing greater plenty of provisions, must necessarily increase the populousness, as well as the strength and security of a nation.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Millar's book *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1771) is one of many works in the late 18th century to which one might ascribe the label of "sociology". A number of French theorists, such as Turgot and Condorcet, along with their counterparts in Scotland, such as Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and John Millar, engaged in what they would have called "philosophical history" but which today we would probably call sociology. The aim of these writers was to use historical and economic analysis in order to explore the nature of class and power, the evolution of societies from one "mode of production" to another, the operation of the newest phase of human economic development (i.e. the free market and industry), and the impact this might have on society. It is the latter concern which drives Millar to the conclusion that economic progress will begin to undermine one of the pillars of old regime societies - slavery. Even this venerable institution would be eroded away as industry and commercial values made their inevitable way through the world. This work has just recently been published by Liberty Fund as part of its *Natural law and Enlightenment Classics Series*.

103. AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY IN 1660 JOHN MILTON WAS CONCERNED WITH BOTH HOW THE TRIUMPHALIST MONARCHISTS WOULD TREAT THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AND HOW THE DISHEARTENED ENGLISH PEOPLE WOULD FACE THEIR DESCENDANTS (1660)



Source: John Milton, *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by Evert Mordecai Clark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915). Chapter: THE READY AND EASY WAY TO ESTABLISH A FREE COMMONWEALTH

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 7-11, 2006.

About the Author: John Milton (1608-1674) ranks among the greatest poets of the English language. He is best known for the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), but he also wrote prose works on history, religion, and contemporary politics. Although his academic talents marked him for a career in the Anglican church, Milton turned away from the Church of England at an early age and was a consistent supporter of the Puritan cause. He spent most of his life in academia or as a civil servant working for the Puritan Commonwealth.

Quotation

In 1660, with the Restoration of the English monarchy and the end of the experiment in Republican government, Milton was concerned with both how the triumphalist monarchists would treat the English people and how the English people would face their descendants:

But admitt, that monarchy of it self may be convenient to som nations, yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For [the] kings to com, never forgetting thir former ejection, will be sure to fortifie and arme themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts heerafter from the people: who shall be then so narrowly watch'd and kept so low, [as that besides the loss of all thir blood, and treasure spent to no purpose,], that though they would never so fain and at the same rate of thir blood and treasure, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchasd and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke impos'd upon them. nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartn'd for the future, if these thir highest attempts prove unsuccessfull; which will be the triumph of all tyrants heerafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and thir song will then be, to others, how sped the rebellious English? to our posteritie, how sped the rebells your fathers?

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Milton was devastated by two events in his life: the gradual loss of his sight and the defeat of the republic and restoration of the Stuart monarchy. In this quotation he worries about the immediate problem of a vengeful monarchy and the powerful groups that supported it, and how generations to come would view the failure of the republican movement to create a stable alternative to monarchical government. He did not live long enough to see how true his fears of retribution were, with the execution of Algernon Sidney in 1683. We would have to wait another 100 years to see the beginning of another experiment with the American republic to answer some of Milton's fears.

104. ADAM FERGUSON OBSERVED THAT SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF ALL KINDS WERE NOT "THE RESULT OF HUMAN ACTION, BUT NOT THE EXECUTION OF ANY HUMAN DESIGN" (1782)



Source: Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 5th ed. (London: T. Cadell, 1782). Chapter: SECT. II.: The History of political Establishments.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 14-18, 2006.

About the Author: Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) was a member of the Scottish Enlightenment who succeeded David Hume in his post as Librarian of the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh. Ferguson later became professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and wrote important works on philosophy and history.

Quotation

Friedrich Hayek was most taken by an observation Adam Ferguson made in this work that social structures of all kinds were "the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design". This led him to develop his notion of "spontaneous order":

Every step and every movement of the multitude, even in what are termed enlightened ages, are made with equal blindness to the future; and nations stumble upon establishments, which are indeed the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This is another one of those pioneering works of philosophical history (or "sociology" as we would call it today) which emerged in France and Scotland in the late 18th century as part of the Enlightenment project to discover the motors which drove societies to evolve over time. This passage had a profound impact on the thinking of the Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek in the formulation of his ideas of "spontaneous order". He found precursors to his way of viewing social and economic change in many of the writers of the Scottish Enlightenment. In this quotation we find the phrase that Hayek himself quoted on a number of occasions in its larger context: that societies were "the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design." This phrase, along with Adam Smith's phrase about the "invisible hand", are two of the most important and profound insights to emerge out of the Scottish Enlightenment.

105. CATHARINE MACAULAY SUPPORTED THE FRENCH REVOLUTION BECAUSE THERE WERE SOUND "PUBLIC CHOICE" REASONS FOR NOT VESTING SUPREME POWER IN THE HANDS OF ONE'S SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC "BETTERS" (1790)



Source: Catharine Macaulay, *Observations on the Reflections of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, on the Revolution in France, in a Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Stanhope* (London: C. Dilly, 1790). Chapter: OBSERVATIONS, &c.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 21-25, 2006.

About the Author: Catharine Macaulay (1731-1791) was a radical republican historian who wrote a popular 8 volume History of England which argued that English history was a failed struggle for virtue and liberty. She believed that virtue and liberty had been achieved by the American colonists and so was a supporter of the American Revolution. She later supported the French Revolution, writing an attack on Burke's opposition.

Quotation

Catharine Macaulay, the English republican historian, was one of the first to criticize Burke's opposition to the French Revolution. She argued that there were sound "public choice" reasons for not vesting supreme power in the hands of one's social or economic "betters":

To this very ingenious reasoning, and these refined distinctions between natural and social rights, the people may possibly object, that in delivering themselves passively over to the unrestrained rule of others on the plea of controlling their inordinate inclinations and passions, they deliver themselves over to men, who, as men, and partaking of the same nature as themselves, are as liable to be governed by the same principles and errors; and to men who, by the great superiority of their station, having no common interest with themselves which might lead them to preserve a salutary check over their vices, must be inclined to abuse in the grossest manner their trust.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The outbreak of the French Revolution stimulated a huge "pamphlet war" on its merits and dangers. The OLL website has a "Debate" page which lists the works of the major participants in this debate: Richard Price, Edmund Burke, Joseph Priestley, James Mackintosh, Thomas Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, and Catharine Macaulay. Macaulay's contribution is noteworthy for being by a woman (along with Wollstonecraft) and for raising one of the perennial questions of political philosophy "quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" (how is one to be defended against the very guardians who have been appointed to guard us?). The irony here is that this is the very question Burke posed in 1756 in an early work but which he seems to have forgotten in 1790. There is also more than a hint of public choice theory in the way she refers to the private interests of those in power.

106. CONDORCET WRITES ABOUT THE INEVITABILITY OF THE SPREAD OF LIBERTY AND PROSPERITY WHILE HE WAS IN PRISON AWAITING EXECUTION BY THE JACOBINS (1796)



Source: Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, *Outlines of an historical view of the progress of the human mind, being a posthumous work of the late M. de Condorcet.* (Translated from the French.) (Philadelphia, 1796). Chapter: TENTH EPOCH. Future Progress of Mankind.).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 28 - September 1, 2006.

About the Author: Condorcet (1743-1794) was a mathematician, a philosophe, permanent secretary of the French Academy of Sciences (from 1776), and a politician during the French Revolution. He was active in a number of committees which drew up legislation during the Revolution (especially on public education and constitutional reform) but became a victim of Jacobin repression when the liberal Girondin group was expelled from the Convention.

Quotation

Condorcet wrote this extraordinarily optimistic prediction about the inevitability of the spread of liberty and prosperity across the globe while he was in prison awaiting execution by the Jacobins during the Terror. This passage begins the section of the book on the tenth future epoch of man:

Our hopes, as to the future condition of the human species, may be reduced to three points: the destruction of inequality between different nations; the progress of equality in one and the same nation; and lastly, the real improvement of man.

Will not every nation one day arrive at the state of civilization attained by those people who are most enlightened, most free, most exempt from prejudices, as the French, for instance, and the Anglo-Americans? Will not the slavery of countries subjected to kings, the barbarity of African tribes, and the ignorance of savages gradually vanish? Is there upon the face of the globe a single spot the inhabitants of which are condemned by nature never to enjoy liberty, never to exercise their reason?

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Like Algernon Sidney (1622-1683) Condorcet died in defence of his classical liberal beliefs. Sidney died at the hands of the Stuart monarchy for continuing to advocate a Republic in 1683. Condorcet died in prison at the hands of Jacobins for his liberal republican beliefs. It should also be noted that Condorcet was a very early advocate of the right of women to vote and participate in politics. Again like Sidney, Condorcet's last manuscript was somehow saved from his captors and published posthumously, much to our benefit.

**107. IN ECCLESIASTES THERE IS THE CALL TO PLANT, TO LOVE, TO LIVE,
AND TO WORK AND THEN TO ENJOY THE FRUITS OF ALL ONE'S LABORS
(3RDC BC)**



Source: Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher in *The Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues: being the Authorised Version arranged in parallel columns with the Revised Version* (Oxford University Press, 1885).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 11-15, 2006.

About the Author: The author of the Book of Ecclesiastes was originally thought to be King Solomon but this view is not longer held. He is thought to have been a scholar or teacher in a court and the book was probably written about 250 BC.

Quotation

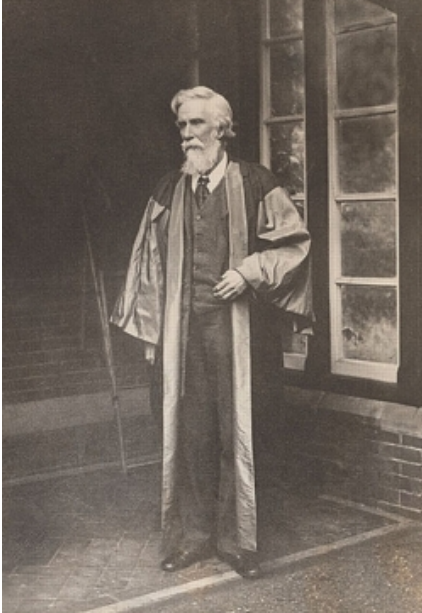
The sentiments expressed in this passage from Ecclesiastes 3. 1-13, one of the books of the Old Testament, might be familiar as they were used in a well-known song from the 1960s:

1. To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven:
2. A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted;
3. A time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up;
4. A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance;
5. A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing;
6. A time to get, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away;
7. A time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak;
8. A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace.
9. What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboureth?
10. I have seen the travail, which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it.
11. He hath made every thing beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end.
12. I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice, and to do good in his life.
13. And also that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The recent arrival of the Christian Bible online at the OLL website is an opportunity to explore some of the passages which have such a profound impact on the literature, philosophy, and art of western civilisation. This passage from Ecclesiastes caught our eye because it suggests that there is a rhythm to our existence which we have no choice but to accept. There is also the affirmation of the need to work and produce, and to enjoy the fruits of our labors: "every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God."

108. A.V. DICEY NOTED THAT A KEY CHANGE IN PUBLIC THINKING DURING THE 19THC WAS THE MOVE AWAY FROM THE EARLY CLOSE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "PEACE AND RETRENCHMENT" IN THE SIZE OF THE GOVERNMENT (1905)



Source: Albert Venn Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century*, edited and with an Introduction by Richard VandeWetering (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008). Chapter: I.: As to analogous changes of opinion in different spheres and also in the lives of individuals.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 25-29, 2006.

About the Author: Albert Venn Dicey (1835-1922) was a leading constitutional lawyer and Vinerian Professor of English Law at Oxford University from 1882 to 1909.

Quotation

In the 12th lecture on the "Relation between Legislative Opinion and General Public Opinion" the great English constitutional jurist A.V. Dicey summarizes his conclusions concerning the movement away from "individualism" towards "collectivism" in the late 19th century:

One example of this change in political opinion is to be found in the altered attitude of the public towards peace and economy. During the era of Benthamism "peace and retrenchment" were the watchwords of all serious statesmen. This formula has now fallen out of remembrance. The point to be noted is that this fact is significant of a very profound revolution in political belief. The demand for peace abroad and economy at home stood in very close connection with the passion for individual freedom of action which was a leading characteristic of Benthamite liberalism. Peace ought to mean light, and war certainly does mean heavy taxation, but heavy taxation whether justifiable, as it often is, or not, always must be a curtailment of each citizen's power to employ his property in the way he himself chooses.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is hard to believe that Dicey was already complaining about the rise of high taxing and high spending "collectivists" in 1905 when these lectures were first published. He laments the passing of the "individualist radicals of 1830" and the laissez-faire anti-imperialism of Richard Cobden, and the coming to power of the "Benthamites". One of the key points he makes in this passage is the abandonment of the early 19th century link made between a policy of peace in external affairs and the policy of reducing the size and cost of government ("retrenchment") domestically. Dicey also reminds his readers that every rise in taxation is a diminution in every individual's rights to property and liberty.

109. JOHN LOCKE ON THE IDEA THAT "WHEREVER LAW ENDS, TYRANNY BEGINS" (1689)



Source: John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Thomas Hollis (London: A. Millar et al., 1764). CHAP. XVIII. Of TYRANNY.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 2-6, 2006.

About the Author: John Locke (1632-1704) was an English philosopher who is considered to be one of the first philosophers of the Enlightenment and the father of classical liberalism. In his major work *Two Treatises of Government* Locke rejects the idea of the divine right of kings, supports the idea of natural rights (especially of property), and argues for a limited constitutional government which would protect individual rights.

Quotation

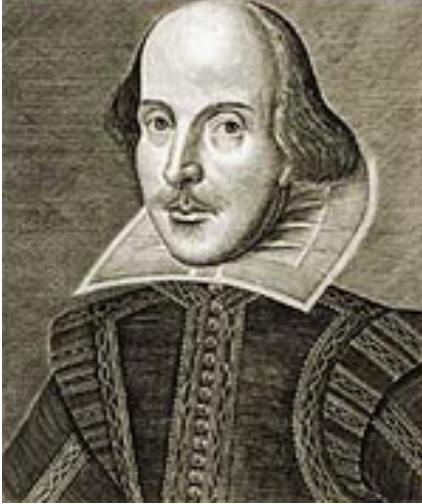
John Locke states in Section 202 of Chap. XVIII "Of Tyranny" in Book II of the *Two Treatises of Government* that even magistrates must abide by the law:

Where-ever law ends, tyranny begins, if the law be transgressed to another's harm; and whosoever in authority exceeds the power given him by the law, and makes use of the force he has under his command, to compass that upon the subject, which the law allows not, ceases in that to be a magistrate; and, acting without authority, may be opposed, as any other man, who by force invades the right of another. This is acknowledged in subordinate magistrates. He that hath authority to seize my person in the street, may be opposed as a thief and a robber, if he endeavours to break into my house to execute a writ, notwithstanding that I know he has such a warrant, and such a legal authority, as will empower him to arrest me abroad. And why this should not hold in the highest, as well as in the most inferior magistrate, I would gladly be informed.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

"Where-ever law ends, tyranny begins". The equality of all citizens under the law is a lynch-pin of the modern notion of the rule of law in a democratic state. A revolutionary implication of this idea, well appreciated by Locke in the tumultuous 1680s, is that even rulers and their magistrates were also under the "sovereignty of the law". Locke concludes that when any member of the state exceeds his legal authority or in any way violates the law, he ceases "to be a magistrate; and, acting without authority, may be opposed, as any other man, who by force invades the right of another."

110. IN MEASURE FOR MEASURE SHAKESPEARE HAS ISABELLA DENOUNCE THE DUKE'S DEPUTY FOR BEING CORRUPTED BY POWER, "IT IS EXCELLENT TO HAVE A GIANT'S STRENGTH, BUT IT IS TYRANNOUS TO USE IT LIKE A GIANT" (1623)



Source: *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (The Oxford Shakespeare)*, ed. with a glossary by W.J. Craig M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1916). *Measure for Measure*. Scene II.—: Another Room in the Same.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 16-20, 2006.

About the Author: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is probably the best known poet and playwright of the English language. He is considered by many to be the greatest poet and dramatist of all time. The plays he wrote nearly four hundred years ago for a small theater in London are now performed in more countries and more often than those of any other playwright.

Quotation

In *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare shows how those in power can easily become corrupted. The Duke appoints Angelo as his deputy while he is absent. Angelo decides to enforce the letter of the law and condemns Claudio to death for a crime which has not been enforced for a long time. His sister Isabella pleads for his life. Angelo accepts her plea in return for sexual favors but double-crosses her by ordering Claudio's execution anyway. In pleading for her brother's life Isabella accuses Angelo of many things:

So you must be the first that gives this sentence,
And he that suffers. O! it is excellent
To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The theme of the corrupting influence which power has on those who wield it is a common one in Shakespeare's plays. Shakespeare has a most Actonian sensitivity for the myriad ways in which this corruption can manifest itself. In this passage we see Angelo, a "pelting, petty officer" who enjoys "a little authority" while the true master is away, by enforcing a long unused law to remove a man whom he dislikes. He is justly rebuked by his sister Isabella who denounces the petty tyrant by wittily exclaiming "O! it is excellent To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous To use it like a giant."

**111. THE LEGAL HISTORIAN HAZELTINE WROTE IN AN ESSAY
COMMEMORATING THE 700TH ANNIVERSARY OF MAGNA CARTA THAT THE
AMERICAN COLONISTS REGARDED MAGNA CARTA AS THE "BULWARK OF
THEIR RIGHTS AS ENGLISHMEN" (1917)**



Source: *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, edited by Henry Elliot Malden, M.A. with a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M., Etc. For the Royal Historical Society, 1917. Chapter: H. D. Hazeltine, THE INFLUENCE OF MAGNA CARTA ON AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 23-27, 2006.

About the Author: Dr. H. D. Hazeltine, U.S.A., and Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Quotation

As part of the 700th anniversary of the signing of Magna Carta, the great Scottish legal scholar McKechnie edited a new edition of the document and Malden edited a collection of commemorative essays for the Royal Historical Society. In one of those essays Hazeltine examined "The Influence of Magna Carta on American Constitutional Development" and concluded that:

English constitutional statutes and cases were, as their "birthright," of fundamental importance to the English colonists of America in their struggles with colonial and imperial authorities. In the earlier Stuart reigns Magna Carta, as the greatest of all English statutes of liberty, was regarded by the colonists as a bulwark of their rights as Englishmen. As the seventeenth century advanced, the great constitutional struggles in England were reflected in the colonies; and the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement (1701) took their place beside Magna Carta in the minds of the colonists as statutory guaranties of the rights of Englishmen, both at home and away from home, in respect of life, liberty, and property.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This collection of essays were written to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the signing of Magna Carta in 1215. The author of the essay on the influence of Magna Carta in the American colonies reminds us that there were several legal documents which were regarded by "Englishmen" as central to their understanding of their liberties vis-à-vis the Crown. They were Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. For many colonists these were living documents and they jealously protected the liberties defined in them.

112. BRUNO LEONI NOTES THE STRONG CONNECTION BETWEEN ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND DECENTRALIZED LEGAL DECISION-MAKING (1961)



Source: Bruno Leoni, *Freedom and the Law*, expanded 3rd edition, foreword by Arthur Kemp (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1991). Chapter: Introduction.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 30 - November 3, 2006.

About the Author: Bruno Leoni (1913-1967) was Professor of Legal Theory and the Theory of the State at the University of Pavia, a practicing lawyer, founder editor of the journal *Il Politico*, newspaper columnist, and secretary and president of the Mont Pelerin Society.

Quotation

In the Introduction to *Freedom and the Law* the great Italian legal scholar and past President of the Mont Pelerin Society, Bruno Leoni, noted the strong connection between economic freedom and decentralized legal decision-making:

Unless I am wrong, there is more than an analogy between the market economy and a judiciary or lawyers' law, just as there is much more than an analogy between a planned economy and legislation. If one considers that the market economy was most successful both in Rome and in the Anglo-Saxon countries within the framework of, respectively, a lawyers' and a judiciary law, the conclusion seems to be reasonable that this was not a mere coincidence.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Leoni berates economists who, in most cases, can see the benefits of decentralised, rivalrous activity in purely economic activities, but do not see that the same situation exists with legal services which, in the modern world, have been the exclusive preserve of a centralised, national, government monopoly. He slyly suggests that this is a result of the lack of historical knowledge on the part of these economists who do not realise that historically in Ancient Rome, in the free medieval cities, and in the Anglo-Saxon world such legal services have been provided in exactly this manner. A close reading of Adam Smith shows that he was aware of the fact that different courts competed for business and charged different fees for their services in his own day.

113. J.S. MILL IN *THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN* ARGUED THAT EVERY FORM OF OPPRESSION SEEMS PERFECTLY NATURAL TO THOSE WHO LIVE UNDER IT (1869)



Source: *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXI - Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, ed. John M. Robson, Introduction by Stefan Collini (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984). *The Subjection of Women*. Chapter I

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 30 - November 3, 2006.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age. He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

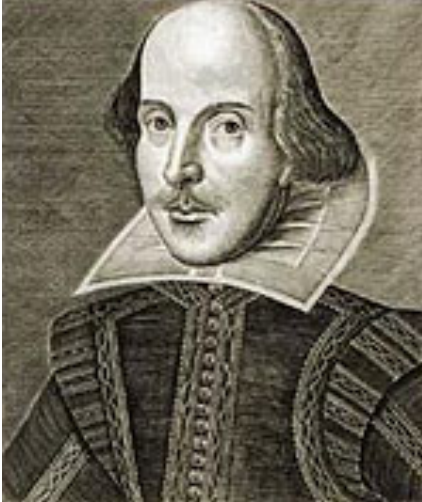
In *The Subjection of Women* (1869) John Stuart Mill argues that every form of oppression seems perfectly natural to those who live under it, whether it be slavery in the southern states of America or the lack of property and civic rights for women in 19th century Britain:

Some will object, that a comparison cannot fairly be made between the government of the male sex and the forms of unjust power which I have adduced in illustration of it, since these are arbitrary, and the effect of mere usurpation, while it on the contrary is natural. But was there ever any domination which did not appear natural to those who possessed it? There was a time when the division of mankind into two classes, a small one of masters and a numerous one of slaves, appeared, even to the most cultivated minds, to be a natural, and the only natural, condition of the human race. No less an intellect, and one which contributed no less to the progress of human thought, than Aristotle, held this opinion without doubt or misgiving; and rested it on the same premises on which the same assertion in regard to the dominion of men over women is usually based, namely that there are different natures among mankind, free natures, and slave natures; that the Greeks were of a free nature, the barbarian races of Thracians and Asiatics of a slave nature. But why need I go back to Aristotle? Did not the slaveowners of the Southern United States maintain the same doctrine, with all the fanaticism with which men cling to the theories that justify their passions and legitimate their personal interests? Did they not call heaven and earth to witness that the dominion of the white man over the black is natural, that the black race is by nature incapable of freedom, and marked out for slavery? some even going so far as to say that the freedom of manual labourers is an unnatural order of things anywhere. Again, the theorists of absolute monarchy have always affirmed it to be the only natural form of government: issuing from the patriarchal, which was the primitive and spontaneous form of society, framed on the model of the paternal, which is anterior to society itself, and, as they contend, the most natural authority of all. Nay, for that matter, the law of force itself, to those who could not plead any other, has always seemed the most natural of all grounds for the exercise of authority.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this quotation Mill raises the very important point that, to the people who were born into and raised up in a society with appalling injustices, these injustices seem perfectly "natural" and "normal." In fact, it is the people who wish to change the status quo, often dramatically, who are considered to be the "abnormal" dissidents and trouble makers. Historically, this has been true of those objected to slavery (only a few fringe religious groups initially opposed slavery and even several of the American Founding Fathers were slave owners), to absolutist kings (republicans who executed King Charles in the 1649 were persecuted and executed after the Restoration in 1660), and to the legal and political restrictions on women until the 20th century. This passage from Mill shows how hard it is to bring about fundamental change of any kind.

114. SHAKESPEARE IN *PERICLES* ON HOW THE RICH AND POWERFUL ARE LIKE WHALES WHO EAT UP THE HARDING WORKING "LITTLE FISH" (1608)



Source: *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (The Oxford Shakespeare)*, ed. with a glossary by W.J. Craig M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1916). *Pericles*. Scene I.—: Pentapolis. An open Place by the Sea-side.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 13-17, 2006.

About the Author: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is probably the best known poet and playwright of the English language. He is considered by many to be the greatest poet and dramatist of all time. The plays he wrote nearly four hundred years ago for a small theater in London are now performed in more countries and more often than those of any other playwright.

Quotation

In his later plays, William Shakespeare was very much concerned with the issue of good kingship. In this exchange from *Pericles Prince of Tyre* the ship-wrecked Prince Pericles overhears a conversation between some fishermen who discuss how rich and powerful men ("the drones") exploit those who have to work for a living (the "honey bees"):

Third Fish. Nay, master, said not I as much when I saw the porpus how he bounced and tumbled? they say they're half fish half flesh; a plague on them! they ne'er come but I look to be washed. Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.

First Fish. Why, as men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones; I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale; a' plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful. Such whales have I heard on o' the land, who never leave gaping till they've swallowed the whole parish, church, steeple, bells, and all.

Per. [Aside.] A pretty moral.

Third Fish. But master, if I had been the sexton, I would have been that day in the belfry.

Sec. Fish. Why, man?

Third Fish. Because he should have swallowed me too; and when I had been in his belly, I would have kept such a jangling of the bells, that he should never have left till he cast bells, steeple, church, and parish, up again. But if the good King Simonides were of my mind,—

Per. [Aside.] Simonides!

Third Fish. We would purge the land of these drones, that rob the bee of her honey.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Thanksgiving is upon us again and this time we have found a quotation from Shakespeare's *Pericles* on fishing and the eating of fish. Far removed from the eating of turkeys, but eating nevertheless. This is another Erasmian example of a "philosopher of the kitchen" or, perhaps in this case, of a "philosopher of the fish nets". Many of Shakespeare's passages involving lesser or humorous characters read somewhat like parables. In this case, we have a quite serious discussion between "common" fishermen about the nature of survival in a dangerous marine environment and the nature of exploitation where the "big fish" (whales - people in Shakespeare's day thought it was a fish not a mammal) eat up the "little fish". Note that the reference here is to the "sexton" (a lowly official of the established church) who is a "drone" who feeds on the wealth of the labouring classes and who might be "purged" for "robbery" sometime in the future by the honest labouring fishermen; and the reference to the aristocratic pastime of tennis, where "the waters and the wind" turn men into tennis balls to play with (remember Henry's taunting of the Dauphin in *Henry V*).

115. JANE HALDIMAND MARCET, IN A POPULAR TALE WRITTEN FOR ORDINARY READERS, SHOWS THE BENEFITS TO WORKERS OF FOREIGN TRADE, ESPECIALLY AT CHRISTMAS TIME (1833)



Source: Jane Haldimand Marcet, *John Hopkins's Notions on Political Economy* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1833). Chapter: Essay 8 FOREIGN TRADE; OR, THE WEDDING GOWN.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 4-8, 2006.

About the Author: Jane Haldimand Marcet (1769-1858) was home-educated and became an author of popular works of chemistry, botany, religion, and economics. Her works on economics (sometimes anonymously published to pass as works by male authors) elucidated with a satirical, light-hearted, popular touch matters addressed more abstrusely by Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Malthus, and other economists of her day. Her most renowned work, *Conversations on Chemistry* (1806), was so enticing and clearly written that it is famous for inspiring the youthful, dyslexic Michael Faraday, apprenticed at the bookbinder's shop where it was being produced, to a lifetime of dedicated broad vision that ultimately became the foundation of electromagnetic technology today. Her subsequent expositions of economics, among other subjects, were equally inspiring and widely-read. Late in life, she began to revise her explanations of simplistic labor/wage matters, rewriting some of her earlier essays to accord with more modern developments.

Quotation

Jane Haldemand Marcet was a successful popularizer of free market ideas in 19th century Britain. In a series of short "tales" in the book *John Hopkins's Notions on Political Economy* (1833) she has various characters discuss topics such as the benefits to ordinary people of foreign trade, especially at Christmas time:

"So you see, my friends," continued the landlord, "foreign trade has two advantages; for it not only procures things better and cheaper, but things which our climate renders it impossible for us to produce at home; such as wine, sugar, tobacco, plums, currants, rice, spices, cotton, silks, and other things without number."

"Oh, then," cried the good woman, "I could not even treat my children with a plum pudding at Christmas without foreign trade; for there's no making it without plums and spices."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In spite of the rather condescending tone of the all-knowing landlord there are some sound economic truths here aimed at the working classes of Britain in the 1830s. This quotation was selected as millions of consumers in the west go about their Christmas shopping, perhaps not knowing about the benefits of "globalisation" and the international division of labor. So much of what is purchased and which provides happiness and joy at this time of the year depends upon a complex web of international trade. Today we have the electronic equivalent of the "plums and spices" mentioned in the Marcet homily.

116. TOM PAINE ASKS HOW IT IS THAT ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENTS CAME INTO BEING, HIS ANSWER, IS "BANDITTI OF RUFFIANS" SEIZED CONTROL AND TURNED THEMSELVES INTO MONARCHS (1792)



Source: *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Collected and Edited by Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894). *The Rights of Man. Part II* (1792). Vol. 2. Chapter: chapter II.: of the origin of the present old governments.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 1, 2007.

About the Author: Thomas Paine (1737-1809) was a vigorous defender of and participant in both the American and French Revolutions. His most famous work is *Common Sense* (1776) which was an early call for the independence of the American colonies from Britain. His other well known work is *The Rights of Man* (1791) which was a reply to Burke's critique of the French Revolution.

Quotation

In Part II of his *Rights of Man* Tom Paine asks how it is that established governments came into being. In the second chapter "Of the Origins of the Present Old Governments" he has his answer, "banditti of ruffians" seized control and turned themselves into monarchs:

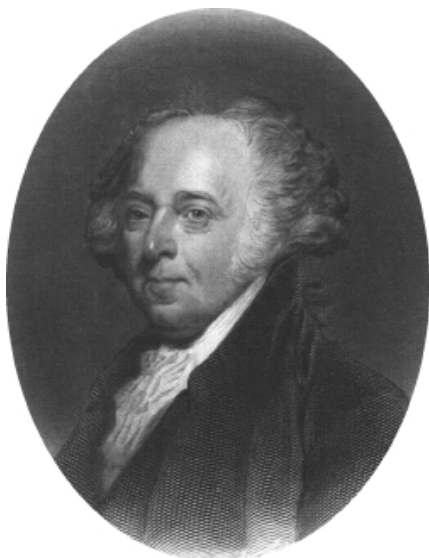
It is impossible that such governments as have hitherto existed in the world, could have commenced by any other means than a total violation of every principle sacred and moral. The obscurity in which the origin of all the present old governments is buried, implies the iniquity and disgrace with which they began. The origin of the present government of America and France will ever be remembered, because it is honourable to record it; but with respect to the rest. even Flattery has consigned them to the tomb of time, without an inscription.

It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to overrun a country, and lay it under contributions. Their power being thus established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of Robber in that of Monarch; and hence the origin of Monarchy and Kings.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In a much blunter version than David Hume, thus befitting a popular pamphlet rather than a scholarly essay, Thomas Paine asks the same question: where do governments come from originally? Hume thought it was "implicit submission" to the dominant ruling elite. Paine expressed himself more directly but along the same lines - it was the rise to power of local dominant "banditti of ruffians" who over time became the polished and effete ruling classes of old regime Europe. It is the ancestors of these down to which we "bend the knee."

117. JOHN ADAMS ARGUES THAT THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS NOT A "TRUE" EMPIRE BUT A FORM OF A "REPUBLIC" WHERE THE RULE OF LAW OPERATES (1763)



Source: John Adams, *The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams*, Selected and with a Foreword by C. Bradley Thompson (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2000). Chapter: No. vii.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 29 - February 2, 2007.

About the Author: John Adams (1735-1826) was one of the principal framers of the American republic and the successor to Washington as president. Before the Revolution he wrote some of the most important documents on the nature of the British Constitution and the meaning of rights, sovereignty, representation, and obligation. And it was Adams who, once the colonies had declared independence, wrote equally important works on possible forms of government in a quest to develop a science of politics for the construction of a constitution for the proposed republic.

Quotation

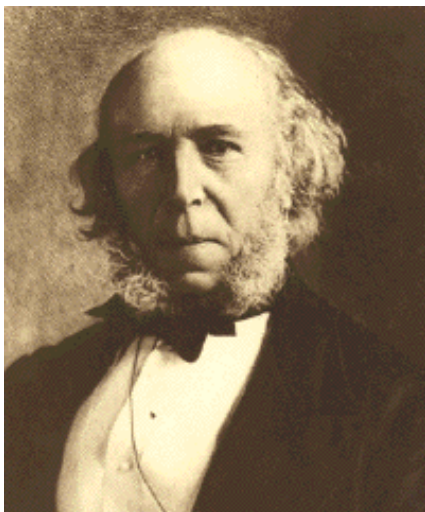
John Adams, in *Novanglus* No. VII (1763), argues that because the British monarch was limited by the rule of law Britain was more like a republic than an empire. A true empire, he asserted, is a despotism bound by no law or limitation

[T]he British constitution is much more like a republic than an empire. They define a republic to be a government of laws, and not of men. If this definition be just, the British constitution is nothing more nor less than a republic, in which the king is first magistrate. This office being hereditary, and being possessed of such ample and splendid prerogatives, is no objection to the government's being a republic, as long as it is bound by fixed laws, which the people have a voice in making, and a right to defend. An empire is a despotism, and an emperor a despot, bound by no law or limitation but his own will; it is a stretch of tyranny beyond absolute monarchy.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This view of Adams seems to contradict what Adam Smith said about the common disjuncture between relative liberty in the metropole co-existing with "tyranny" in the colonies. It is an intriguing concept to see the monarch described as the first and "hereditary magistrate" in a nation governed by the rule of law. I don't think Jefferson would have agreed with him on this point.

118. HERBERT SPENCER CONCLUDES FROM HIS PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL FREEDOM THAT INDIVIDUALS HAVE THE RIGHT TO IGNORE THE STATE (1851)



Source: Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics: or, The Conditions essential to Happiness specified, and the First of them Developed*, (London: John Chapman, 1851). CHAPTER XIX.: the right to ignore the state.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 17, 2007.

About the Author: Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was one of the leading 19th century English radical individualists. He began working as a journalist for the laissez-faire magazine *The Economist* in the 1850s. Much of the rest of his life was spent working on an all-encompassing theory of human development based upon the ideas of individualism, utilitarian moral theory, social and biological evolution, limited government, and laissez-faire economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

Spencer concludes from his law of equal freedom that a person can decide to assume a condition of "voluntary outlawry" and chose to "ignore the sate" entirely without infringing on anybody else's rights

As a corollary to the proposition that all institutions must be subordinated to the law of equal freedom, we cannot choose but admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry. If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, then he is free to drop connection with the state—to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying towards its support. It is self-evident that in so behaving he in no way trenches upon the liberty of others; for his position is a passive one; and whilst passive he cannot become an aggressor. It is equally selfevident that he cannot be compelled to continue one of a political corporation, without a breach of the moral law, seeing that citizenship involves payment of taxes; and the taking away of a man's property against his will, is an infringement of his rights.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

After working as an editor for free trade journal *The Economist* Spencer wrote one of the first all-encompassing defences of individual liberty. It included a chapter in which he explored the furthest reaches of anti-statist liberal thought. In later editions this chapter on "The Right to Ignore the State" was omitted, probably because he came to regret certain aspects of his youthful radicalism.

**119. FRANZ OPPENHEIMER ARGUES THAT THERE ARE TWO
FUNDAMENTALLY OPPOSED WAYS OF ACQUIRING WEALTH: THE
"POLITICAL MEANS" THROUGH COERCION, AND THE "ECONOMIC MEANS"
THROUGH PEACEFUL TRADE (1922)**



Source: Franz Oppenheimer, *The State: Its History and Development viewed Sociologically*, authorized translation by John M. Gitterman (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1922). CHAPTER II: the genesis of the state.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 18, 2007.

About the Author: Franz Oppenheimer (1864-1943) was a German sociologist whose pioneering historical analysis of the development of the state was based upon the distinction between the "political means" of acquiring wealth (such as coercion and taxation) and the "economic means" (through peaceful and voluntary exchange).

Quotation

Franz Oppenheimer, in his analysis of the origin of the state, argues that there are two fundamentally opposed ways of acquiring wealth: the "political means" through coercion, and the "economic means" through peaceful trade:

There are two fundamentally opposed means whereby man, requiring sustenance, is impelled to obtain the necessary means for satisfying his desires. These are work and robbery, one's own labor and the forcible appropriation of the labor of others... I propose in the following discussion to call one's own labor and the equivalent exchange of one's own labor for the labor of others, the "economic means" for the satisfaction of needs, while the unrequited appropriation of the labor of others will be called the "political means."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Oppenheimer picks up a theory of the state which was common among early 19th century French liberals such as Jean-Baptiste Say, Charles Comte, Charles Dunoyer, Frédéric Bastiat, and Augustin Thierry. As Oppenheimer correctly notes, Karl Marx got himself horribly confused on this matter, seeing slavery as an economic category and seeing economics as driven by "force". We have been paying the price for this confusion every since.

120. GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNS THE NATION IN HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS, THAT LOVE OF POWER WILL TEND TO CREATE A REAL DESPOTISM IN AMERICA UNLESS PROPER CHECKS AND BALANCES ARE MAINTAINED TO LIMIT GOVERNMENT POWER (1796)



Source: George Washington, *George Washington: A Collection*, compiled and edited by W.B. Allen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988). Chapter: 178: FAREWELL ADDRESS (1796).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 21, 2007.

About the Author: George Washington (1732-1799) was the military leader of the American revolutionary armies and became the first president of the United States of America.

Quotation

The first President, George Washington, warns the nation in his Farewell Address, that love of power will tend to create a real despotism in America unless proper checks and balances are maintained to limit government power:

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective Constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the Powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

What does the first president of a new nation, spawned by violent revolutionary war against the world's mightiest imperial power, say upon his departure? George Washington in 1796 warns his fellow countrymen (blacks and women could not vote at this time) "the habits of thinking in a free Country" should prevail and that the division of powers between the different "spheres of government" (i.e. branches) should be jealously guarded. But he suspected that this would not be the case over time and that one branch of government would prevail over the others (a new monarch?) and that this would be "the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed." Another unheeded warning like Eisenhower's.

121. J.B. SAY ARGUES THAT COLONIAL SLAVE LABOR IS REALLY QUITE PROFITABLE FOR THE SLAVE OWNERS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SLAVES AND THE HOME CONSUMERS (1817)



Source: Jean Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy; or the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth*, ed. Clement C. Biddle, trans. C. R. Prinsep from the 4th ed. of the French, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855. 4th-5th ed.). Chapter: BOOK I, CHAPTER XIX: OF COLONIES AND THEIR PRODUCTS.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 22, 2007.

About the Author: Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) was the leading French political economist in the first third of the 19th century. His major theoretical work was the *Traité d'économie politique* (1803) which went through many editions, revisions, and translations during his lifetime. It was very influential in the U.S. during the 19thC. He was the originator of the theory that "supply creates its own demand" (called Say's Law of Markets), which was Mill's restatement of Say's "products are paid for with products." The idea that business booms are associated with temporary overproduction that adjusts itself because of the incentives for producers to sell their output was one implication of Say's Law. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

Say denounced slavery as "this vicious system of production" and argued that slaves were kept in poverty by their masters who pocketed most of the profits of their labor

Indeed, this very exorbitance of profit shows, that the industry of the master is paid out of all proportion with that of the slave. To the consumer it makes no difference. One of the productive classes benefits by the depression of the rest; and that would be all, were it not that the vicious system of production, resulting from this derangement, opposes the introduction of a better plan of industry. The slave and the master are both degraded beings, incapable of approximating to the perfection of industry, and, by their contagion, degrading the industry of the free man, who has no slaves at his command.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Political economists in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were divided over whether or not the system of slave labor was "profitable". The Smithian school argued that free labor was more productive than inefficient slave labor because of the "incentive problem." Say, on the other hand, argued that slavery was immensely profitable to the slave owners who were able to benefit from protective tariffs and to transfer many of their costs to domestic consumers and taxpayers. The outcome of this academic debate would be very important to the problem of if and when slavery would end in the United States.

122. JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY ARGUES THAT HOME-CONSUMERS BEAR THE BRUNT OF THE COST OF MAINTAINING OVERSEAS COLONIES AND THAT THEY ALSO HELP SUPPORT THE LAVISH LIFESTYLES OF THE PLANTER AND MERCHANT CLASSES (1817)



Source: Jean Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy; or the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth*, ed. Clement C. Biddle, trans. C. R. Prinsep from the 4th ed. of the French, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855. 4th-5th ed.). Chapter: BOOK I, CHAPTER XIX: OF COLONIES AND THEIR PRODUCTS.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 23, 2007.

About the Author: Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) was the leading French political economist in the first third of the 19th century. His major theoretical work was the *Traité d'économie politique* (1803) which went through many editions, revisions, and translations during his lifetime. It was very influential in the U.S. during the 19thC. He was the originator of the theory that "supply creates its own demand" (called Say's Law of Markets), which was Mill's restatement of Say's "products are paid for with products." The idea that business booms are associated with temporary overproduction that adjusts itself because of the incentives for producers to sell their output was one implication of Say's Law. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

Say provides a devastating critique of the colonial system on economic, political, and moral grounds. His sympathies obviously lie with the exploited slaves as well as exploited home-consumers and taxpayers who foot the bill. Here he makes an early form of classical liberal class analysis, pitting the exploited slaves and home consumers and taxpayers against the powerful planter and merchant classes who dominate parliament and benefit from the slave trade and the profits which come from the slave system

All these losses fall chiefly upon the class of home-consumers, a class of all others the most important in point of number, and deserving of attention on account of the wide diffusion of the evils of any vicious system affecting it, as well as the functions it performs in every part of the social machine, and the taxes it contributes to the public purse, wherein consists the power of the government. They may be divided into two parts; whereof the one is absorbed in the superfluous charges of raising the colonial produce, which might be got cheaper elsewhere; this is a dead loss to the consumer, without gain to any body. The other part, which is also paid by the consumer, goes to make the fortunes of West-Indian planters and merchants. The wealth thus acquired is the produce of a real tax upon the people, although, being centred in few hands, it is apt to dazzle the eyes, and be mistaken for wealth of colonial and commercial acquisition. And it is for the protection of this imaginary advantage, that almost all the wars of the eighteenth century have been undertaken, and that the European states have thought themselves obliged to keep up, at a vast expense, civil and judicial, as well as marine and military, establishments, at the opposite extremities of the globe.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The early political economists were adamantly opposed to slavery and the colonial system for a good mix of reasons: they opposed its high cost in taxation to pay for the navy and the colonial administration, they objected to the system of trade restrictions which gave preferential treatment in the home market to goods made in the colonies, they opposed the power the planters had in parliament, and last but not least they opposed the "vicious" and degrading system of exploitation known as slavery on the grounds of the natural rights to liberty and property of all individuals. This should lay aside the common charge that the early political economists were "heartless" economisers.

123. J.B. SAY ON THE SELF-EVIDENT NATURE OF PROPERTY RIGHTS WHICH IS NEVERTHELESS VIOLATED BY THE STATE IN TAXATION AND SLAVERY (1817)



Source: Jean Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy; or the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth*, ed. Clement C. Biddle, trans. C. R. Prinsep from the 4th ed. of the French, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855. 4th-5th ed.). Chapter: BOOK I, CHAPTER XIV: OF THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 24, 2007.

About the Author: Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) was the leading French political economist in the first third of the 19th century. His major theoretical work was the *Traité d'économie politique* (1803) which went through many editions, revisions, and translations during his lifetime. It was very influential in the U.S. during the 19thC. He was the originator of the theory that "supply creates its own demand" (called Say's Law of Markets), which was Mill's restatement of Say's "products are paid for with products." The idea that business booms are associated with temporary overproduction that adjusts itself because of the incentives for producers to sell their output was one implication of Say's Law. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

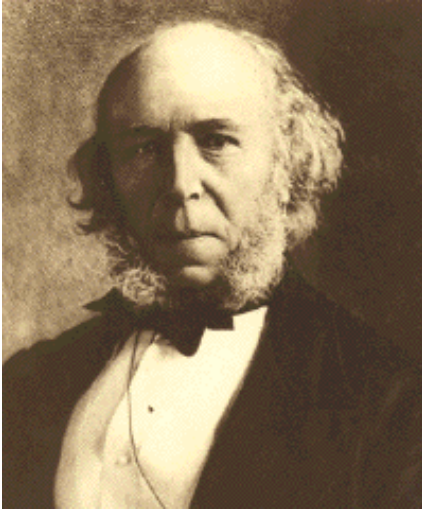
In this chapter of his (1817) Say tells us about the self-evident nature of property rights, the myriad ways it is constantly violated by the state, and how taxation is "an engine of national depression and misery"

There are some truths so completely self-evident, that demonstration is quite superfluous. This is one of that number. For who will attempt to deny, that the certainty of enjoying the fruits of one's land, capital and labour, is the most powerful inducement to render them productive? Or who is dull enough to doubt, that no one knows so well as the proprietor how to make the best use of his property? Yet how often in practice is that inviolability of property disregarded, which, in theory, is allowed by all to be so immensely advantageous? How often is it broken in upon for the most insignificant purposes; and its violation, that should naturally excite indignation, justified upon the most flimsy pretexts? So few persons are there who have a lively sense of any but a direct injury, or, with the most lively feelings, have firmness enough to act up to their sentiments! There is no security of property, where a despotic authority can possess itself of the property of the subject against his consent. Neither is there such security, where the consent is merely nominal and delusive.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Like Smith, Say likes to wrap his economic insights up with a rich and heavy blanket of historical, sociological, and moral reflections which add considerably to the final product. In this case he discusses the nature of property rights, beginning with the insight that most economists take it as a given, yet historical knowledge shows that any given property arrangement is a mixture of the justly acquired and the violently seized. Say has some very harsh words to say about taxation and another pressing issue of his day, slavery, which he without a moment's hesitation calls "detestable" under all and any circumstances.

124. HERBERT SPENCER TAKES "PHILOSOPHICAL POLITICIANS" TO TASK FOR CLAIMING THAT GOVERNMENT PROMOTES THE "PUBLIC GOOD" WHEN IN FACT THEY ARE SEEKING "PARTY AGGRANDISEMENT" (1843)



Source: Herbert Spencer, *The Man versus the State, with Six Essays on Government, Society and Freedom*, ed. Eric Mack, introduction by Albert Jay Nock (Indianapolis: LibertyClassics, 1981). Chapter: THE PROPER SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT. Letter II.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 25, 2007.

About the Author: Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was one of the leading 19th century English radical individualists. He began working as a journalist for the laissez-faire magazine *The Economist* in the 1850s. Much of the rest of his life was spent working on an all-encompassing theory of human development based upon the ideas of individualism, utilitarian moral theory, social and biological evolution, limited government, and laissez-faire economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

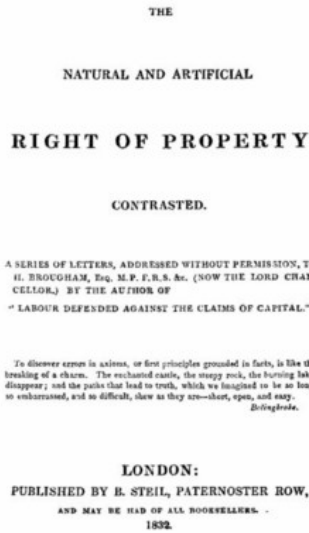
Spencer demolishes the arguments often put forth by what he dismissively calls, "philosophical politicians", to be acting in the interests of the "public good" when they enact legislation:

Philosophical politicians usually define government, as a body whose province it is, to provide for the "general good." But this practically amounts to no definition at all, if by a definition is meant a description, in which the limits of the thing described are pointed out. It is necessary to the very nature of a definition, that the words in which it is expressed should have some determinate meaning; but the expression "general good," is of such uncertain character, a thing so entirely a matter of opinion, that there is not an action that a government could perform, which might not be contended to be a fulfilment of its duties. Have not all our laws, whether really enacted for the public benefit or for party aggrandisement, been passed under the plea of promoting the "general good?"

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this series of letters from 1843 Spencer defines what he means by the "proper sphere of government". Needless to say it is not very much, just defending the natural rights of man, or the administration of justice. In each letter Spencer takes a common function of government (the poor laws, an established church, war and foreign policy, national education, and so on) and demolishes it as a sound rationale for government intervention. This essay by the young Spencer (he was 23) is a forgotten gem written by a man who would become one of the leading liberal lights in the second half of the 19th century.

125. THOMAS HODGSKIN ARGUES FOR A LOCKEAN NOTION OF THE RIGHT TO PROPERTY ("NATURAL") AND AGAINST THE BENTHAMITE NOTION THAT PROPERTY RIGHTS ARE CREATED BY THE STATE ("ARTIFICIAL") (1832)



Source: Thomas Hodgskin, *The Natural and Artificial Right of Property Contrasted. A Series of Letters, addressed without permission to H. Brougham, Esq. M.P. F.R.S.* (London: B. Steil, 1832). Chapter: LETTER THE SECOND. the NATURAL RIGHT OF PROPERTY illustrated.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 26, 2007.

About the Author: Thomas Hodgskin (1787-1869) was an officer in the British Navy before leaving because of his opposition to the brutal treatment of sailors. He worked for the free trade magazine *The Economist* and wrote and lectured on laissez-faire economic ideas to working men's institutes. He was one of the earliest popularizers of economics for audiences of non-economists and gave lectures on free trade, the corn laws, and labor even before Jane Haldimand Marcet. Hodgskin passionately cared about the concerns of laborers after his experience with the maltreatment of sailors. His discussions of the labor theory of value followed up on David Ricardo and pre-dated John Stuart Mill's expositions on similar themes. He was later cited by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Marx's *Capital*. He is commonly, though incorrectly, referred to as a Ricardian socialist.

Quotation

Thomas Hodgskin sends a series of letters to one of the most influential Benthamite reformers of the period informing him that his theory of property is incorrect and dangerous to liberty and that he should adopt a more Lockean notion of property rights

I look on a right of property—on the right of individuals, to have and to own, for their own separate and selfish use and enjoyment, the produce of their own industry, with power freely to dispose of the whole of that in the manner most agreeable to themselves, as essential to the welfare and even to the continued existence of society. If, therefore, I did not suppose, with Mr. Locke, that nature establishes such a right—if I were not prepared to shew that she not merely establishes, but also protects and preserves it, so far as never to suffer it to be violated with impunity—I should at once take refuge in Mr. Bentham's impious theory, and admit that the legislator who established and preserved a right of property, deserved little less adoration than the Divinity himself. Believing, however, that nature establishes such a right, I can neither join those who vituperate it as the source of all our social misery, nor those who claim for the legislator the high honour of being "the author of the finest triumph of humanity over itself."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Thomas Hodgskin is hard to categorize. The socialists like to claim his as one of their own because he was sympathetic to the workers and worked hard lecturing to them on economic issues at the Mechanics Institutes. Yet he cannot be classified as a "socialist" because of his firm and explicit support for free trade (he worked for *The Economist* in its most radical free trade phase) and bravely defended Lockean notions of property rights when the utilitarian Benthamites were sweeping all before them. This 1832 book is one of the most explicit defences of what he called "the natural right to property" in direct opposition to the government defined and enforced "artificial right to property" which he believed began the slippery slope to statism.

**126. FRANK CHODOROV ARGUES THAT TAXATION IS AN ACT OF COERCION
AND IF PUSHED TO ITS LOGICAL LIMITS WILL RESULT IN SOCIALISM
(1946)**



Source: Frank Chodorov, *Fugitive Essays: Selected Writings of Frank Chodorov*, Compiled, Edited, and with an Introduction by Charles H. Hamilton (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1980). Chapter: Socialism via Taxation.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 5, 2007.

About the Author: Frank Chodorov (1887-1966) was an advocate of the free market, individualism, and peace. He began as a supporter of Henry George and edited the Georgeist paper *The Freeman* before founding his own journal which became the influential *Human Events*. He later founded another version of *The Freeman* for the Foundation for Economic Education and lectured at the Freedom School in Colorado.

Quotation

Frank Chodorov argues that taxation is an act of coercion which violates individual rights to property and, if pushed to its logical limits, will result in the ownership of all production and property in the hands of the state, i.e. Socialism:

All this argument, however, is a concession to the obfuscation with which custom, law, and sophistry have covered up the true character of taxation. There cannot be a good tax, or a just one; therefore, every tax rests its case on political power. And the power behind every levy fattens on its collections, while the power of the individual is commensurately weakened. The ultimate of the progressive process of taxation is the absorption of all production by the state—which is the ideal of socialism.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Few people are willing to call a spade a spade. Frank Chodorov however is one of those people when he calls taxation a form of robbery which has been obfuscated by intellectuals and politicians for centuries. Writing at the end of World War Two, when the state had grown prodigiously and taxation and debt levels had risen accordingly, Chodorov thought he could see a pattern in all this: the steady increase in taxation would ultimately lead to socialism. One might compare this with Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* written in 1944 which comes to a similar conclusion.

127. THOMAS CLARKSON ON THE "GLORIOUS" VICTORY OF THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN ENGLAND (1808)



Source: Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, 2 vols. (London: L. Taylor, 1808). Vol. 2. Chapter: CHAPTER X.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 12-16, 2007.

About the Author: Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) was the leading opponent of the slave trade and slavery in England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. His opposition was based on religious (he was an evangelical Anglican), moral, political, and economic grounds and he had an enormous impact in Europe and the United States.

Quotation

Thomas Clarkson, in his *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (1808), concludes with the following optimistic view of the possibilities of human reason and sympathy:

Thus ended one of the most glorious contests, after a continuance for twenty years, of any ever carried on in any age or country. A contest, not of brutal violence, but of reason. A contest between those, who felt deeply for the happiness and the honour of their fellow-creatures, and those, who, through vicious custom and the impulse of avarice, had trampled under-foot the sacred rights of their nature, and had even attempted to efface all title to the divine image from their minds.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Thomas Clarkson is justifiably in very high spirits in 1808 with the successful passing of legislation in the British Parliament to abolish the slave trade. He and his fellow abolitionists knew that this was a first but important step towards finally abolishing slavery (which would not occur in British colonies until the 1830s). What lies behind the tone of this final passage in the book is the realisation that an injustice which had survived for millennia, and which had become the unquestioned orthodoxy of all "right thinking people", had been overturned by a peaceful campaign of moral suasion and political campaigning, and not by violence.

128. LORD MACAULAY WRITES A DEVASTATING REVIEW OF SOUTHEY'S COLLOQUIES IN WHICH THE POET LAUREATE'S IGNORANCE OF THE REAL CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND IS EXPOSED (1830)



Source: Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the Edinburgh Review*, 5th ed. in 3 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848). Vol. 1. Chapter: SOUTHEY'S COLLOQUIES. (Jan. 1830.).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 12, 2007.

About the Author: Lord Macaulay (1800-1859), born Thomas Babington, was an English historian, peer, politician, and poet. He was an active opponent of slavery, a supporter of education and equality in India, and instrumental to parliamentary reform to increase representation of cities that had become unrepresented relative to rural areas during the rapid industrial growth. He authored a five-volume work on the History of England, and wrote numerous clear-minded, critical essays.

Quotation

Lord Macaulay writes a devastating review of Southey's *Colloquies* (1830) in which the Poet Laureate's ignorance of the real condition of the working class in England is exposed:

[T]he labouring classes of this island, though they have their grievances and distresses, some produced by their own improvidence, some by the errors of their rulers, are on the whole better off as to physical comforts than the inhabitants of any equally extensive district of the old world. For this very reason, suffering is more acutely felt and more loudly bewailed here than elsewhere. We must take into the account the liberty of discussion, and the strong interest which the opponents of a ministry always have to exaggerate the extent of the public disasters.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The opening paragraphs of Macaulay's review of the Poet Laureate, Southey's, *Colloquies* is one of the funniest and most devastating reviews ever penned. He raises the interesting point about the wisdom of people who are experts in one area of human endeavour, say poetry or rock music, making serious pronouncements in areas where they have no expertise, say the economic well-being of ordinary working people or global warming. Macaulay argues very strongly in favour of seeing the health and economic condition of the working class in Britain to be better then (1830) than at any time in human history.

129. WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER REMINDS US NEVER TO FORGET THE "FORGOTTEN MAN", THE ORDINARY WORKING MAN AND WOMAN WHO PAYS THE TAXES AND SUFFERS UNDER GOVERNMENT REGULATION (1883)



Source: William Graham Sumner, *The Forgotten Man and Other Essays*, ed. Albert Galloway Keller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918). Chapter: THE FORGOTTEN MAN.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 13, 2007.

About the Author: William Graham Sumner (1840-1910) is one of the founding fathers of American sociology. Although he trained as an Episcopalian clergyman, Sumner went on to teach at Yale University where he wrote his most influential works. His interests included money and tariff policy, critiques of socialism, social classes, and anti-imperialism.

Quotation

William Graham Sumner reminds us never to forget the "Forgotten Man", the ordinary working man and woman who pays the taxes, suffers under government regulation, and only really wants to be left alone in order to enjoy "true liberty":

In the definition the word "people" was used for a class or section of the population. It is now asserted that if that section rules, there can be no paternal, that is, undue, government. That doctrine, however, is the very opposite of liberty and contains the most vicious error possible in politics. The truth is that cupidity, selfishness, envy, malice, lust, vindictiveness, are constant vices of human nature. They are not confined to classes or to nations or particular ages of the world. They present themselves in the palace, in the parliament, in the academy, in the church, in the workshop, and in the hovel. They appear in autocracies, theocracies, aristocracies, democracies, and ochlocracies all alike. They change their masks somewhat from age to age and from one form of society to another. All history is only one long story to this effect: men have struggled for power over their fellow-men in order that they might win the joys of earth at the expense of others and might shift the burdens of life from their own shoulders upon those of others.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

William Graham Sumner coined the term "the Forgotten Man" in 1883 in order to identify the ordinary person who pays the taxes, endures government regulations of all kinds, and who is "the victim of the reformer, social speculator and philanthropist." All they want is "true liberty", to be left alone to go about their business unmolested by others. What is extraordinary about this essay is that it was written in 1883, not 1983. One wonders what he would have to say today.

130. LUDWIG VON MISES ARGUES THAT THE DIVISION OF LABOR AND HUMAN COOPERATION ARE THE TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN AND ARE NOT ANTAGONISTIC TO EACH OTHER (1949)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, in 4 vols., ed. Bettina Bien Greaves (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). Vol. 1. Chapter: 3: The Division of Labor.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 16-20, 2007.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University.

Quotation

In vol. 1, part 2, chapter 8, section 2 of *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, Ludwig von Mises shows the necessary and essential connection between free economic activity and social cooperation:

The fundamental social phenomenon is the division of labor and its counterpart human cooperation. Experience teaches man that cooperative action is more efficient and productive than isolated action of self-sufficient individuals. The natural conditions determining man's life and effort are such that the division of labor increases output per unit of labor expended.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Liberty Fund is republishing a large number of the works of Ludwig von Mises as part of a new Liberty Fund "Library of the Works of Ludwig von Mises". Over the next few months we will be sampling several of these works for interesting insights. In this passage Mises lays to rest an old argument that the capitalist system based upon the division of labor is somehow inimical to human cooperation. In fact the reverse is true, according to Mises, as each depends upon the existence of the other: social cooperation makes the division of labor possible, and the division of labor encourages and rewards social cooperation.

131. ST. THOMAS AQUINAS DISCUSSES THE THREE CONDITIONS FOR A JUST WAR (1265-74)



Source: St. Thomas Aquinas, *Aquinas Ethicus: or, the Moral Teaching of St. Thomas. A Translation of the Principal Portions of the Second part of the Summa Theologica, with Notes* by Joseph Rickaby, S.J. (London: Burns and Oates, 1892). Chapter: QUESTION XL.: OF WAR.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 23-27, 2007.

About the Author: St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) was born near Aquino, Sicily and was an Italian Dominican theologian whose scholarship propelled him to the first rank among the Scholastics of the Middle Ages. His major works are the *Summa theologica* and the *Summa contra gentiles*.

Quotation

The great Aristotelian philosopher Thomas Aquinas discusses in the 2nd part of *Summa Theologica* the 3 conditions for a just war:

The first thing is the authority of the prince by whose command the war is to be waged. It does not belong to a private person to start a war, for he can prosecute his claim in the court of his superior. In like manner the mustering of the people, that has to be done in wars, does not belong to a private person. But since the care of the commonwealth is entrusted to princes, to them belongs the protection of the common weal of the city, kingdom, or province subject to them. And as they lawfully defend it with the material sword against inward disturbances by punishing male-factors, so it belongs to them also to protect the commonwealth from enemies without by the sword of war.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As wars are being fought around us and in our name it is important that we be clear about the justness of these undertakings. The great Aristotelian philosopher St. Thomas Aquinas has three conditions which need to met before a war can be called "just": does the prince who declares war have the correct authority to do so? does the war declaring nation have just cause to seek redress for an injury done to it? does the party declaring war have just intent in promoting good or avoiding evil? These are stringent conditions which have not been met very often, if ever, in the past. One recalls the long list of frivolous reasons for going to war which Thomas Gordon drew up.

132. AUGUSTIN THIERRY LAMENTS THAT THE STEADY GROWTH OF LIBERTY IN FRANCE HAD BEEN DISRUPTED BY THE CATAclySM OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1859)



Source: Augustin Thierry, *The Formation and Progress of the Tiers État, or Third Estate in France*, translated from the French by the Rev. Francis B. Wells, Two volumes in One (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1859). Chapter: PREFACE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 30 - August 3, 2007.

About the Author: Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) was a classical liberal historian who pioneered the collection, publication, and analysis of primary sources, especially for medieval French history. One of the themes of his work was the study of ruling elites or classes who came to power often through conquest.

Quotation

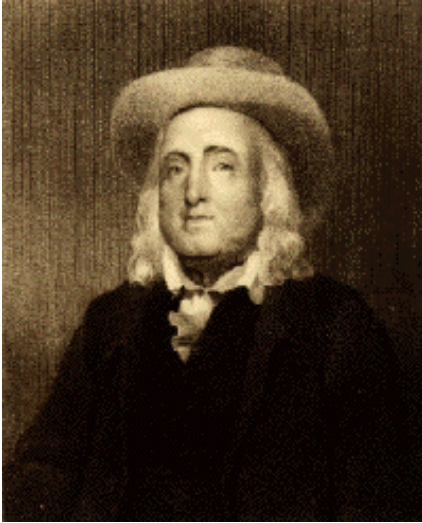
The 19th century French liberal historian Augustin Thierry, in his *History of the Third Estate*, saw the French Revolution as a rupture in French history which interrupted the steady growth of liberty:

One circumstance, which especially struck me, is, that during the space of six centuries, from the twelfth to the eighteenth, the history of the Tiers Etat and that of the royal power are indissolubly bound together in such a manner that, in the eyes of him who really understands them, one is, to use the expression, the counterpart of the other. From the accession of Louis le Gros to the death of Louis XIV., each decisive epoch in the progress of the different classes of the roture in liberty, prosperity, enlightenment, and social importance, corresponds, in the series of the reigns, to the name of some great king or of some great minister. The eighteenth century alone shows an exception to this law of our national development; it introduced distrust, and prepared a fatal divorce between the Tiers Etat and the Crown. At the point at which a last step, the guarantee and crowning point of all the others, would naturally have completed civil, and founded political liberty by the establishment of a new constitution, the necessary agreement was wanting in the conditions of a Government at once free and monarchical. The work of the Constituent Assembly of 1791, badly put together, crumbled to pieces almost immediately, and the monarchy was destroyed.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Augustin Thierry wrote the preface to his pioneering work on French medieval history in the immediate aftermath of the 1848 Revolution in France. In the book he had laboriously shown how free institutions had emerged slowly but progressively in Europe around the free cities and the Third Estate in France. He felt he couldn't finish his book now that France had gone through yet another revolutionary upheaval which seemed to push liberty even further away than ever. Thankfully for us, he decided not to continue his research much further but would publish what he had accomplished after 5 year's hard work. For another example of Thierry's labours in the archives, see his appendix where he relates the feisty Kentishmen who refuse to submit to William the Conqueror.

133. JEREMY BENTHAM RELATES A NUMBER OF "ABOMINATIONS" TO THE FRENCH NATIONAL CONVENTION URGING THEM TO EMANCIPATE THEIR COLONIES (1793)



Source: Jeremy Bentham, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham, published under the Superintendence of his Executor, John Bowring* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1838-1843). 11 vols. Vol. 4. Chapter: EMANCIPATE YOUR COLONIES! ADDRESSED TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE, ANNO 1793.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 6-10, 2007.

About the Author: Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) trained as a lawyer and founded the early 19th century school of political thought known as "Benthamism" later called utilitarianism - based on the idea that governments should act so as to promote "the greatest good of the greatest number" of people. He spent much of his life attempting to draw up an ideal Constitutional Code, but he was also active in parliamentary reform, education, and prison reform. He influenced the thinking of James Mill and his son John Stuart Mill. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In an address to the French National Convention in 1793 Jeremy Bentham urged the delegates to emancipate the colonies from French rule. He particularly denounced the policy of the government monopolizing the sugar trade:

The attempt, I say, is iniquitous: it is an aristocratical abomination: it is a cluster of aristocratical abominations: it is iniquitous towards them; but much more as among yourselves.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Jeremy Bentham was forever petitioning governments and well-connected people to adopt his reform proposals, whether they were for prison reform, the colonisation of Australia, or the independence of France's colonies. It is hard to tell what the French politicians thought of this tirade but it is amusing to read. Bentham has a strong dislike of the aristocrats in England and France who monopolised politics and cloaks his arguments in a thinly disguised theory of class (a view also adopted by his followers James Mill and other members of the Philosophic radicals). Abominations are not just abominations, but "aristocratical abominations". I guess they don't get much worse than that in his view.

134. DAVID HUME ON THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT IN WARFARE, AND THE "PERPETUAL STRUGGLE" BETWEEN LIBERTY AND POWER (1777)



Source: David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, Literary*, edited and with a Foreword, Notes, and Glossary by Eugene F. Miller, with an appendix of variant readings from the 1889 edition by T.H. Green and T.H. Grose, revised edition (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1987). Chapter: ESSAY V: OF THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 6, 2007.

About the Author: David Hume (1711-1776) was a moral philosopher and historian and a leading member of the Scottish Enlightenment. In philosophy he was a skeptic. In his multi-volume *History of England* he showed how the rule of law and the creation of an independent judiciary created the foundation for liberty in England. Hume also wrote on economics, was a personal friend of Adam Smith, and was a proponent of free trade. His works highlighted the neutrality of money and the errors of the mercantilists (whose flawed theories in favor of increased exports in order to build up a stock of gold remain the foundations of many public policies even today).

Quotation

David Hume has two important insights into the origin of government; that it is often born out of warfare, and that once established there is a "perpetual struggle" within it between Liberty and Power (1777):

It is probable, that the first ascendant of one man over multitudes begun during a state of war; where the superiority of courage and of genius discovers itself most visibly, where unanimity and concert are most requisite, and where the pernicious effects of disorder are most sensibly felt. The long continuance of that state, an incident common among savage tribes, enured the people to submission; and if the chieftain possessed as much equity as prudence and valour, he became, even during peace, the arbiter of all differences, and could gradually, by a mixture of force and consent, establish his authority....

In all governments, there is a perpetual intestine struggle, open or secret, between Authority and Liberty; and neither of them can ever absolutely prevail in the contest. A great sacrifice of liberty must necessarily be made in every government; yet even the authority, which confines liberty, can never, and perhaps ought never, in any constitution, to become quite entire and uncontroulable.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Although the later Hume has a reputation for supporting the British monarchy (this was Jefferson's view) in some of his early essays we see a more radical view of the nature of government emerge. In a previously cited quotation Hume tells us that a combination of force and public opinion is required to keep a regime in power. In this essay Hume adds two more crucial insights into the origin and operation of governments: the first is that the earliest governments probably came about as a result of war with the victorious strongman seizing power and gradually making it permanent; secondly, that once governments were established there began a "perpetual intestine struggle, open or secret, between Authority and Liberty." Perhaps this passage should be the foundational text for the present collection of quotations entitled *Reflections on Liberty and Power*.

135. VISCOUNT BRYCE REFLECTS ON HOW MODERN NATION STATES WHICH ACHIEVED THEIR OWN FREEDOM THROUGH STRUGGLE ARE NOT SYMPATHETIC TO THE SIMILAR STRUGGLES OF OTHER REPRESSED PEOPLES (1901)



Source: Viscount James Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1901). 2 vols. Chapter: IX: OBEDIENCE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 20-24, 2007.

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

Quotation

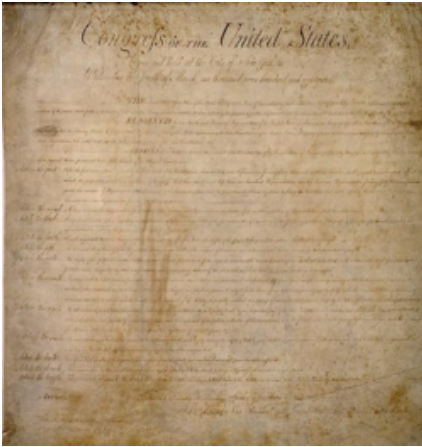
Viscount James Bryce in an essay on "Obedience" which appeared in 1901 notes that countries which have already achieved their national freedom no longer respect the struggles of others to maintain theirs:

Peoples which have achieved their own national freedom show no more disposition than did the tyrants of old time to respect the struggles of other peoples to maintain theirs. The sympathy which Germans and Frenchmen used to feel for the oppressed races of the East has disappeared. France has ceased to care about the Cretans or the Poles. England, whose heart went out forty years ago to all who strove for freedom and independence, feels no compunction in blotting out two little republics whose citizens have fought with a valour and constancy never surpassed. The United States ignore the principles of their Declaration of Independence when they proceed to subjugate by force the Philippine Islanders. The modern ideal is no longer liberty, but military strength and commercial development.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Viscount Bryce, an acute observer of American and European affairs, notes that nations like the U.S., Germany, and France, which achieved their national independence via war or revolution, are much less sympathetic in 1901 to the plight of other oppressed peoples who also wish to achieve national freedom and independence, often from European or American domination. The specific case he cites is the United States and its actions in the Philippines between 1898-1901 and wonders how this squares with the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

136. THE IVTH AMENDMENT TO THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION STATES THAT THE PEOPLE SHALL BE SECURE IN THEIR PERSONS AGAINST UNREASONABLE SEARCHES AND SEIZURES AND THAT NO WARRANTS SHALL ISSUE, BUT UPON PROBABLE CAUSE (1788)



Source: James McClellan, *Liberty, Order, and Justice: An Introduction to the Constitutional Principles of American Government* (3rd ed.) (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2000). Chapter: The Fourth Amendment: Search and Seizure.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 27-31, 2007.

About the Author: James McClellan (1937-2005) prior to his appointment in 1999 as James Bryce Visiting Fellow in American Studies at the Institute of United States Studies of the University of London, was Senior Resident Scholar at Liberty Fund, Inc. He held a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Virginia and a J.D. from the University of Virginia School of Law. Dr. McClellan served as the President of the Center for Judicial Studies and as John M. Olin Professor of Government at Claremont McKenna College. He taught American Government and Constitutional Law at the University of Alabama, Emory University, and Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia. Dr. McClellan also served as a member of the U.S. Senate staff, and from 1981 to 1983 was Chief Counsel and Staff Director of the Subcommittee on Separation of Powers of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. His publications include *The Political Principles of Robert A. Taft* (coauthor, 1967), *Joseph Story and the American Constitution* (1971, 1990), *The Federalist: A Student Edition* (co-editor, 1990), and *Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 as Reported by James Madison* (co-editor, 1989).

Quotation

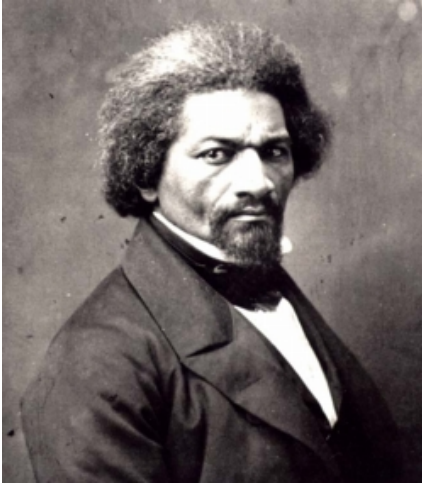
James McClellan in *Liberty, Order, and Justice* (2000) comments on each of the Amendments to the U.S. Constitution which make up what is known as the Bill of Rights. Here is the IVth:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The constitutional expert, James McClellan, provides a very useful commentary on the American Bill of Rights. He notes both the original intent of the authors as well as how courts in the modern era have interpreted and extended the laws to take into account technological and other changes. A nice connection here is that one of his academic positions in 1999 was as "James Bryce Visiting Fellow in American Studies" at the Institute of United States Studies of the University of London. James Bryce's work on *The American Commonwealth* (1995) has been published by Liberty Fund and we have other works by him in the OLL collection.

137. THE EX-SLAVE FREDERICK DOUGLASS REVEALS THAT READING SPEECHES BY ENGLISH POLITICIANS PRODUCED IN HIM A DEEP LOVE OF LIBERTY AND HATRED OF OPPRESSION (1882)



Source: Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: From 1817-1882*, written by himself; with an Introduction by the Right Hon. John Bright, ed. John Lobb (London: Christian Age Office, 1882). CHAPTER XI.: GROWING IN KNOWLEDGE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 3-7, 2007.

About the Author: Frederick Douglass (1817-1895) was an ex-slave who wrote three accounts of his life as a slave, runaway, and campaigner for the abolition of slavery: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) and *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881).

Quotation

In his biography, the ex-slave Frederick Douglass recalls how a book of speeches by famous English authors and politicians inspired in him a love of liberty:

The reading of these speeches added much to my limited stock of language, and enabled me to give tongue to many interesting thoughts which had often flashed through my mind and died away for want of words in which to give them utterance. The mighty power and heart-searching directness of truth penetrating the heart of a slave-holder, compelling him to yield up his earthly interests to the claims of eternal justice, were finely illustrated in the dialogue; and from the speeches of Sheridan I got a bold and powerful denunciation of oppression and a most brilliant vindication of the rights of man. Here was indeed a noble acquisition. If I had ever wavered under the consideration that the Almighty, in some way, had ordained slavery, and willed my enslavement for His own glory, I wavered no longer. I had now penetrated to the secret of all slavery and all oppression, and had ascertained their true foundation to be in the pride, the power, and the avarice of man. With a book in my hand so redolent of the principles of liberty, with a perception of my own human nature, and the facts of my past and present experience, I was equal to a contest with the religious advocates of slavery, whether white or black,—for blindness in this matter was not confined to the white people.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is no wonder that slave owners did whatever they could to prevent slaves from learning to read. As Frederick's Douglass' autobiography shows he was able to put words and ideas to his love of freedom and his hatred of oppression by reading English authors like Sheridan and politicians like Pitt. As he eloquently states because of his reading and thinking "Light had penetrated the moral dungeon where I had lain." Many other slaves read the Bible and found stories of the Israelites' oppression by the Egyptians just as inspiring and relevant to their condition.

138. JAMES MADISON ARGUES THAT THE CONSTITUTION PLACES WAR-MAKING POWERS SQUARELY WITH THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH; FOR THE PRESIDENT TO HAVE THESE POWERS IS THE "THE TRUE NURSE OF EXECUTIVE AGGRANDIZEMENT" (1793)



Source: James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, *The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793-1794: Toward the Completion of the American Founding*, edited with and Introduction by Morton J. Frisch (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). Chapter: Helvidius Number IV.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 10-14, 2007.

About the Author: James Madison (1751-1836) was a member of the Virginia legislature in 1776-80 and 1784-86, of the Continental Congress in 1780-83, and of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, where he earned the title "father of the U. S. Constitution." He was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1789 to 1797, where he was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights and an opponent of Hamilton's financial measures. He was the author of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 in opposition to the U. S. alien and sedition laws. He was U. S. secretary of state in 1801-09, President of the U. S. in 1809-17, and rector of the University of Virginia, 1826-36.

Quotation

In 1793-94 Madison and Hamilton in the *Pacificus-Helvidious Debates* argued about the proper role of the executive and the legislative branches of the U.S. government in the conduct of war. Writing as "Helvidius", Madison observed that:

War is in fact the true nurse of executive aggrandizement. In war, a physical force is to be created; and it is the executive will, which is to direct it. In war, the public treasures are to be unlocked; and it is the executive hand which is to dispense them. In war, the honours and emoluments of office are to be multiplied; and it is the executive patronage under which they are to be enjoyed. It is in war, finally, that laurels are to be gathered, and it is the executive brow they are to encircle.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The publication by Liberty Fund of Hamilton and Madison's *The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793-1794* (2007) and the putting online of a 10 volume collection of *The Writings of James Madison* (1909) is an excellent opportunity to begin exploring the thought of James Madison. Here we look at the "Pacificus-Helvidius" debates. President George Washington's proclamation of the Neutrality Act in 1793 sparked a spirited debate between Alexander Hamilton ("Pacificus") and James Madison ("Helvidius") over the war-making powers of the executive and legislative bodies. Hamilton, preferring more centralised control and a more powerful presidency, was in favor of broad powers for the executive branch; whereas Madison feared that under the guise of war the president could and would amass great powers over budgets, patronage, and honours. Hence he favoured the balance of powers remaining with the legislative branch.

139. HARRIET MARTINEAU CONDEMNS TARIFFS AS A "VICIOUS ARISTOCRATIC PRINCIPLE" DESIGNED TO HARM THE ORDINARY WORKING MAN AND WOMAN (1861)



Source: Harriet Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography and Memorials of Harriet Martineau*, ed. Maria Weston Chapman (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1877). 2 vols. Vol. 2. Chapter: CONVERSATIONS.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 17-21, 2007.

About the Author: Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) was unusual for being a professional full-time writer at a time when few women were able to pursue such a career. She was a translator, novelist, speech writer, and journalist who wrote a popular defence of the free market, pioneering travel writing about a trip to America, and on the woman question.

Quotation

In a series of letters written to Mrs. Chapman in 1861 Harriet Martineau argued that tariff protection not only harmed foreign workers but domestic American workers as well, by means of what she termed this "vicious aristocratic principle":

I perceive you ground your disapprobation of the protective system on the injustice and unkindness to foreign peoples. This is a very strong and quite indisputable ground, but it is not the one I have at all had in view at this time, or wished to bring forward in discussing the matter in the "Standard" or elsewhere. I protest against the vicious aristocratic principle, and the rank oppression exercised over the American people at large, for the selfish interest of certain classes. It is true your shippers and merchants are concerned in and injured by every injury inflicted on foreign commerce; but it is a graver consideration to my mind that every workingman in the country is injured for the illicit benefit of wealthier classes. Popular ignorance alone can have permitted it thus long.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In the 19th century there were a number of popularisers of free market thinking who took the ideas of an Adam Smith or a Jean-Baptiste Say and made them more approachable to a broader audience. In England there was Richard Cobden, Harriet Martineau, and Thomas Hodgskin. In France there was the incomparable Frédéric Bastiat. Martineau is especially noteworthy for a number of reasons, perhaps most notably because as a woman she found it particularly hard to make a living as a full-time author. She did not let her gender or her precarious way of life prevent her from being an outspoken and radical defender of free market ideas. For example, in 1861 the American Civil War divided English liberals into two camps, the free traders and states rights advocates who supported the South, and the anti-slavery abolitionists who favored the North (reluctantly perhaps because of its strong protectionist stance). Martineau took the radical position of arguing that, in supposedly "democratic" America, tariffs were class based and reflected a "vicious aristocratic principle" which benefited the "selfish interest of certain classes" at the expense of ordinary working people.

140. LUDWIG VON MISES ARGUES THAT MONOPOLIES ARE THE DIRECT RESULT OF GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION AND NOT THE PRODUCT OF ANY INHERENT TENDENCY WITHIN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM (1949)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, in 4 vols., ed. Bettina Bien Greaves (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). Vol. 2. Chapter: 3: The Harmony of the "Rightly Understood" Interests.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 24-27, 2007.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University.

Quotation

The great Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises argued that monopolies were the result of government intervention not that of the free market:

As has been pointed out already, there is no such tendency toward monopolization. It is a fact that with many commodities in many countries monopoly prices prevail, and moreover, some articles are sold at monopoly prices on the world market. However, almost all of these instances of monopoly prices are the outgrowth of government interference with business. They were not created by the interplay of the factors operating on a free market. They are not products of capitalism, but precisely of the endeavors to counteract the forces determining the height of the market prices. It is a distortion of fact to speak of monopoly capitalism. It would be more appropriate to speak of monopoly interventionism or of monopoly statism.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Here is another quotation from Liberty Fund's new "Library of the Works of Ludwig von Mises". Mises debunks the idea that monopolies are an inherent feature of free market capitalist economies. They are instead the direct result of government intervention in economic matters, usually to provide benefits to a favored group or to counter previous failed government policies.

141. FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT AND THE STATE AS "LA GRANDE FICTION À TRAVERS LAQUELLE TOUT LE MONDE S'EFFORCE DE VIVRE AUX DÉPENS DE TOUT LE MONDE (1848)



Source: Frédéric Bastiat, *Oeuvres complètes de Frédéric Bastiat, mises en ordre, revues et annotées d'après les manuscrits de l'auteur* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1873) 3rd edition, 7 vols. Vol. 4. Chapter: l'État.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 4, 2007.

About the Author: Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) was one of the leading advocates of free markets and free trade in the mid-19th century. He was inspired by the activities of Richard Cobden and the organization of the Anti-Corn Law League in Britain in the 1840s and tried to mimic their success in France. Bastiat was an elected member of various French political bodies and opposed both protection and the rise of socialist ideas in these forums. His writings for a broader audience were very popular and were quickly translated and republished in the U.S. and throughout Europe. His incomplete magnum opus, *Economic Harmonies*, is full of insights into the operation of the market and is still of great interest to economists. He died at a young age from cancer of the throat. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In 1848, the year of revolution in France and elsewhere, Bastiat writes an amusing polemic against all those who wish use the state to fund their own pet projects:

L'État, c'est la grande fiction à travers laquelle Tout Le Monde s'efforce de vivre aux dépens de Tout Le Monde. (The state is that great fiction by which everyone tries to live at the expense of everyone else.)

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Liberty Fund is preparing a multi-volume collection of the selected works of Frédéric Bastiat in a translation which will take several years to complete. Much of this material has never been translated into English before. This quotation comes from an article he wrote in 1848 and it has been available in an English translation for some time. It contains one of Bastiat's most famous phrases, that "The state is that great fiction by which everyone tries to live at the expense of everyone else." Here we provide it in its French original. An English version will follow in a later quotation. The historical context for this quotation is the rise of socialism in France and the various attempts during the revolution to introduce socialist legislation. Bastiat wrote for a more popular audience, using the *Journal des Débats* as a platform, to counter the spread of socialist ideas. One of his tactics was to try to persuade conservatives that the interventionist legislation they proposed was also "socialist".

142. PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF NAPLES WHICH HE HOPED WOULD BE "AS A MIRROR TO MAKE ... BLIND SLAVES SEE" (1820)



Source: Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Posthumous Poems* (London: John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824). Chapter: ODE TO NAPLES.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 8-12, 2007.

About the Author: Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) was one of the leading English romantic poets who had a strong feeling for individual liberty.

Quotation

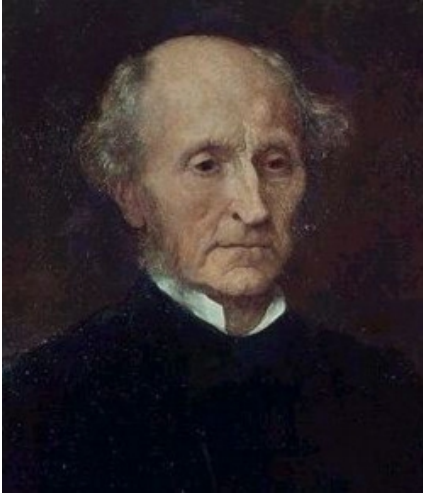
Percy Bysshe Shelley wrote "Ode to Naples (1820)" on hearing about the proclamation of a Constitutional Government at Naples:

ANTISRHE β. 2.
From Freedom's form divine,
From Nature's inmost shrine,
Strip every impious gawd, rend Error veil by veil:
O'er Ruin desolate,
O'er Falsehood's fallen state
Sit thou sublime, unawed; be the Destroyer pale!
And equal laws be thine,
And winged words let sail,
Freighted with truth even from the throne of God:
That wealth, surviving fate,
Be thine.—All hail!

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It's not often that a new constitution stimulates a poet to write a poem about it, but the liberty-loving and Italy-loving English romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley was so moved. He and Lord Byron were living in Italy in the late 1810s and early 1820s and together began a short-lived journal called *The Liberal* to promote their political and literary ideas. The early 1820s was a time of reform for liberal and republican ideas, whether it was in Naples, Greece (in its struggle for independence against the Ottoman Empire), or Latin America (Simon Bolivar against the Spanish Empire). This is the longest quotation in this collection because it is so unusual, so little known, and hard to determine what to leave out. Shelley tells us of the physical beauty of the city of Naples, its glorious heritage, its fall and subjection to foreign powers ("The Anarchs of the North lead forth their legions Like Chaos o'er creation, uncreating"), and now its apparent revival in a more liberty-loving time - "Thou which wert once, and then didst cease to be, Now art, and henceforth ever shalt be, free, If Hope, and Truth, and Justice can avail, Hail, hail, all hail!" It was Shelley's great hope that Naples and its new constitution might be a model for the world - "thy shield is as a mirror To make their blind slaves see".

143. JOHN STUART MILL ON THE "ATROCITIES" COMMITTED BY GOVERNOR EYRE AND HIS TROOPS IN PUTTING DOWN THE JAMAICA REBELLION (1866)



Source: John Stuart Mill, *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume I - Autobiography and Literary Essays*, ed. John M. Robson and Jack Stillinger, introduction by Lord Robbins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981). CHAPTER VII: General View of the Remainder of My Life.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 15-19, 2007.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age. He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

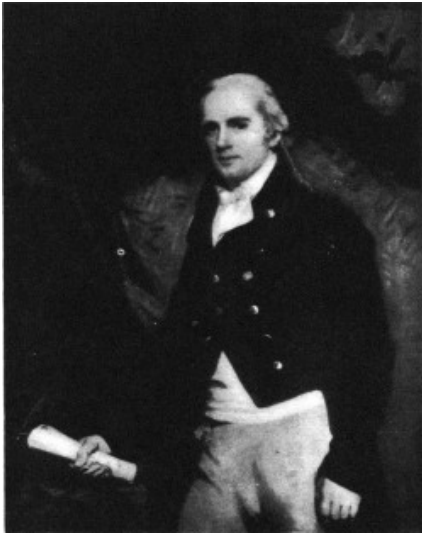
In 1866 JS Mill chaired a committee to look into the brutal repression of a mutiny in Jamaica by Governor Eyre. He spoke on the matter several times in the House of Commons. In his *Autobiography* he observed that:

A disturbance in Jamaica, provoked in the first instance by injustice, and exaggerated by rage and panic into a premeditated rebellion, had been the motive or excuse for taking hundreds of innocent lives by military violence or by sentence of what were called courts martial, continuing for weeks after the brief disturbance had been put down; with many added atrocities of destruction of property, flogging women as well as men, and a great display of the brutal recklessness which generally prevails when fire and sword are let loose. The perpetrators of these deeds were defended and applauded in England by the same kind of people who had so long upheld negro slavery: and it seemed at first as if the British nation was about to incur the disgrace of letting pass without even a protest, excesses of authority as revolting as any of those for which, when perpetrated by the instruments of other governments, Englishmen can hardly find terms sufficient to express their abhorrence.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Stuart Mill and other liberals were shocked at the brutality used by Governor Eyre and his troops in putting down a rebellion in the previously slave colony of Jamaica. Mill chaired a parliamentary committee to look into charging Eyre with crimes in order to both bring justice to the innocent victims as well as to show other colonial governors that such behaviour would not be tolerated in the future. Mill notes that the initial rebellion broke out because of unjust treatment of the inhabitants but that this quickly spiralled out of control (due to "excesses of authority") as the authorities resorted to capital courts martial, the wanton destruction of property, the flogging of men and women, and "the general recklessness which generally prevails when fire and sword are let loose". Mill further notes that Eyre's supporters in England were the same people who had "upheld negro slavery" before its abolition in the 1830s.

144. FRIEDRICH HAYEK REDISCOVERS THE IMPORTANCE OF HENRY THORNTON'S EARLY 19TH CENTURY WORK ON "PAPER CREDIT" AND ITS ROLE IN FINANCING THE BRITISH EMPIRE (1802)



Source: Henry Thornton, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain*, edited and with an Introduction by F.A. Hayek (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1939). Chapter: INTRODUCTION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 22-26, 2007.

About the Author: Henry Thornton (1760-1815) was a merchant banker and founder of the Clapham Sect of evangelical reformers which included William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and Zachary Macaulay many of whom were involved in the abolitionist movement.

Quotation

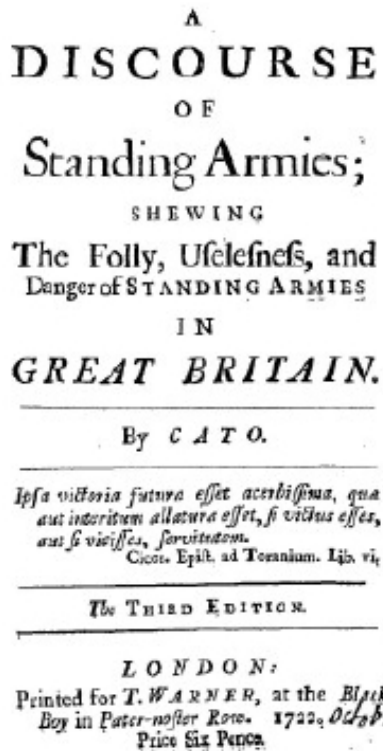
Friedrich Hayek considered Henry Thornton's *Enquiry into the Paper Credit of Great Britain* (1802) to be one of the most important works on money and banking in the 19thC. It was written when Britain suspended cash payments in a financial crisis brought on by the war against France. Hayek observes that:

To most of the contemporaries of Henry Thornton his authorship of the book which is now reprinted after one hundred and thirty-six years would by no means have been regarded as his major title to fame. To them the fact that he was a successful banker and a great expert on finance probably appeared as the indispensable but comparatively uninteresting background which put him in the position to be a great philanthropist and the effective advocate of every good cause; certainly it enabled him to provide at his comfortable Clapham home the meeting place for the active and influential group of Evangelicals, who, quite apart from the great rôle they played in their own time, were probably one of the most profound influences which fashioned the outlook and character that was typical of the English upper middle class of the nineteenth century... It was not until just before, and particularly since, the Great War, that, with the great interest which a number of American economists (particularly Professors Hollander and Viner) have shown in the history of English monetary policy and monetary doctrines, his importance came again to be fully recognized.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In 1939 Friedrich Hayek, the Nobel Prize winning Austrian economist, rediscovered the importance of Henry Thornton's work on the paper credit system of Great Britain published during the Napoleonic Wars in 1802. Hayek was reflecting on the causes of the Great Depression which had devastated the economies of Europe and North America in the 1930s and he could see a number of affinities between current economic and banking policy and the issues that concerned Thornton. Of most interest to us is Thornton's analysis of the suspension of gold specie payments by Britain as a result of its budgetary difficulties brought on by massive expenditure in the war against Napoleon. Also of interest is Hayek's comment about the group of individuals who were organized around Thornton into an intellectual movement known as the "Clapham sect". In Hayek's view they were as important intellectually and politically as the "philosophic radicals", the Bentham-inspired intellectuals around James and John Stuart Mill in the 1820s and 1830s.

145. THOMAS GORDON ON STANDING ARMIES AS A POWER WHICH IS INCONSISTENT WITH LIBERTY (1722)



Source: Thomas Gordon, *A Discourse of Standing Armies; shewing the Folly, Usefulness, and Danger of Standing Armies in Great Britain*, 3rd edition (London: T. Warner, 1722). Chapter: A DISCOURSE OF Standing Armies, &c.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 5-9, 2007.

About the Author: John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon (?-1750) were two indefatigable English journalists who defended the idea of liberty against political corruption, imperialism and militarism in the early 18th century. They were also much read in the American colonies.

Quotation

Thomas Gordon, who also wrote under the name of Cato, was an adamant opponent of standing armies, seeing in them a key method of undermining ancient English liberties as he argues in his *Discourse* of 1722:

There are but two Ways in Nature to enslave a People, and continue that Slavery over them; the first is Superstition, and the last is Force: By the one, we are perswaded that it is our Duty to be undone; and the other undoes us whether we will or no. I take it, that we are pretty much out of Danger of the first, at present; and, I think, we cannot be too much upon our guard against the other; for, tho' we have nothing to fear from the best Prince in the World, yet we have every thing to fear from those who would give him a Power inconsistent with Liberty, and with a Constitution which has lasted almost a Thousand Years without such a Power...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Thomas Gordon was much read in the American colonies on the eve of the Revolution. One of his great concerns, shared by many in the 18th century "commonwealthman" tradition, was that standing armies were a threat to liberty. Their danger came from two sources: one was the sheer cost to taxpayers of having a large an permanent body of troops equipped and stationed at home during peace time; the other was the fact that it provided a tempting tool to despotically minded "Princes" or monarchs to use against their own people should they object too strenuously against government policy. It was for this reason that it became embedded in the American constitution that there was a right to bear arms and to form local militias as an alternative to monarchical standing armies.

146. J.S. BACH AND MARTIN LUTHER ON HOW GOD (THE "FESTE BURG") HELPS US GAIN OUR FREEDOM (1730)



Source: Johann Sebastian Bach, *Bach's Chorals. Part I: 2 The Hymns and Hymn Melodies of the Cantatas and Motetts*, by Charles Sanford Terry (Cambridge University Press, 1915-1921). 3 vols. Vol. 2. Chapter: Cantata LXXX.: Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott. For the Reformation Festival (1730).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 3-7, 2007.

About the Author: Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) was one of the most prolific and original composers in the Western classical tradition. His cantatas, passions and oratorios played an important part in Lutheran church music.

Quotation

A moving hymn by Martin Luther, "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott", was put to music by Johann Sebastian Bach. The themes of faith and freedom have spoken powerfully to Protestants ever since:

A stronghold sure our God remains,
A shield and hope unfailing;
In need His help our freedom gains,
'er all we fear prevailing.
Our old malignant foe
Would fain work us woe.
With craft and great might
He doth against us fight;
On earth is not one like him.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As Christmas approaches one's thoughts naturally turn to the composer of some of the best church music which is sung at this time, namely Johann Sebastian Bach. Here we have one of the most popular and moving Protestant hymns with music by Johann Sebastian Bach and words by Martin Luther. Ever since it first appeared in 1730, the sentiment that our freedom is secured by the stronghold (feste Burg) against "our old malignant foe" is a powerful one that speaks to many people. Additional comfort in times of need or danger comes in the 4th verse where it says "And should they take our life, Wealth, name, child, and wife, Tho' these were all gone, Yet will they nought have won; God's kingdom ours remaineth."

147. JAMES MADISON ON THE NEED FOR THE PEOPLE TO DECLARE WAR AND FOR EACH GENERATION, NOT FUTURE GENERATIONS, TO BEAR THE COSTS OF THE WARS THEY FIGHT (1792)



Source: James Madison, *The Writings of James Madison, comprising his Public Papers and his Private Correspondence, including his numerous letters and documents now for the first time printed*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900). Vol. 6. Chapter: UNIVERSAL PEACE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 17-21, 2007.

About the Author: James Madison (1751-1836) was a member of the Virginia legislature in 1776-80 and 1784-86, of the Continental Congress in 1780-83, and of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, where he earned the title "father of the U. S. Constitution." He was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1789 to 1797, where he was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights and an opponent of Hamilton's financial measures. He was the author of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 in opposition to the U. S. alien and sedition laws. He was U. S. secretary of state in 1801-09, President of the U. S. in 1809-17, and rector of the University of Virginia, 1826-36.

Quotation

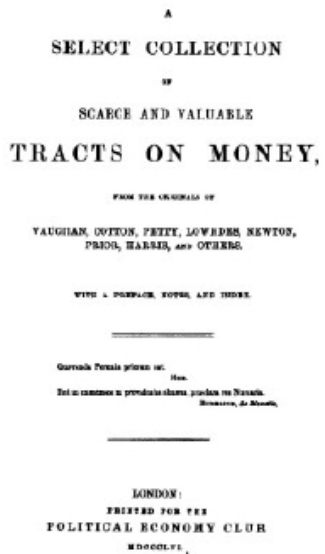
In 1792 James Madison wrote a newspaper article criticizing Rousseau's plan for introducing "perpetual peace" in Europe. According to Madison, a better way to reduce the incidence of war, especially in a democracy like the U.S., was to make the people pay the full cost of war immediately instead of using debt to force later generations to foot the bill:

[T]hat war should not only be declared by the authority of the people, whose toils and treasures are to support its burdens, instead of the government which is to reap its fruits: but that each generation should be made to bear the burden of its own wars, instead of carrying them on, at the expence of other generations. And to give the fullest energy to his plan, he might have added, that each generation should not only bear its own burdens, but that the taxes composing them, should include a due proportion of such as by their direct operation keep the people awake, along with those, which being wrapped up in other payments, may leave them asleep, to misapplications of their money.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this 1792 newspaper article James Madison criticises Rousseau's notion of a plan for perpetual peace in Europe. Madison is not against peace but is against a purely "philosophical" approach which ignores the realities of who starts wars and how these wars are to be funded. Madison attacks the idea of governments going into debt to fund a current war, thus requiring future generations to pay for it. In his view, if the current generation really knew how much their wars cost them this might disincline them to starting wars and thus help to reduce the incidence of war.

148. HENRY VAUGHAN ARGUES THAT IT IS THE VOLUNTARY AND "UNIVERSAL CONCURRENCE OF MANKIND", NOT THE LAWS, WHICH MAKES MONEY ACCEPTABLE AS A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE (1675)



Source: John Ramsay McCulloch, *A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on Money from the Originals of Vaughan, Cotton, Petty, Lowndes, Newton, Prior, Harris, and Others, with a Preface, Notes, and Index* (London: Printed for the Political Economy Club, 1856). Chapter: CHAPTER II.: The established standard of money should not be violated or altered, under any pretence whatsoever.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 21-25, 2008.

About the Author: Henry Rice Vaughan (1622-1695) was the author of an early tract on coinage which appeared in McCulloch's collection.

Quotation

The English political economist McCulloch was a pioneer historian of economic thought. In his collection of English tracts on money he includes Vaughan's *Discourse of Coin and Coinage* (1675) which has an interesting discussion of how the "universal concurrence of mankind" is what makes money money:

But you will say, that gold coins, excepting the difference of colour, and of some other properties of the metals, have as much the appearance of money as silver coins: Granted; and so have copper coins too; and so might pewter ones, &c., but this is nothing to the purpose; it is not the mint, but the laws, and the universal concurrence of mankind, that make money.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864) was a follower of David Ricardo, the first professor of political economy at the University of London in 1828, and a pioneer in the collection of economic statistics and historical economic tracts. In 1856 he published two valuable collections of documents, one on commerce and the other on money. Henry Vaughan's treatise comes from the latter. In it he makes the excellent point that money (in this case gold coins) emerges from a commonly agreed upon standard of exchange. He debates whether "the mint" (i.e. the government) or the "universal concurrence of mankind" is the more powerful force in inducing people to accept certain coins in order to make their sales and purchases. He seems to come down on the side of voluntary, popular acceptance by the users as the key factor. This is a similar theory to that developed by Ludwig von Mises in his 1912 work *The Theory of Money and Credit*, a cornerstone text in the development of the Austrian school of economics.

149. WILLIAM FINDLAY WANTS TO MAINTAIN THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE AND THEREFORE SEES NO ROLE FOR THE "ECCLESIASTICAL BRANCH" IN GOVERNMENT (1812)



Source: William Findley, *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*, edited and with an introduction by John Caldwell (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). CHAPTER I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 28 - February 1, 2008.

About the Author: William Findley (1742-1821) 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.

Quotation

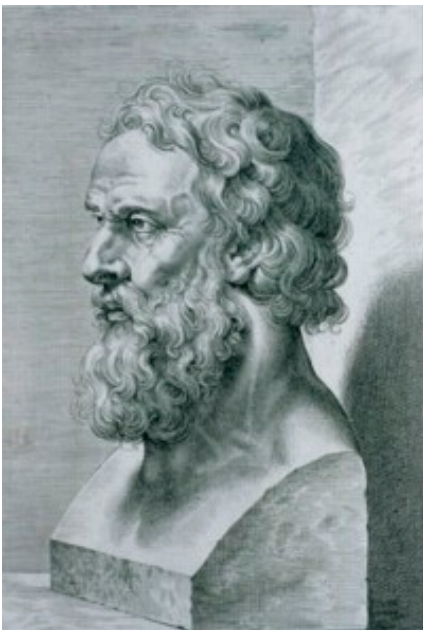
William Findley, in his *Observations on "The Two Sons of Oil"* (1812), defends the American Constitution and the separation of church and state against those who wanted the church to have a role in legislation:

All who are acquainted with the nature of government, must at once see the absurdity of considering civil government, and the government of the church of Christ, as different branches of the same government. In all free governments, the governing power is separated into different departments or branches, such as, the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. These three being exercised by one person, or by one body of men, is, in the opinion of the celebrated Montesquieu, the definition of tyranny.... Now, I enquire, what place or department, in this machine of government, has he left for the ecclesiastical branch, wherein to operate? It could not act in passing laws—that belongs to the legislature. It could not execute laws—that belongs to the executive. It cannot be employed in applying the law to cases as they arise—this belongs to the judiciary. Ecclesiastical government, as instituted in national churches, by human authority, is in so far, the ordinance of man; but few of these governments give that branch much share even in its own government.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

William Findley reminds us that there is no place within the checks and balances of the modern constitutional state for "ecclesiastical government" to influence the operation of civil government. It may serve a use for the voluntary members of a particular church or religious body to have an "ecclesiastical government" which governs their affairs and their affairs only, but given the enormous civil and military conflicts which emerged during the Reformation the presence of a "4th" branch within the civil government to serve the needs of "the church" would undermine the civil peace which had emerged as a result of religious toleration and "the separation of church and state".

150. PLATO WARNS OF THE PEOPLE'S PROTECTOR WHO, ONCE HAVING TASTED BLOOD, TURNS INTO A WOLF AND A TYRANT (340S BC)



Source: Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato translated into English with Analyses and Introductions by B. Jowett, M.A. in Five Volumes*. 3rd edition revised and corrected (Oxford University Press, 1892). Vol. 3. The Republic. BOOK VIII.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 3-7, 2008.

About the Author: Plato (429-347 BC) is, by any reckoning, one of the most dazzling writers in the Western literary tradition and one of the most penetrating, wide-ranging, and influential authors in the history of philosophy. An Athenian citizen of high status, he displays in his works his absorption in the political events and intellectual movements of his time, but the questions he raises are so profound and the strategies he uses for tackling them so richly suggestive and provocative that educated readers of nearly every period have in some way been influenced by him, and in practically every age there have been philosophers who count themselves Platonists in some important respects. He was not the first thinker or writer to whom the word "philosopher" should be applied. But he was so self-conscious about how philosophy should be conceived, and what its scope and ambitions properly are, and he so transformed the intellectual currents with which he grappled, that the subject of philosophy, as it is often conceived — a rigorous and systematic examination of ethical, political, metaphysical, and epistemological issues, armed with a distinctive method — can be called his invention. Few other authors in the history of philosophy approximate him in depth and range: perhaps only Aristotle (who studied with him), Aquinas, and Kant would be generally agreed to be of the same rank.

Quotation

In Book VIII of *The Republic*, in a dialogue with Glaucon, there is a discussion of how democracy turns into tyranny. In one section there is this exchange concerning the way the protector of the people changes into a tyrant wolf by using the courts to destroy his enemies:

And the protector of the people is like him; having a mob entirely at his disposal, he is not restrained from shedding the blood of kinsmen; by the favourite method of false accusation he brings them into court and murders them, making the life of man to disappear, and with unholy tongue and lips tasting the blood of his fellow citizens; some he kills and others he banishes, at the same time hinting at the abolition of debts and partition of lands: and after this, what will be his destiny? Must he not either perish at the hands of his enemies, or from being a man become a wolf—that is, a tyrant?

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Here is yet another warning about the problem of "who guards the guardians who guard us?" This time Plato in *The Republic* cloaks the story in the graphic imagery of a man who tasted the entrails of one of his victims and is turned into a wolf. Plato argues that the same thing happens to the "protector" of the people. Once he has "tasted blood", often by means of making false accusations against his opponents and then using the court system to have them unjustly eliminated, he turns into a wolf or a tyrant. Compare Plato's wolf analogy with that used by John Stuart Mill, who called the protector-turned-tyrant a "vulture".

151. BRUNO LEONI ARGUES THAT EXPRESSING ONE'S ECONOMIC CHOICE AS A CONSUMER IN A FREE MARKET IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM MAKING A POLITICAL CHOICE BY MEANS OF VOTING (1961)



Source: Bruno Leoni, *Freedom and the Law*, expanded 3rd edition, foreword by Arthur Kemp (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1991). Chapter: 4: Voting Versus the Market.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 11-15, 2008.

About the Author: Bruno Leoni (1913-1967) was Professor of Legal Theory and the Theory of the State at the University of Pavia, a practicing lawyer, founder editor of the journal *Il Politico*, newspaper columnist, and secretary and president of the Mont Pelerin Society.

Quotation

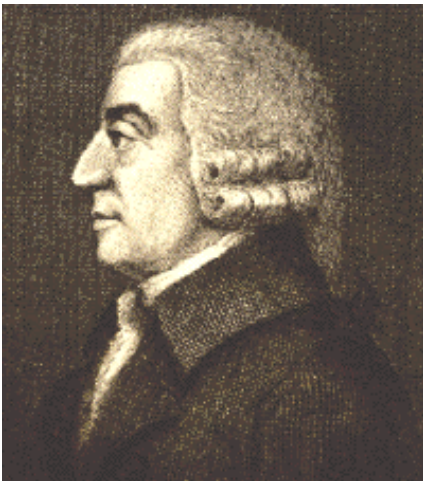
The Italian legal philosopher Bruno Leoni in a lecture entitled "Voting versus the Market" noticed a key difference between the choices made by individuals in the free market and choices made by those same individuals in voting for candidates for political office:

We have seen in the preceding lecture that notwithstanding many similarities that may exist between voters on the one hand and market operators on the other, the actions of the two are far from actually being similar. No procedural rule seems able to allow voters to act in the same flexible, independent, consistent, and efficient way as operators employing individual choice in the market. While it is true that both voting and operating in the market are individual actions, we are compelled, however, to conclude that voting is a kind of individual action that almost inevitably undergoes a kind of distortion in its use.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Bruno Leoni criticizes the common comparison which is made between "voting" in the market place for brand "X" over brand "Y" and voting in the political arena for candidate "Tweedle Dee" over candidate "Tweedle Dum". In the market place, choice is considerable, flexible, efficient, and one can usually get one's money back if one is not satisfied. Political voting on the other hand, is a distorted form of "consumer choice". It is also quite hard to "get one's money back" if a candidate does not live up to his election promises.

152. ADAM SMITH OBSERVES THAT THE TRUE COSTS OF WAR REMAIN HIDDEN FROM THE TAXPAYERS BECAUSE THEY ARE SHELTERED IN THE METROPOLE FAR FROM THE FIGHTING AND INSTEAD OF INCREASING TAXES THE GOVERNMENT PAYS FOR THE WAR BY INCREASING THE NATIONAL DEBT (1776)



Source: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I and II, ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, vol. II of the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). CHAPTER III: Of publick Debts.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 18-22, 2008.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In Chapter III: Of Publick Debts in *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith notes that most people put up with slightly higher taxes in wartime in exchange for the "amusement" of reading about imperial exploits, little realizing that the true cost of war has been added to the national debt:

In great empires the people who live in the capital, and in the provinces remote from the scene of action, feel, many of them scarce any inconveniency from the war; but enjoy, at their ease, the amusement of reading in the newspapers the exploits of their own fleets and armies. To them this amusement compensates the small difference between the taxes which they pay on account of the war, and those which they had been accustomed to pay in time of peace. They are commonly dissatisfied with the return of peace, which puts an end to their amusement, and to a thousand visionary hopes of conquest and national glory, from a longer continuance of the war.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this quotation Adam Smith makes a number of important points. Firstly, he correctly observes that the citizens in the metropole, far removed from the front, have no direct experience of the fighting but instead are "amused" and entertained by reports of the glorious successes of the nation. Secondly, they are shielded from the true costs of the war because the government finds it politically difficult to raise taxes too much, so it just adds the cost to the national debt thereby only having to increase taxes to cover the increased interest on the debt.

153. GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNS THAT THE KNEE JERK REACTION OF CITIZENS TO PROBLEMS IS TO SEEK A SOLUTION IN THE CREATION OF A "NEW MONARCH"(1786)



Source: George Washington, *George Washington: A Collection*, compiled and edited by W.B. Allen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988). Chapter: 117: TO JOHN JAY.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 25-29, 2008.

About the Author: George Washington (1732-1799) was the military leader of the American revolutionary armies and became the first president of the United States of America.

Quotation

In a letter to John Jay written on August 15, 1786, George Washington worries that, because the states will not grant the central government sufficient "coercive power", they will swing to the other extreme of seeking a new monarch to solve their problems:

What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking, thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In a letter to John Jay in 1786 George Washington expresses dismay that the people are all too ready to call for the return of a "new monarch" (i.e. a "leader") when difficult times arrive. It seems they clamor for an individual with "coercive powers" to solve their problems and that all the talk of equal liberty is "merely ideal and fallacious".

154. THUCYDIDES ON POLITICAL INTRIGUE IN THE DIVIDED CITY OF CORCYRA CAUSED BY THE "DESIRE TO RULE" (5THC BC)



Source: Thucydides, *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury; Now First Collected and Edited by Sir William Molesworth, Bart.*, (London: Bohn, 1839-45). 11 vols. Vol. 8. Chapter: THE THIRD BOOK of the HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 3-7, 2008.

About the Author: Thucydides (460-400 BC), who lived during the second half of the fifth century B.C., is considered the greatest of the ancient Greek historians. His work, *The Peloponnesian War*, recounts the fifth-century B.C. struggle between Athens and Sparta and is the first piece of historical writing to combine political and ethical reflections with history. His personal history is unknown except for the small bits of information revealed in his narrative.

Quotation

In his Third Book of his *History of the Peloponnesian Wars* (section 82), Thucydides (Hobbes translation) describes the behavior of the different political factions during the revolt in Corcyra in 405 BC:

The cause of all this is desire of rule, out of avarice and ambition; and the zeal of contention from those two proceeding. For such as were of authority in the cities, both of the one and the other faction, preferring under decent titles, one the political equality of the multitude, the other the moderate aristocracy; though in words they seemed to be servants of the public, they made it in effect but the prize of their contention: and striving by whatsoever means to overcome, both ventured on most horrible outrages, and prosecuted their revenges still farther, without any regard of justice or the public good, but limiting them, each faction, by their own appetite: and stood ready, whether by unjust sentence, or with their own hands, when they should get power, to satisfy their present spite. So that neither side made account to have any thing the sooner done for religion [of an oath], but he was most commended, that could pass a business against the hair with a fair oration. The neutrals of the city were destroyed by both factions; partly because they would not side with them, and partly for envy that they should so escape.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Thomas Hobbes lived through the English Revolution (or Civil War) during the 1640s and 1650s so it is not hard to see his translation of civil revolt in Greece in the 5th century BC in light of his own experiences. In this quotation we read of the motives of the various factions in the divided city of Corcyra, all motivated by the "desire to rule" at all costs, revenge and "rapine".

155. LORD KAMES STATES THAT THE "HOARDING APPETITE" IS PART OF HUMAN NATURE AND THAT IT IS THE FOUNDATION OF OUR NOTION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS (1779)



Source: Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, Corrected and Improved, in a Third Edition. Several Essays Added Concerning the Proof of a Deity*, Edited and with an Introduction by Mary Catherine Moran (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005). Chapter: essay ii: Foundation and Principles of Morality.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 10-14, 2008.

About the Author: Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), one of the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment, was a judge in the supreme courts of Scotland and wrote extensively on morals, religion, education, aesthetics, history, political economy, and law, including natural law. His most distinctive contribution came through his works on the nature of law, where he sought to combine a philosophical approach with an empirical history of legal evolution.

Quotation

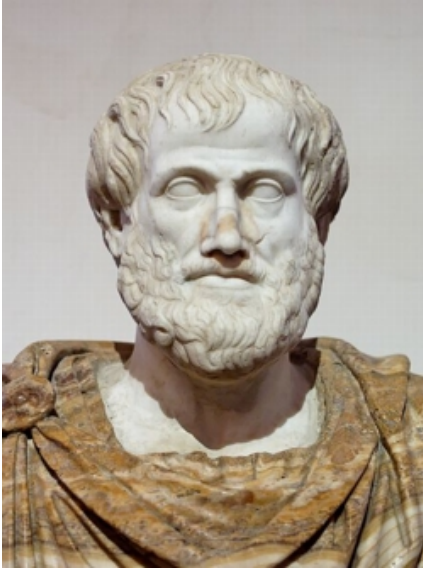
Henry Home, Lord Kames, a leading figure of the Scottish Enlightenment, argued in *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1779) that the "hoarding appetite" was universal among mankind and that it was the basis of the idea of property rights:

A relation is formed betwixt every man and the fruits of his own labour, the very thing we call property, which he himself is sensible of, and of which every other is equally sensible. Yours and mine are terms in all languages, familiar among savages, and understood even by children. This is a fact, which every human creature can testify.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Like Adam Smith, a fellow member of the Scottish enlightenment, Lord Kames believes that the "hoarding instinct" is innate and that even children and bees (compare Bernard Mandeville) have a sense of "mine and thine". This is the powerful natural origin of property rights in human society.

156. ARISTOTLE INSISTS THAT MAN IS EITHER A POLITICAL ANIMAL (THE NATURAL STATE) OR AN OUTCAST LIKE A "BIRD WHICH FLIES ALONE" (4THC BC)



Source: Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, trans. into English with introduction, marginal analysis, essays, notes and indices by B. Jowett. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Chapter: BOOK I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 17-21, 2008.

About the Author: Aristotle (384-322 BC) was an ancient Greek philosopher who set up a rival academy, The Lyceum, to challenge Plato's Academy. Aristotle wrote influential works in a range of disciplines - politics, physics, ethics, economics - and had a profound impact on Western thought.

Quotation

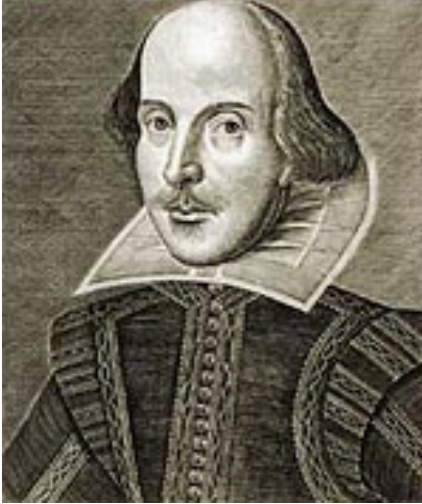
In his *Politics*, Aristotle believed man was a "political animal" because he is a social creature with the power of speech and moral reasoning:

Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. And he who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above humanity, or below it; he is the 'Tribeless, lawless, hearthless one,' whom Homera denounces—the outcast who is a lover of war; he may be compared to a bird which flies alone.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Aristotle's statement that man is a "political animal" can be taken in a number of ways. One reading is to say that man is naturally sociable (the Pufendorf-Grotius line) and that they are naturally drawn to various political associations in order to satisfy their social needs. Another reading, which sees the word "political" in a less charitable light, might state that, since politics is based upon violence and threats of violence, the phrase emphasises the "animal" side of human nature rather than its rational and cooperative side. Those who turn their back on the violence inherent in politics, in Aristotle's view, also turn their back on society - they declare themselves to be outlaws, without a "tribe", and without a heart. His likening them to a "bird which flies alone" reminds me of the Rudyard Kipling story in *The Just So Stories* (1902) about "The Cat who walked by Himself", because he of all the wild animals refused to be domesticated by human beings. Of course, there is also Robert Frost's poem "The Road not Taken" (1920) with the line about choosing "the one less traveled by". Is this such a bad thing?

157. SHAKESPEARE HAS KING HENRY IV REFLECT ON THE REASONS FOR INVADING THE HOLY LAND, NAMELY TO DISTRACT PEOPLE FROM DOMESTIC CIVIL WAR AND TO "MARCH ALL ONE WAY" UNDER HIS BANNER (1597)



Source: William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (The Oxford Shakespeare), ed. with a glossary by W.J. Craig M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1916). The First Part of King Henry the Fourth: Scene I.—: London. The Palace.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 24-28, 2008.

About the Author: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is probably the best known poet and playwright of the English language. He is considered by many to be the greatest poet and dramatist of all time. The plays he wrote nearly four hundred years ago for a small theater in London are now performed in more countries and more often than those of any other playwright.

Quotation

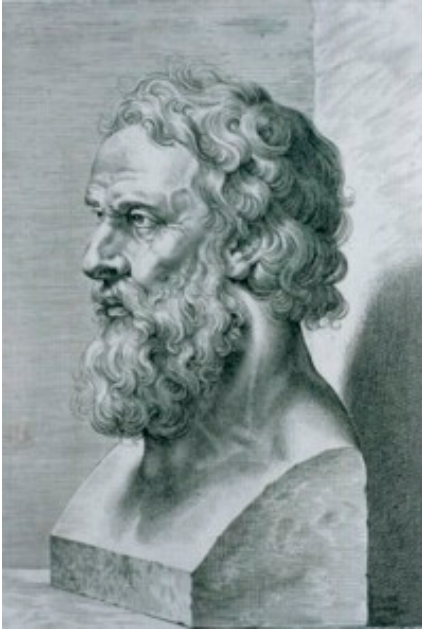
At the very beginning of Shakespeare's play, King Henry IV expresses frustration that his plans to invade the Holy Lands on a new crusade will have to wait once again until bloody revolt has been put down within England:

So shaken as we are, so wan with care,
Find we a time for frighted peace to pant,
And breathe short-winded accents of new broils
To be commenc'd in stronds afar remote.
No more the thirsty entrance of this soil
Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood;
No more shall trenching war channel her fields,
Nor bruise her flowerets with the armed hoofs
Of hostile paces: those opposed eyes,
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
All of one nature, of one substance bred,
Did lately meet in the intestine shock
And furious close of civil butchery,
Shall now, in mutual well-beseeming ranks,
March all one way, and be no more oppos'd
Against acquaintance, kindred, and allies:
The edge of war, like an ill-sheathed knife,
No more shall cut his master. Therefore, friends,
As far as to the sepulchre of Christ,—
Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engag'd to fight,—
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy,
Whose arms were moulded in their mother's womb
To chase these pagans in those holy fields
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd
For our advantage on the bitter cross.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Shakespeare reminds us that it is a common ploy of rulers to distract their subjects away from domestic problems, whether civil disturbances or a financial crisis, by initiating a foreign war. People then "rally around the flag" to support "their" king, or in Shakespeare's words "March all one way". Poor "frighted peace" barely has time "to pant" and catch her breath before the "mutual well-beseeming ranks" are gathered for yet another adventure in the Middle East.

158. PLATO BELIEVED THAT GREAT SOULS AND CREATIVE TALENTS PRODUCE "OFFSPRING" WHICH CAN BE ENJOYED BY OTHERS: WISDOM, VIRTUE, POETRY, ART, TEMPERANCE, JUSTICE, AND THE LAW (340S BC)



Source: Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato, vol. 1, translated into English with Analyses and Introductions by B. Jowett, M.A. in Five Volumes.* 3rd edition revised and corrected (Oxford University Press, 1892). Chapter: SYMPOSIUM.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 7-11, 2008.

About the Author: Plato (429-347 BC) is, by any reckoning, one of the most dazzling writers in the Western literary tradition and one of the most penetrating, wide-ranging, and influential authors in the history of philosophy. An Athenian citizen of high status, he displays in his works his absorption in the political events and intellectual movements of his time, but the questions he raises are so profound and the strategies he uses for tackling them so richly suggestive and provocative that educated readers of nearly every period have in some way been influenced by him, and in practically every age there have been philosophers who count themselves Platonists in some important respects. He was not the first thinker or writer to whom the word "philosopher" should be applied. But he was so self-conscious about how philosophy should be conceived, and what its scope and ambitions properly are, and he so transformed the intellectual currents with which he grappled, that the subject of philosophy, as it is often conceived — a rigorous and systematic examination of ethical, political, metaphysical, and epistemological issues, armed with a distinctive method — can be called his invention. Few other authors in the history of philosophy approximate him in depth and range: perhaps only Aristotle (who studied with him), Aquinas, and Kant would be generally agreed to be of the same rank.

Quotation

In the *Symposium*, Plato argues that ideas such as wisdom and virtue and temperance and justice have their own offspring and that the great poets like Homer or legislators like Solon have "children" which are worthy of admiration and emulation:

But souls which are pregnant—for there certainly are men who are more creative in their souls than in their bodies—conceive that which is proper for the soul to conceive or contain. And what are these conceptions?—wisdom and virtue in general. And such creators are poets and all artists who are deserving of the name inventor. But the greatest and fairest sort of wisdom by far is that which is concerned with the ordering of states and families, and which is called temperance and justice. And he who in youth has the seed of these implanted in him and is himself inspired, when he comes to maturity desires to beget and generate. He wanders about seeking beauty that he may beget offspring—for in deformity he will beget nothing—and naturally embraces the beautiful rather than the deformed body; above all when he finds a fair and noble and well-nurtured soul, he embraces the two in one person, and to such an one he is full of speech about virtue and the nature and pursuits of a good man; and he tries to educate him; and at the touch of the beautiful which is ever present to his memory, even when absent, he brings forth that which he had conceived long before, and in company with him tends that which he brings forth; and they are married by a far nearer tie and have a closer friendship than those who beget mortal children, for the children who are their common offspring are fairer and more immortal. Who, when he thinks of Homer and Hesiod and other great poets, would not rather have their children than ordinary human ones? Who would not emulate them in the creation of children such as theirs, which have preserved their memory and given them everlasting

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this passage Plato asks us to compare a soul or mind which is "pregnant" with new and creative ideas with a woman who is pregnant with her child. Both "offspring" are dearly loved and both will preserve the memory and thus create a kind of immortality for the parent. Plato also uses this idea to suggest that a similar motivation drives teachers to impart their knowledge and wisdom to their students. The ideas they impart are like little "offspring" which take root in the minds of their pupils.

159. JOHN ADAMS PREDICTS A GLORIOUS FUTURE FOR AMERICA UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND IS IN "REVERENCE AND AWE" AT ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS (1787)



Source: John Adams, *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, by his Grandson Charles Francis Adams* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1856). 10 volumes. Vol. 6. *Defence of the Constitutions*. Chapter: CONCLUSION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 28 - May 2, 2008.

About the Author: John Adams (1735-1826) was one of the principal framers of the American republic and the successor to Washington as president. Before the Revolution he wrote some of the most important documents on the nature of the British Constitution and the meaning of rights, sovereignty, representation, and obligation. And it was Adams who, once the colonies had declared independence, wrote equally important works on possible forms of government in a quest to develop a science of politics for the construction of a constitution for the proposed republic.

Quotation

In the conclusion to his 3 volume *Defence of the Constitutions of the U.S.* John Adams looks forward to the very great promise the new American republican experiment offers the world:

All nations, from the beginning, have been agitated by the same passions. The principles developed here will go a great way in explaining every phenomenon that occurs in the history of government. The vegetable and animal kingdoms, and those heavenly bodies whose existence and movements we are as yet only permitted faintly to perceive, do not appear to be governed by laws more uniform or certain than those which regulate the moral and political world. Nations move by unalterable rules; and education, discipline, and laws, make the greatest difference in their accomplishments, happiness, and perfection. It is the master artist alone who finishes his building, his picture, or his clock. The present actors on the stage have been too little prepared by their early views, and too much occupied with turbulent scenes, to do more than they have done. Impartial justice will confess that it is astonishing they have been able to do so much. It is for the young to make themselves masters of what their predecessors have been able to comprehend and accomplish but imperfectly. A prospect into futurity in America, is like contemplating the heavens through the telescopes of Herschell. Objects stupendous in their magnitudes and motions strike us from all quarters, and fill us with amazement! When we recollect that the wisdom or the folly, the virtue or the vice, the liberty or servitude, of those millions now beheld by us, only as Columbus saw these times in vision, are certainly to be influenced, perhaps decided, by the manners, examples, principles, and political institutions of the present generation, that mind must be hardened into stone that is not melted into reverence and awe.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Adams believed that correct "policy and education" would be able to unite all the disparate elements to be found in the territory of the new United States, and that the new constitution was so perfectly designed that it would "unite their interests and affections". He even went so far as to believe that this "uniformity of principles and sentiments", of "wills and forces", would result in "the greatest exertion of human understanding" and "the greatest single effort of national deliberation that the world has ever seen". No wonder that his heart had "melted into reverence and awe" at the future he saw unfolding before him.

160. CONFUCIUS EDITED THIS COLLECTION OF POEMS WHICH CONTAINS A POEM ABOUT "YELLOW BIRDS" WHO RAVENOUSLY EAT THE CROPS OF THE LOCAL PEOPLE, THUS ALIENATING THEM COMPLETELY (520 BC)



Source: Misc (Confucian School), *The Shi King, the Old "Poetry Classic" of the Chinese. A Close Metrical Translation, with Annotations by William Jennings* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1891). Chapter: BOOK IV.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 12-16, 2008.

About the Author: Confucius (551-479 BC) is China's most famous teacher, philosopher, and political theorist. In a time of great political upheaval, he sought an intellectual basis for a stable political and social order which he believed lay with a ruler who would rule with wisdom and virtue and would be opposed to force and violence.

Quotation

In the ancient Chinese collection of poems known as the *Shih King*, probably edited by Confucius, there is a touching verse which laments the ravenous yellow birds in a foreign land where they are not welcomed:

Yellow birds, yellow birds!
Do not crowd the tree-tops;
Come not pecking our crops.—
From the folk of this land
We unwelcoming win;
Up, let us return
To our country and kin.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The "yellow birds" who have entered a foreign land and are not welcomed by the local population because they eat the crops, the mulberries, the maize, and the corn. The reason the birds entered this other country so far from their families and kin is not made clear but it could be a reference to foreign troops who invade another country and who live off the land and thus alienate the very people they came to help or to conquer.

161. NASSAU SENIOR OBJECTED TO ANY GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF FACTORIES WHICH MEANT THAT A HORDE OF INSPECTORS WOULD INTERFERE WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION (1837)



Source: Nassau William Senior, *Letters on the Factory Act, as it affects the Cotton Manufacture* (London: B. Fellowes, 1837). Chapter: LETTERS FROM MR. SENIOR TO MR. THOMSON.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 19-23, 2008.

About the Author: Nassau W. Senior (1790-1864) was a British economist who taught at Oxford University and worked on the marginal aspects of inputs to production. He argued that capital accumulation is a cost of production, and drew careful distinctions between wealth and welfare. His contributions to the Whig party as an advisor included arguments about work hours and wages. Along with Edwin Chadwick, he wrote the revised Poor Law Commissioners' Report of 1834. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

The English economist Nassau Senior (1790-1864) complained in *Letters on the Factory Act* that one consequence of the new Act of 1833 would be to allow government inspectors to interfere with the smooth running of cotton factories:

The "personel" of a large factory is a machine as complicated as its "materiel," and is, I think, on the whole, the great triumph of Sir R. Arkwright's genius. In such an establishment from 700 to 1400 persons, of all ages and both sexes, almost all working by the piece, and earning wages of every amount between two shillings and forty shillings a-week, are engaged in producing one ultimate effect, which is dependent on their combined exertions. Any stoppage, even any irregularity in one department, deranges the whole. A strict and almost superstitious discipline is necessary to keep this vast instrument going for a single day. Now how, ask the mill-owners, could this discipline be kept up, if the sub-inspectors were at liberty to walk over our establishments at all hours; listen to the complaints and jealousies of all our servants, and at their instigation summon us as criminals before the magistrates?

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Senior likened the running of a large factory with its complex organization of labor and material to an army regiment or a ship. Having government inspectors interfering with this organization, as allowed under the new Factory Acts of 1833, meant that mill-owners and entrepreneurs could not create the most efficient factories they could which in turn meant higher costs for consumers of the factories' products.

162. JEFFERSON TELLS CONGRESS THAT SINCE TAX REVENUES ARE INCREASING FASTER THAN POPULATION THEN TAXES ON ALL MANNER OF ITEMS CAN BE "DISPENSED WITH" (I.E. ABOLISHED) (1801)



Source: Thomas Jefferson, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Federal Edition* (New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-5). Vol. 9. Chapter: First Annual Message.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 26-30, 2008.

About the Author: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), a Virginian, was the author of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), an active participant in the Revolution, Governor of Virginia (1779), member of Congress, Minister to France, Secretary of State under President Washington, and president of the United States (1800). He was a polymath who wrote on and was knowledgeable about science, architecture, music, agriculture, law, education, geography, and music.

Quotation

In his first annual message to Congress in 1801, President Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) discussed how the tax burden could be reduced and warned how "accumulated treasure" could tempt regimes to go to war in the future:

War, indeed, and untoward events, may change this prospect of things, and call for expenses which the imposts could not meet; but sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not perhaps happen but from the temptations offered by that treasure. These views, however, of reducing our burdens, are formed on the expectation that a sensible, and at the same time a salutary reduction, may take place in our habitual expenditures. For this purpose, those of the civil government, the army, and navy, will need revisal.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It must have been an interesting time to live in, when a president's address to Congress would contain such a long list of taxes which would be abolished and a prediction that the national debt would be paid off faster than people had imagined. What is also interesting is that no branch of government would be spared in this tax cutting, whether civil, army, or navy; all "will need revising" in this "salutary reduction."

163. JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY ARGUES THAT THERE IS A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRIVATE CONSUMPTION AND PUBLIC CONSUMPTION; AN INCREASE IN THE LATTER DOES NOTHING TO INCREASE PUBLIC WEALTH (1803)



Source: Jean Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy; or the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth*, ed. Clement C. Biddle, trans. C. R. Prinsep from the 4th ed. of the French, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855. 4th-5th ed.). BOOK III, CHAPTER VI: ON PUBLIC CONSUMPTION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 16-20, 2008.

About the Author: Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) was the leading French political economist in the first third of the 19th century. His major theoretical work was the *Traité d'économie politique* (1803) which went through many editions, revisions, and translations during his lifetime. It was very influential in the U.S. during the 19thC. He was the originator of the theory that "supply creates its own demand" (called Say's Law of Markets), which was Mill's restatement of Say's "products are paid for with products." The idea that business booms are associated with temporary overproduction that adjusts itself because of the incentives for producers to sell their output was one implication of Say's Law. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) in his influential *Treatise on Political Economy* (1803) drew a distinction between private and public consumption, viewing an increase in the latter as no way to increase public wealth:

What, then, are we to think of the principles laid down by those writers, who have laboured to draw an essential distinction between public and private wealth; to show, that economy is the way to increase private fortune, but, on the contrary, that public wealth increases with the increase of public consumption: inferring thence this false and dangerous conclusion, that the rules of conduct in the management of private fortune and of public treasure, are not only different, but in direct opposition?

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Say returns to an issue which was problematical in his own day (1803) and which continues to haunt us to this very day, namely the commonly held belief that an increase in public consumption will increase public wealth. Say calls this a "gross fallacy" and proceeds to show how public consumption by various office holders and bureaucrats and those favored with government handouts is wasteful, inefficient, acts of extravagance, and even criminal. To add injury to insult, he concludes, "the agents of public authority (can) enforce (this) error and absurdity at the point of the bayonet or mouth of the cannon."

164. ALEXANDER HAMILTON DENOUNCES THE BRITISH FOR IMPOSING "OPPRESSIVE TAXES" ON THE COLONISTS WHICH AMOUNT TO TYRANNY, A FORM OF SLAVERY, AND VASSALAGE TO THE EMPIRE (1774)



Source: Alexander Hamilton, *The Revolutionary Writings of Alexander Hamilton*, edited and with an Introduction by Richard B. Vernier, with a Foreword by Joyce O. Appleby (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008). Chapter: A FULL VINDICATION OF THE MEASURES OF CONGRESS (1774).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 28 - August 1, 2008.

About the Author: Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804) was secretary and aide-de-camp to Washington in 1777-81, a member of the Continental Congress in 1782-83 and 1787-88, a representative from New York to the Annapolis Convention in 1786 and to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, first U. S. secretary of the treasury in 1789-95, and inspector general of the army, with the rank of major general, from 1798 to 1800. His efforts to defeat Aaron Burr for the presidency in 1800-01 and for the governorship of New York in 1804 led to his fatal duel with Burr.

Quotation

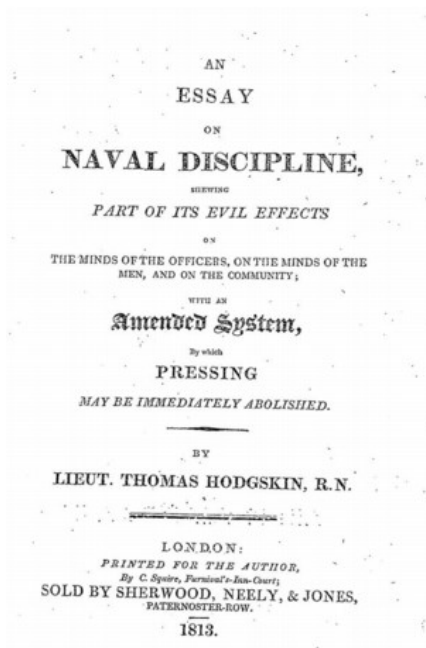
Alexander Hamilton in "A Full Vindication of the Measures of Congress" (1774) argued that the oppressive taxes laid upon the American colonists by the British were a form of slavery which had become intolerable and would thus lead to the colonists' independence:

Under the auspices of tyranny the life of the subject is often sported with, and the fruits of his daily toil are consumed in oppressive taxes, that serve to gratify the ambition, avarice, and lusts of his superiors. Every court minion riots in the spoils of the honest laborer, and despises the hand by which he is fed. The page of history is replete with instances that loudly warn us to beware of slavery.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As Lance Banning shows in his collection of primary sources *Liberty and Order* (Liberty Fund, 2004) the American republic quickly turned into a bitter party struggle between two "parties": the Hamiltonians, who wanted a strong central government with the power to fund and regulate key infrastructure and public works and to impose tariffs; and the Jeffersonians who wanted a very weak central government which would impose low taxes, remove tariff protection, and stay out of the economy. So it is interesting here to see Hamilton in his anti-tax mode, railing against the British for imposing "tax slavery". He was to sing a slightly different tune once the British were ousted and the republic was formed.

165. THOMAS HODGSKIN WONDERS HOW DESPOTISM COMES TO A COUNTRY AND CONCLUDES THAT THE "FIRST STEP" TAKEN TOWARDS DESPOTISM GIVES IT THE POWER TO TAKE A SECOND AND A THIRD - HENCE IT MUST BE STOPPED IN ITS TRACKS AT THE VERY FIRST SIGN (1813)



Source: Thomas Hodgskin, *An Essay on Naval Discipline, Shewing Part of its evil Effects on the Minds of the Officers, on the Minds of the Men, and on the Community; with an Amended System, by which Pressing may be immediately abolished*, by Lieut. Thomas Hodgskin, R.N. (London: Printed for the Author, by C. Squire, Furnival's-Inn-Court, sold by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster-Row 1813). Chapter: PREFACE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 4-8, 2008.

About the Author: Thomas Hodgskin (1787-1869) was an officer in the British Navy before leaving because of his opposition to the brutal treatment of sailors. He worked for the free trade magazine *The Economist* and wrote and lectured on laissez-faire economic ideas to working men's institutes. He was one of the earliest popularizers of economics for audiences of non-economists and gave lectures on free trade, the corn laws, and labor even before Jane Haldimand Marcet. Hodgskin passionately cared about the concerns of laborers after his experience with the maltreatment of sailors. His discussions of the labor theory of value followed up on David Ricardo and pre-dated John Stuart Mill's expositions on similar themes. He was later cited by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Marx's *Capital*. He is commonly, though incorrectly, referred to as a Ricardian socialist.

Quotation

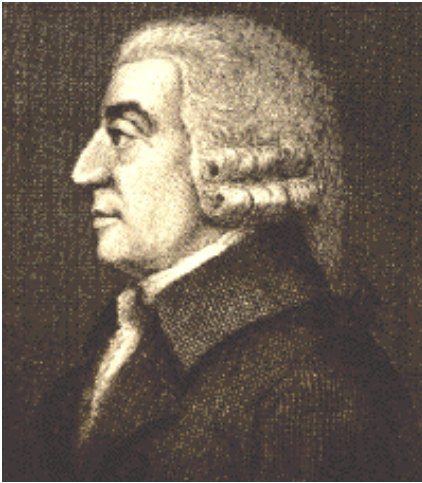
In his protest against impressment (conscription) and flogging in the Royal Navy, *An Essay on Naval Discipline* (1813) the ex-naval officer Thomas Hodgskin (1787-1869) argues that the brutal behavior of the officers has a corrupting influence which leads to outright despotism:

When I look around me in society, and see the nations of the earth most celebrated for the rigour and despotism of their government, groaning under the most grievous calamities, while ours from her freedom has had safety ensured to her; can these calamities be possibly traced to any other cause than this despotism, which has destroyed every manly feeling ... Can the rise of despotism in any society be ever so well resisted as at first.—The first step it takes gives it additional power to take a second. It goes on thus increasing, till men's opinions are bound up in its sanctity, and then it is irresistible.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

After experiencing "despotism" first hand in the British Navy during the Napoleonic Wars, Thomas Hodgskin began thinking how despotism came to take over entire countries. He came to the conclusion that despotic power first intimidates or "unnerv(es) the arm of the poor man" who would be the "legitimate defender of his country". It then is able to take the first step to despotism unopposed, which "gives it additional power to take a second", and then a third, and so on until full despotism has been achieved. This is quite similar to the thought of the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises who wrote in 1950 that a "middle-of-the-road policy leads to socialism". By this Mises meant that each government intervention in the economy inevitably fails thus leading to a decision to either repeal it or add an additional intervention to correct the failure of the first. The latter step is usually taken leading to full socialism. Hodgskin argues along similar lines concerning the "road to despotism". His solution is like that proposed by John Adams - "Obsta principiis, nip the shoots of arbitrary power in the bud".

166. ADAM SMITH CLAIMS THAT EXORBITANT TAXES IMPOSED WITHOUT CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED CONSTITUTE LEGITIMATE GROUNDS FOR THE PEOPLE TO RESIST THEIR RULERS (1763)



Source: Adam Smith, *Lectures On Jurisprudence*, ed. R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein, vol. V of the *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1982). Chapter: Wednesday. March 23d. 1763.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 11-15, 2008.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In his *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1763) Adam Smith discusses the "very figurative metaphoricall consent" that people are supposed to grant the ruler to tax them. When taxes become "very exorbitant" he believes the people have the right to resist as the Americans did in 1775:

It is in Britain alone that any consent of the people is required, and God knows it is but a very figurative metaphoricall consent which is given here. And in Scotland still more than in England, as but very few have a vote for a Member of Parliament | who give this metaphoricall consent; and yet this is not any where reckoned a sufficient cause of rebellion. No doubt the raising of a very exorbitant tax, as the raising as much in peace as in war, or the half or even the fifth of the wealth of the nation, would, as well as any other gross abuse of power, justify resistance in the people.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In these lectures on jurisprudence, given in 1763, Adam Smith makes a number of claims which have great significance for the coming American Revolution and for political theory in general. In a discussion of "exorbitant taxation" (which Smith seems to believe is somewhere between 1/5 and 1/2 of a nation's wealth) he mentions the consent theory of John Locke, in particular the idea of "implied consent". This is the notion that by not revolting the government can "imply" that "consent" to its legislation has been granted by the citizenry. In the case of taxation in Britain, Smith mocks this idea by calling it sarcastically "very figurative metaphoricall consent", i.e. no consent at all. When taxes do rise to these shockingly high levels (1/5!) the people have the right to resist their government, as the Americans were shortly to do.

167. EDWARD GIBBON GLOOMILY OBSERVED THAT IN A UNIFIED EMPIRE LIKE THE ROMAN THERE WAS NOWHERE TO ESCAPE, WHEREAS WITH A MULTIPLICITY OF STATES THERE WERE ALWAYS GAPS AND INTERSTICES TO HIDE IN (1776)



Source: Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury with an Introduction by W.E.H. Lecky (New York: Fred de Fau and Co., 1906), in 12 vols. Vol. 1. CHAPTER III.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 18-22, 2008.

About the Author: Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) is regarded as the greatest historian of the Enlightenment. His multi-volume history of Rome was both scholarly and full of humane scepticism. Although he was a Member of Parliament he was a long-time resident of Lausanne.

Quotation

Edward Gibbon, in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776), describes the dangers of a unified Empire, in comparison to a Europe divided into a number of independent states, where the opponent of tyranny has nowhere to escape:

The slave of Imperial despotism, whether he was condemned to drag his gilded chain in Rome and the senate, or to wear out a life of exile on the barren rock of Seriphus, or the frozen banks of the Danube, expected his fate in silent despair. To resist was fatal, and it was impossible to fly. On every side he was encompassed with a vast extent of sea and land, which he could never hope to traverse without being discovered, seized, and restored to his irritated master.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

When reading this passage one is struck by its similarities to E.L. Jones, *The European Miracle* (1981, 1987) in which he states that free institutions emerged in Europe precisely because there was no universal empire but rather a multiplicity of rivalrous states which had to compete to get or retain labour and capital. When a state did introduce despotic legislation the citizens could and did move elsewhere. Gibbon understands this and feels for the "slave of imperial despotism" in a unified state, with his "gilded chain" but nowhere to hide from his "irritated master". He sadly concludes that in such a society "to resist was fatal, and it was impossible to fly".

168. ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE STOOD UP IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO CRITICIZE SOCIALISM AS A VIOLATION OF HUMAN NATURE, PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY (1848)



Source: *New Individualist Review*, editor-in-chief Ralph Raico, introduction by Milton Friedman (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Chapter: Tocqueville on Socialism.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 20, 2008.

About the Author: Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) was an enormously influential French political philosopher, politician, and historian. After a trip to the U.S. in 1831 to observe the penal system he wrote *Democracy in America* (1835). He served as a member of parliament in the July Monarchy and the 1848 Revolution, writing an important memoir about the events of that upheaval. His last major work was a unfinished history of *The Ancien Régime and the Revolution* (1856).

Quotation

In February, 1848, the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe was overthrown, and the Second French Republic established. The new republic believed that the unemployment problem which was plaguing Paris could be solved by setting up government work-projects, guaranteeing employment at a certain wage rate for all who desired it. On September 12th, the Constituent Assembly debated the continuance of this arrangement and Tocqueville rose to speak against it. In the course of his speech he entered onto the subject of socialism, which he considered the logical consequence of recognizing the "right to work," and devoted most of his time to a discussion of the socialist position. [Translator's Note]:

Now, a third and final trait, one which, in my eyes, best describes socialists of all schools and shades, is a profound opposition to personal liberty and scorn for individual reason, a complete contempt for the individual. They unceasingly attempt to mutilate, to curtail, to obstruct personal freedom in any and all ways. They hold that the State must not only act as the director of society, but must further be master of each man, and not only master, but keeper and trainer. ["Excellent."] For fear of allowing him to err, the State must place itself forever by his side, above him, around him, better to guide him, to maintain him, in a word, to confine him. They call, in fact, for the forfeiture, to a greater or less degree, of human liberty, [Further signs of assent.] to the point where, were I to attempt to sum up what socialism is, I would say that it was simply a new system of serfdom. [Lively assent.]

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Liberty Fund will soon be publishing a new and authoritative edition of Tocqueville's classic work *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840). This short piece on socialism was translated by Ralph Raico for publication in the *New Individualist Review* and we added it to our "Forgotten Gems" collection. In the quotation we get a good feel for the cut and thrust of parliamentary debate with the interjections of approval and disapproval. This period is also very important for Frédéric Bastiat who was also a member of parliament and fought long and hard against the rising forces of socialism before his untimely death in 1850.

169. HARRIET MARTINEAU ON THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY, "RESTLESS SLAVES", AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS (1838)



Source: Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel in Three Vols* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838). Vol. 2. Chapter: RESTLESS SLAVES.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 25-29, 2008.

About the Author: Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) was unusual for being a professional full-time writer at a time when few women were able to pursue such a career. She was a translator, novelist, speech writer, and journalist who wrote a popular defence of the free market, pioneering travel writing about a trip to America, and on the woman question.

Quotation

The popularizer of political economy, Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), in her account of her travels in the U.S. in 1834-36, relates the story of a slave woman, Mum Bett, who resisted a beating by her owner and demanded her liberty in the name of the Bill of Rights

Mum Bett called on Mr. Sedgwick, and asked him if she could not claim her liberty under the law. He inquired what could put such an idea into her head. She replied that the "Bill o Rights" said that all were born free and equal, and that as she was not a dumb heast, she was certainly one of the nation.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

A number of liberal minded Europeans visited America in the 1830s and 1840s hoping to discover more about the new American experiment in democracy, republicanism, and individual liberty. The best known is Alexis de Tocqueville, whose *Democracy in America* is being newly translated by Liberty Fund. Others of note include his friend and travelling companion Gustave de Beaumont who wrote a book on American slavery *Marie: ou l'Esclavage aux États-Unis* (1835), and Harriet Martineau who wrote *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838). Martineau casts her eye, as they all did, on the glaring contradiction between the principles behind the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights and the existence of slavery. Martineau was able to find a feisty black woman, Mum Bett, and let her speak in her words. Mumm Bett came upon the principles of individual liberty by overhearing the conversations of the "gentlemen" she had to serve at table and thinking them through at her leisure. Note how Frederick Douglass came upon these same ideas - by reading the speeches of famous English authors and politicians, even though learning to read for black slaves was illegal for just this very reason.

170. JAMES MADISON ON THE MISCHIEVOUS EFFECTS OF MUTABLE GOVERNMENT IN *THE FEDERALIST* NO. 62 (1788)



Source: Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Jay, *The Federalist (The Gideon Edition)*, Edited with an Introduction, Reader's Guide, Constitutional Cross-reference, Index, and Glossary by George W. Carey and James McClellan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001). Chapter: No. 62: Concerning the constitution of the senate, with regard to the qualifications of the members; the manner of appointing them; the equality of representation; the number of the senators, and the duration of their appointments.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 1-5, 2008.

About the Author: James Madison (1751-1836) was a member of the Virginia legislature in 1776-80 and 1784-86, of the Continental Congress in 1780-83, and of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, where he earned the title "father of the U. S. Constitution." He was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1789 to 1797, where he was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights and an opponent of Hamilton's financial measures. He was the author of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 in opposition to the U. S. alien and sedition laws. He was U. S. secretary of state in 1801-09, President of the U. S. in 1809-17, and rector of the University of Virginia, 1826-36.

Quotation

James Madison (1751-1836) in *The Federalist* (1788) Essay 62 outlines some of the "mischievous effects of a mutable government" which constantly changes the law to suit its own needs or the needs of its supporters

The internal effects of a mutable policy are still more calamitous. It poisons the blessings of liberty itself. It will be of little avail to the people, that the laws are made by men of their own choice, if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood: if they be repealed or revised before they are promulgated, or undergo such incessant changes, that no man who knows what the law is to-day, can guess what it will be to-morrow.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Liberty Fund has an excellent edition of *The Federalist* with several aides for the reader to better understand the arguments in the text. In essay no. 62 James Madison raises the very interesting point that citizens will find it very difficult to obey the law if it is constantly changing ("mutable government"), either by growing enormously in size to be beyond the grasp ordinary people, or by being incoherent, or being repealed or revised before they are promulgated. We even have the situation where massive and complicated laws are passed without having been read or debated by the legislators themselves, let alone discussed in the press and by the people. When this sad state has been reached, the law itself, as Madison eloquently says, "poisons the blessings of liberty."

171. LORD ACTON WRITES TO BISHOP CREIGHTON THAT THE SAME MORAL STANDARDS SHOULD BE APPLIED TO ALL MEN, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS INCLUDED, ESPECIALLY SINCE "POWER TENDS TO CORRUPT AND ABSOLUTE POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY" (1887)



Source: This letter comes from the Liberty Fund edition of *The Selected Writings of Lord Acton*, in 3 volumes, ed. J. Rufus Fears (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1988). Unfortunately, this edition cannot be put online, even though the texts themselves are out of copyright, because of the editorial matter. The volumes can however be purchased.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 3, 2008.

About the Author: Lord Acton (1834-1902) was one of the great historians of the Victorian period and one of the greatest classical liberal historians of all time. His theme was "the history of liberty" and even though he was never able to complete his magnum opus of that name he did write numerous essays, book reviews, and lectures. He also was the inspiration behind the multi-volume Cambridge Modern History.

Quotation

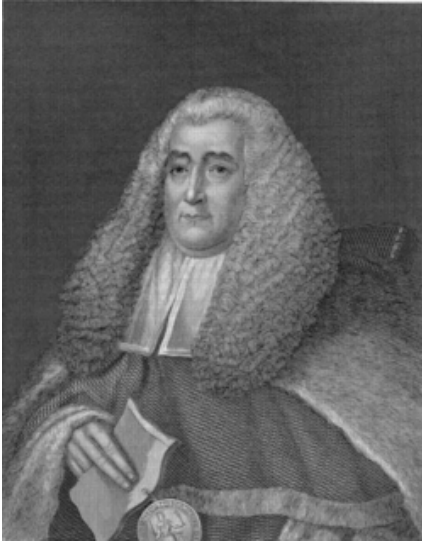
Lord Acton writes to Bishop Creighton in a series of letters concerning the moral problem of writing history about the Inquisition. Acton believes that the same moral standards should be applied to all men, political and religious leaders included, especially since, in his famous phrase, "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely":

I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men, with a favourable presumption that they did no wrong. If there is any presumption it is the other way against holders of power, increasing as the power increases. Historic responsibility has to make up for the want of legal responsibility. Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority: still more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority. There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the holder of it. That is the point at which the negation of Catholicism and the negation of Liberalism meet and keep high festival, and the end learns to justify the means. You would hang a man of no position, like Ravallac; but if what one hears is true, then Elizabeth asked the gaoler to murder Mary, and William III ordered his Scots minister to extirpate a clan. Here are the greater names coupled with the greater crimes. You would spare these criminals, for some mysterious reason. I would hang them, higher than Haman, for reasons of quite obvious justice; still more, still higher, for the sake of historical science.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

There is much more to these letters than just the occurrence of Acton's most famous phrase that "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The context is the question of how religious historians should handle the corrupt and even criminal behaviour of many Popes, and the appalling treatment of dissidents and heretics during the Inquisition. This leads Acton to talk about the universal nature of moral principles, the requirement for historians to use such principles in the assessment of historical figures, the tendency of these powerful historical figures to be "bad men", and that it was the function of historians to "hang them" (whether he meant this literally or metaphorically is not clear). In the third letter to Creighton, Acton quotes with some approval a conversation he had with John Bright, one of the leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League, who stated to him that "If the people knew what sort of men statesmen were, they would rise and hang the whole lot of them."

172. SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE ARGUES THAT OCCUPANCY OF PREVIOUSLY UNOWNED LAND CREATES A NATURAL RIGHT TO THAT PROPERTY WHICH EXCLUDES OTHERS FROM IT (1753)



Source: Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books. Notes selected from the editions of Archibald, Christian, Coleridge, Chitty, Stewart, Kerr, and others, Barron Field's Analysis, and Additional Notes, and a Life of the Author by George Sharswood.* In Two Volumes. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1893). Vol. 1 - Books I & II. Chapter: CHAPTER I.: OF PROPERTY, IN GENERAL.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 4, 2008.

About the Author: Sir William Blackstone's (1723-1780) four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England* assures him a place in history as one of the greatest scholars of English common law. Blackstone began his lectures on the common law in 1753. His *Commentaries* served as a primary instruction tool in England and America well into the nineteenth century and exerted a pronounced influence on the development of the American legal tradition.

Quotation

In his influential *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1753) Sir William Blackstone has a chapter on "Of Property, in General" in which he outlines a case for property rights which has influenced a couple of hundred years of thinking on the subject in England and America:

The only question remaining is, how this property became actually invested: or that it is that gave a man an exclusive right to retain in a permanent manner that specific land, which before belonged generally to everybody, but particularly to nobody. And, as we before observed that occupancy gave the right to the temporary use of the soil, so it is agreed upon all hands, that occupancy gave also the original right to the permanent property in the substance of the earth itself; which excludes every one else but the owner from the use of it.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Blackstone begins his chapter on "property in general" by asking the question by right right do men claim "that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe." His answer is the Lockean notion that first occupancy and first use of the land gives men that right. From this basic right flows more complex interactions brought about by "mutual convenience" and the introduction of the practice of "commercial traffic", resulting in the entire market system of his and our days. His *Commentaries* were widely read in the American colonies on the eve of the Revolution.

173. TOM PAINE ON THE "DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF FINANCE" (1796)



Source: Thomas Paine, *The Writings of Thomas Paine, Collected and Edited by Moncure Daniel Conway* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894). Vol. 3. Chapter: XXVI.: THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF FINANCE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 8-12, 2008.

About the Author: Thomas Paine (1737-1809) was a vigorous defender of and participant in both the American and French Revolutions. His most famous work is *Common Sense* (1776) which was an early call for the independence of the American colonies from Britain. His other well known work is *The Rights of Man* (1791) which was a reply to Burke's critique of the French Revolution.

Quotation

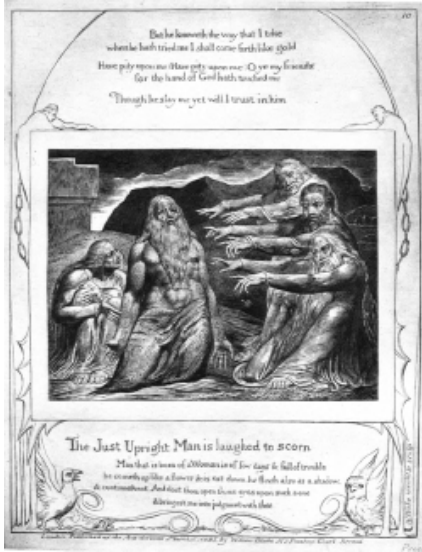
In 1796 Thomas Paine wrote a pamphlet called "The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance", in which he noticed a pattern of increasing public debt and paper currency in the 100 years and 6 major wars which Britain had fought since 1697:

It is worthy of observation, that every case of failure in finances, since the system of paper began, has produced a revolution in governments, either total or partial. A failure in the finances of France produced the French revolution. A failure in the finance of the assignats broke up the revolutionary government, and produced the present French Constitution. A failure in the finances of the Old Congress of America, and the embarrassments it brought upon commerce, broke up the system of the old confederation, and produced the federal Constitution. If, then, we admit of reasoning by comparison of causes and events, the failure of the English finances will produce some change in the government of that country.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Paine noticed a long-term cycle in the relationship between war, finance, and changes in government. He studied the previous 100 years and 6 major wars which Britain had fought since 1697 and observed the following connection: wars disrupted the economy and were becoming increasingly expensive to finance, governments sought new financial means to finance their wars and turned to debt and paper money as a short term solution, increasing debt and inflation led to political difficulties which sometimes resulted in revolutionary changes in government. Ludwig von Mises also noted a similar connection in his writings about Germany, Austria, and Russia during and immediately after World War One.

174. JOB RIGHTLY WANTS TO KNOW WHY HE, "THE JUST UPRIGHT MAN IS LAUGHED TO SCORN" WHILE ROBBERS PROSPER (6THC BC)



Source: Old Testament (Various Authors), *The Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues: being the Authorised Version arranged in parallel columns with the Revised Version* (Oxford University Press, 1885). The Book of Job. Chapter: 12.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 15-19, 2008.

About the Author: Job is the central character in an ancient story written down as the Book of Job in either the fifth or sixth century B.C.

Quotation

In Chapter 12 of the *Book of Job*, Job laments the fact that, even though he has understanding and is morally upright, he is laughed at and scorned whilst robbers prosper:

But I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you: yea, who knoweth not such things as these? I am as one mocked of his neighbour, who calleth upon God, and he answereth him: the just upright man is laughed to scorn. He that is ready to slip with his feet is as a lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease. The tabernacles of robbers prosper, and they that provoke God are secure; into whose hand God bringeth abundantly.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The OLL also has online a copy of William Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (1823) an illustration from which adorns this quotation. The story of Job raises a number of interesting moral problems concerning the just punishment or reward for an individual's actions. Job laments the fact that he is not being rewarded for his upright moral behaviour whilst robbers go unpunished and are thus rewarded for their criminal activities. Gloucester in Shakespeare's *King Lear* has a different explanation [<http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1621/45820/1108686>]:

Gloucester.

He has some reason, else he could not beg.
I' the last night's storm I such a fellow saw,
Which made me think a man a worm: my son
Came then into my mind; and yet my mind
Was then scarce friends with him: I have heard more since.
As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;
They kill us for their sport.

175. JAMES MADISON ON THE NEED FOR THE "SEPARATION OF POWERS" BECAUSE "MEN ARE NOT ANGELS," *FEDERALIST 51* (1788)



Source: *The Federalist (The Gideon Edition)*, Edited with an Introduction, Reader's Guide, Constitutional Cross-reference, Index, and Glossary by George W. Carey and James McClellan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001). Chapter: No. 51: The same subject continued, with the same view, and concluded.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 22-26, 2008.

About the Author: James Madison (1751-1836) was a member of the Virginia legislature in 1776-80 and 1784-86, of the Continental Congress in 1780-83, and of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, where he earned the title "father of the U. S. Constitution." He was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1789 to 1797, where he was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights and an opponent of Hamilton's financial measures. He was the author of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 in opposition to the U. S. alien and sedition laws. He was U. S. secretary of state in 1801-09, President of the U. S. in 1809-17, and rector of the University of Virginia, 1826-36.

Quotation

In *Federalist Paper* no. 51 James Madison (1751-1836) worries about how to create institutions which would check personal ambition and the "encroachment" of one branch of government by the other

But the great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department, the necessary constitutional means, and personal motives, to resist encroachments of the others... Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man, must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue our exploration of the thought of James Madison with this quotation again from *The Federalist* (1788). The greatness of the American Revolution in the 18th century was to attempt to solve two of the most significant problems in political theory: how to guard against the very people who were created to guard us (previously discussed by David Hume and others); and the problem of keeping a government with limited powers, limited to those powers over the course of time. The solution the Founding Fathers came up with was one taken from the thought of the French theorist Montesquieu - namely, "separating the powers" of the state into different "branches" with the intention that each different branch, jealous of its own powers, would keep the other branches limited in their powers. The question is, has the 20th and early 21st centuries proven or disproven Madison's great hope?

176. JOHN LOCKE BELIEVED THAT THE MAGISTRATE SHOULD NOT PUNISH SIN BUT ONLY VIOLATIONS OF NATURAL RIGHTS AND PUBLIC PEACE (1689)



Source: John Locke, *The Works of John Locke in Nine Volumes*, (London: Rivington, 1824 12th ed.). Vol. 5. Chapter: A LETTER CONCERNING TOLERATION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 29 - October 3, 2008.

About the Author: John Locke (1632-1704) was an English philosopher who is considered to be one of the first philosophers of the Enlightenment and the father of classical liberalism. In his major work *Two Treatises of Government* Locke rejects the idea of the divine right of kings, supports the idea of natural rights (especially of property), and argues for a limited constitutional government which would protect individual rights.

Quotation

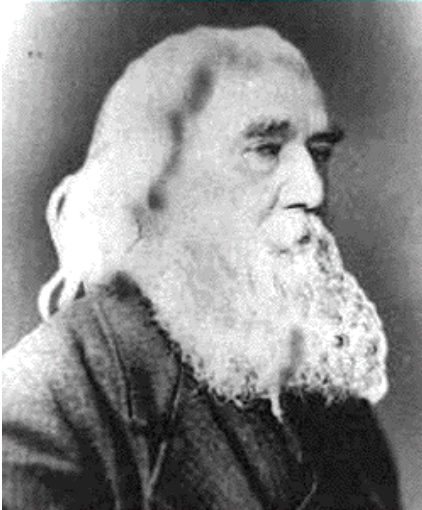
John Locke (1632-1704), in his *Letter on Toleration*, argued that sins should not be punished by the magistrate. Only acts which are "prejudicial to other men's rights" should be legally punished:

... it does not follow, that because it is a sin it ought therefore to be punished by the magistrate. For it does not belong unto the magistrate to make use of his sword in punishing every thing, indifferently, that he takes to be a sin against God. Covetousness, uncharitableness, idleness, and many other things are sins, by the consent of all men, which yet no man ever said were to be punished by the magistrate. The reason is, because they are not prejudicial to other men's rights, nor do they break the public peace of societies.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Living in the 17th century Locke had seen or had heard about the terrible things which had been done in the name of religion as Christian Europe divided into Catholic and Protestant sections and fought to the death over their scriptural differences. Locke was a middle of the road supporter of toleration (he denied it to atheists and Muslims for example) but considerably advanced compared to some of his contemporaries. In this passage he clearly states that, unless another person's rights are violated (such as their property or liberty) the magistrate has no right under law to punish a person for the very nebulous and disputed concept of "sin". Note the related works of Pierre Bayle and Voltaire on this topic.

**177. LYSANDER SPOONER SPELLS OUT HIS THEORY OF "MINE AND THINE",
OR THE SCIENCE OF NATURAL LAW AND JUSTICE, WHICH ALONE CAN
ENSURE THAT MANKIND LIVES IN PEACE (1882)**



Source: Lysander Spooner, *Natural Law; or the Science of Justice: A Treatise on Natural Law, Natural Justice, Natural Rights, Natural Liberty, and Natural Society; showing that all Legislation whatsoever is an Absurdity, a Usurpation, and a Crime. Part First.* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1882). Chapter: Section I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 6-10, 2008.

About the Author: Lysander Spooner (1808-1887) was a legal theorist, abolitionist, and radical individualist who started his own mail company in order to challenge the monopoly held by the US government. He wrote on the constitutionality of slavery, natural law, trial by jury, intellectual property, paper currency, and banking.

Quotation

The American radical individualist legal theorist and abolitionist Lysander Spooner (1808-1887) argued in his pamphlet on *Natural Law* (1882) that:

The science of mine and thine --- the science of justice --- is the science of all human rights; of all a man's rights of person and property; of all his rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
It is the science which alone can tell any man what he can, and cannot, do; what he can, and cannot, have; what he can, and cannot, say, without infringing the rights of any other person.
It is the science of peace; and the only science of peace; since it is the science which alone can tell us on what conditions mankind can live in peace, or ought to live in peace, with each other.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Spooner's distinction between natural law and legislation brings to mind two other theorists. Before Spooner began writing there was Thomas Hodgskin (1787-1869) who made the distinction between "natural and artificial rights", the latter being created by government usually to favour special interests. After Spooner there was Friedrich Hayek (1899-1992), the Nobel Prize winning Austrian economist, who distinguished between "law" and "legislation" - the former with some approval, the latter with disdain and warnings.

178. LUDWIG VON MISES SHOWS THE INEVITABILITY OF ECONOMIC SLUMPS AFTER A PERIOD OF CREDIT EXPANSION (1951)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *Economic Freedom and Interventionism: An Anthology of Articles and Essays*, selected and edited by Bettina Bien Greaves (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). Chapter: 22: Inflation Must End in a Slump.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 13-17, 2008.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University.

Quotation

In the article "Inflation Must End in a Slump," written in 1951, the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) noted that all periods of government induced credit expansion must end in an economic crisis

This country, and with it most of the Western world, is presently going through a period of inflation and credit expansion. As the quantity of money in circulation and deposits subject to check increases, there prevails a general tendency for the prices of commodities and services to rise. Business is booming.

Yet such a boom, artificially engineered by monetary and credit expansion, cannot last forever. It must come to an end sooner or later. For paper money and bank deposits are not a proper substitute for nonexisting capital goods. Economic theory has demonstrated in an irrefutable way that a prosperity created by an expansionist monetary and credit policy is illusory and must end in a slump, an economic crisis. It has happened again and again in the past, and it will happen in the future, too.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

A key insight of the Austrian school of economics is that a credit expansion can lead to a boom in one sector of the market. Inevitably, the bad investments made in this sector are shown to be unsustainable and there is a slump or recession. As the U.S. and the rest of world go through a classic boom and economic collapse we turn again to Liberty Fund's "Library of the Works of Ludwig von Mises". Here is an article he wrote in 1951, some two years after his magnum opus *Human Action* appeared, where he lays out his case in a more popular form. The money sentences are "Economic theory has demonstrated in an irrefutable way that a prosperity created by an expansionist monetary and credit policy is illusory and must end in a slump, an economic crisis. It has happened again and again in the past, and it will happen in the future, too."

179. LUDWIG VON MISES IDENTIFIES THE SOURCE OF THE DISRUPTION OF THE WORLD MONETARY ORDER AS THE FAILED POLICIES OF GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR CENTRAL BANKS (1934)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *The Theory of Money and Credit*, trans. H.E. Batson (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Chapter: CHAPTER 23: The Return to Sound Money.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 27-31, 2008.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University.

Quotation

In 1952, the Austrian economist, Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) argued that the disruption of the world monetary order was attributable to the policies of governments and their central banks:

The people of all countries agree that the present state of monetary affairs is unsatisfactory and that a change is highly desirable... The destruction of the monetary order was the result of deliberate actions on the part of various governments. The government-controlled central banks and, in the United States, the government-controlled Federal Reserve System were the instruments applied in this process of disorganization and demolition. Yet without exception all drafts for an improvement of currency systems assign to the governments unrestricted supremacy in matters of currency and design fantastic images of superprivileged superbanks... The inanity of all these plans is not accidental. It is the logical outcome of the social philosophy of their authors.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue our exploration of Liberty Fund's "Library of the Works of Ludwig von Mises" in the middle of a very serious banking collapse. Mises wrote his great work on money and credit in 1912, its first English translation took place in 1934, and a second edition was published in English in 1952. In the 40 years between editions, Mises had witnessed the First World War and the inflation and economic collapse which followed, the German hyperinflation, the Great Depression, the Second World War, and the Chinese hyperinflation. In the light of these events he unequivocally lays the blame at the door of the government: "The destruction of the monetary order was the result of deliberate actions on the part of various governments. The government-controlled central banks and, in the United States, the government-controlled Federal Reserve System were the instruments applied in this process of disorganization and demolition." The cause of these failed policies, in his view, is a bad economic theory about how the economy works: "The inanity of all these plans is not accidental. It is the logical outcome of the social philosophy of their authors." Mises hoped that his life work would provide a new economic theory which would never permit another serious collapse to happen again. 56 years after he wrote those words it did happen again.

**180. BRUNO LEONI POINTS OUT THAT ELECTIONS ARE SERIOUSLY FLAWED
BECAUSE MAJORITY RULE IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM
OF CHOICE (1961)**



Source: Bruno Leoni, *Freedom and the Law*, expanded 3rd edition, foreword by Arthur Kemp (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1991). Chapter: 6: Freedom and Representation.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 3-7, 2008.

About the Author: Bruno Leoni (1913-1967) was Professor of Legal Theory and the Theory of the State at the University of Pavia, a practicing lawyer, founder editor of the journal *Il Politico*, newspaper columnist, and secretary and president of the Mont Pelerin Society.

Quotation

Bruno Leoni, in *Freedom and the Law* (1961), noted two serious problems with political voting, namely that it often violated individual freedom and resulted in rule by a minority:

But voting itself seems to increase the difficulties relating both to the meaning of "representation" and to the "freedom" of the individuals in making their choice. ... Election is the result of a group decision where all the electors are to be considered as the members of a group, for instance, of their constituencies or of the electorate as a whole. We have seen that group decisions imply procedures like majority rule which are not compatible with individual freedom of choice of the type that any individual buyer or seller in the market enjoys as well as in any other choice he makes in his private life. The effects of coercion in the machinery of voting have been repeatedly pointed out by politicians, by sociologists, by political scientists (such as J.S. Mill who observed that) political issues are decided "by a majority of the majority who may be, and often are, but a minority of the whole."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As another presidential and congressional election is upon us, we turn to one of the great legal and political analyses of the electoral process by the Italian jurist Bruno Leoni. In this quote from his 1961 lectures Leoni observes that fundamentally elections are a result of group decisions which produce decisions which are not compatible with individual freedom of choice. Furthermore, he suggests that coercion is frequently involved in the "machinery of voting". The much touted benefits of "majority rule" in fact produce outcomes which are desired by only a "majority of the majority", which in reality are that of a minority of the people.

**181. JAMES MADISON ON THE DANGERS OF ELECTIONS RESULTING IN
OVERBEARING MAJORITIES WHO RESPECT NEITHER JUSTICE NOR
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, *FEDERALIST 10* (1788)**



Source: *The Federalist (The Gideon Edition)*, Edited with an Introduction, Reader's Guide, Constitutional Cross-reference, Index, and Glossary by George W. Carey and James McClellan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001). Chapter: No. 10: The same Subject continued.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 3-7, 2008.

About the Author: James Madison (1751-1836) was a member of the Virginia legislature in 1776-80 and 1784-86, of the Continental Congress in 1780-83, and of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, where he earned the title "father of the U. S. Constitution." He was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1789 to 1797, where he was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights and an opponent of Hamilton's financial measures. He was the author of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 in opposition to the U. S. alien and sedition laws. He was U. S. secretary of state in 1801-09, President of the U. S. in 1809-17, and rector of the University of Virginia, 1826-36.

Quotation

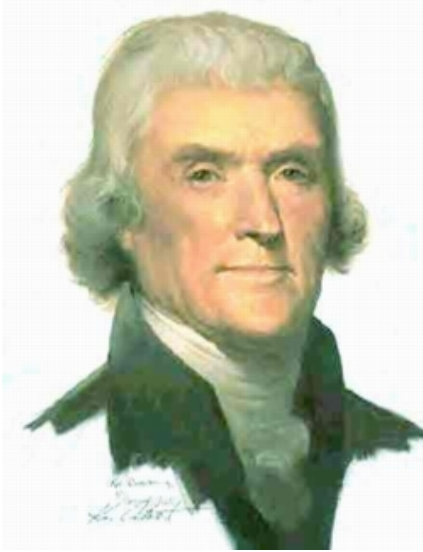
James Madison (1751-1836) wrote in the *Federalist* no. 10 that the "overbearing majority" or factions use their "superior force" to violate the "rules of justice" and the "rights of minor parties"

Complaints are every where heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty, that our governments are too unstable; that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice, and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue our exploration of the thought of James Madison. Here we turn to *The Federalist* 10 during our own contemporary presidential campaign, where Madison voices concern about "party" domination of the Congress. In his day there were no organised political parties, that was to come later as Lance Banning shows in his anthology of documents *Liberty and Order: The First American Party Struggle* (2004). Madison was more concerned about what he called "faction", what we today would probably call "vested interests". When the state becomes dominated by "factions" which work through either or both of the duopoly of the two main official "parties" then the "rules of justice" are commonly violated.

182. THOMAS JEFFERSON IN A LETTER TO JOHN TAYLOR CONDEMNS THE SYSTEM OF BANKING AS "A BLOT" ON THE CONSTITUTION, AS CORRUPT, AND THAT LONG-TERM GOVERNMENT DEBT WAS "SWINDLING" FUTURE GENERATIONS (1816)



Source: Thomas Jefferson, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Federal Edition* (New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-5). Vol. 11. Chapter: TO JOHN TAYLOR.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 10-14, 2008.

About the Author: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), a Virginian, was the author of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), an active participant in the Revolution, Governor of Virginia (1779), member of Congress, Minister to France, Secretary of State under President Washington, and president of the United States (1800). He was a polymath who wrote on and was knowledgeable about science, architecture, music, agriculture, law, education, geography, and music.

Quotation

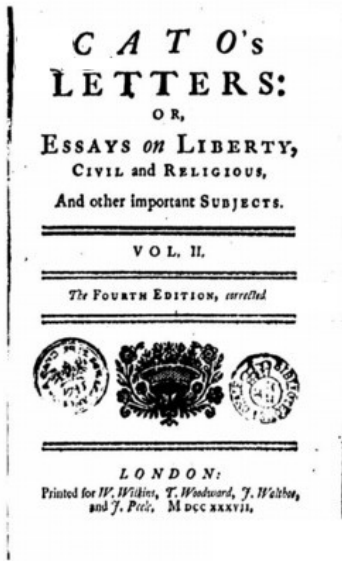
In his retirement to Montecello Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) complained about the lack of any good bookshops. So he was delighted to receive from John Taylor (1753-1824) a copy of his new book *An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the U.S.* (1814). This prompted a letter to Taylor (May 28, 1816) which reflected upon the nature of republics and of government debt

The system of banking we have both equally and ever reprobated. I contemplate it as a blot left in all our constitutions, which, if not covered, will end in their destruction, which is already hit by the gamblers in corruption, and is sweeping away in its progress the fortunes and morals of our citizens. Funding I consider as limited, rightfully, to a redemption of the debt within the lives of a majority of the generation contracting it; every generation coming equally, by the laws of the Creator of the world, to the free possession of the earth he made for their subsistence, unincumbered by their predecessors, who, like them, were but tenants for life...
And I sincerely believe, with you, that banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies; and that the principle of spending money to be paid by posterity, under the name of funding, is but swindling futurity on a large scale.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this letter to John Taylor Thomas Jefferson has a very interesting and extended discussion about the true nature of republicanism. He defines it quite narrowly as "a government by its citizens in mass, acting and personally, according to rules established by the majority." He then proceeds to list all the offices and branches of government where the practice falls short of the ideal, in other words where it has "deteriorated" from the founders' hopes and expectations. He blames this deterioration on "submission ... to European authorities", the existence of "speculators on government", and to "the duperies of the people." In the course of this exposition, Jefferson writes an extraordinary attack on the banking system and public finance, calling the former "a blot on the constitution", corrupt, and destructive of wealth; the latter he describes as "more dangerous than standing armies" and "swindling futurity on a large scale." This dour essay is lightened up considerably by Jefferson quoting part of a poem by Sir William Jones (1746-1794) on "What constitutes a State?". His answer is not the physical infrastructure like battlements, moats, ports or church spires; but "high-minded men" who know their duties and their rights and are willing to defend them against tyrants. That is a true state according to Jefferson.

183. JOHN TRENCHARD IDENTIFIES WHO WILL BENEFIT FROM ANY NEW WAR "GOT UP" IN ITALY: PRINCES, COURTIER, JOBBERS, AND PENSIONERS, BUT DEFINITELY NOT THE ORDINARY TAXPAYER (1722)



Source: *Cato's Letters, or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects. Four volumes in Two*, edited and annotated by Ronald Hamowy (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 17-21, 2008.

About the Author: John Trenchard (1662-1723) and Thomas Gordon were two indefatigable English Whig journalists who defended the idea of liberty against political corruption, imperialism and militarism in the early 18th century. They were also much read in the American colonies.

Quotation

John Trenchard (1662-1723), one of the author's of *Cato's Letters*, warned in 1722 that a new war with Italy would allow "many princes (to) warm their hands at it, whilst their subjects will be burnt to death," and reward many jobbers and courtiers who stood to personally benefit from increased taxes and debt:

We find by woeful experience, that three shillings in the pound has not maintained the current expence of the government, but we have run still in debt. The money given for the Civil List has not defrayed that charge, but new and large sums have been given to pay off the arrears; which, it is said, are not yet paid off. New salaries and new pensions have been found necessary to satisfy the clamours of those who will never be satisfied; and the greater occasions which the courtiers have, and the greater necessities which they are in, the more will still be found necessary: for it is no news for artful men to engage their superiors in difficulties, and then to be paid largely for helping them out of them again.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Trenchard was a trenchant critic of the British Empire and the political and financial elites who benefited from it. A number of interesting points are made in this passage: there is the listing of those groups who stand to benefit from the additional revenues raised in order to fight a spurious war in Italy; the recommendation that Britain not be involved in this dispute but sit back and look for trading opportunities to emerge; and then there is the powerful "fire" metaphor with the great powers "kindling" a fire in Italy, the Princes who will "warm their hands" at the fire, while their subjects "will be burnt to death", with Trenchard urging Britain to stay well back so not to be "scorched" by the flames. The phrase "how wars are 'got up'" was chosen deliberately in order to evoke memories of a famous essay by Richard Cobden, the great English anti-war and free trade campaigner, called "How Wars are Got Up in India" (1852). Cobden makes similar arguments as Trenchard about the origins of wars, especially on the colonial frontier.

184. DAVID HUME EXAMINES THE PRIDE OF THE TURKEY (AND OTHER CREATURES) (1739)



Source: David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* by David Hume, reprinted from the Original Edition in three volumes and edited, with an analytical index, by L.A. Selby-Bigge, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896). Chapter: SECTION XII.: Of the pride and humility of animals.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 24-28, 2008.

About the Author: David Hume (1711-1776) was a moral philosopher and historian and a leading member of the Scottish Enlightenment. In philosophy he was a skeptic. In his multi-volume *History of England* he showed how the rule of law and the creation of an independent judiciary created the foundation for liberty in England. Hume also wrote on economics, was a personal friend of Adam Smith, and was a proponent of free trade. His works highlighted the neutrality of money and the errors of the mercantilists (whose flawed theories in favor of increased exports in order to build up a stock of gold remain the foundations of many public policies even today).

Quotation

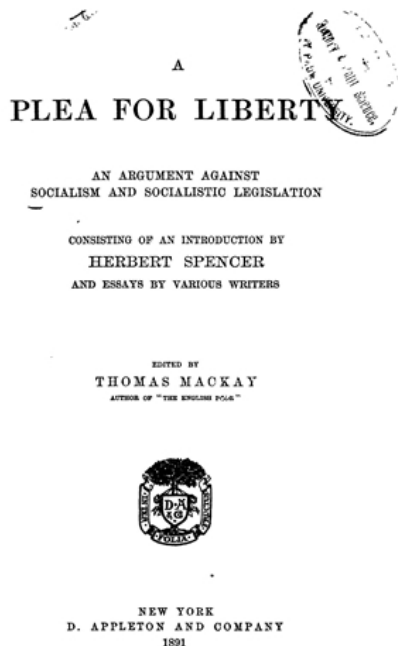
The great Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739) has an interesting observation on the pride and vanity of the male turkey:

'Tis plain, that almost in every species of creatures, but especially of the nobler kind, there are many evident marks of pride and humility. The very port and gait of a swan, or turkey, or peacock show the high idea he has entertain'd of himself, and his contempt of all others. This is the more remarkable, that in the two last species of animals, the pride always attends the beauty, and is discover'd in the male only.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As Thanksgiving arrives one's thoughts naturally turn to what the great philosophers of the past had to say about turkeys. In his early and great *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739) Hume compares the emotions felt by humans and a selection of animals and in a discussion concerning pride and humility refers to the swan, the turkey, the peacock. What might seem a little odd, given the modern turkey's reputation for stupidity, is that Hume considers it to be one of the "nobler kind" and furthermore, that it is prideful because of its "beauty" (but only in the male). Think on this as you munch on a turkey leg this Thanksgiving.

185. EDWARD ROBERTSON POINTS OUT THE BUREAUCRATIC BLUNDERING AND INEFFICIENCY OF THE POSTAL MONOPOLY DURING THE CHRISTMAS RUSH PERIOD (1891)



Source: Thomas Mackay, *A Plea for Liberty: An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation, consisting of an Introduction by Herbert Spencer and Essays by Various Writers, edited by Thomas Mackay* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Foreword by Jeffrey Paul. Chapter: CHAPTER 1: THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF SOCIALISM BY EDWARD STANLEY ROBERTSON.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 15-19, 2008.

About the Author: One of the authors in the volume of anti-socialist essays edited by Thomas Mackay and published by the Liberty and Property Defence League.

Quotation

Thomas Mackay in 1891 edited a collection of essays attacking the Fabian Socialist ideas of George Bernard Shaw. In one essay Edward Robertson complained about the inefficiencies of the government postal monopoly at Christmas time

In the first place, the Post Office has always been a monopoly. There never was a time when any private agency was permitted to compete with the State in the work of distributing letters. ... I cannot refrain from noticing the breakdown of letter-delivery arrangements which has taken place at Christmas every year since the Christmas card came into fashion. ... One would think that if, by the mere fact of belonging to a department of Government, a preternatural faculty of dealing with statistics were conferred upon officials, the officials of the Post Office ought, after a brief experience, to have been able to foresee and provide for this recurring difficulty. Yet no sooner does Christmas come within measurable distance, than every Post Office is placarded and every newspaper filled, with plaintive appeals from the Postmaster-General to the Christmas card dispatching public, to 'post early, so as to ensure the punctual delivery of letters!'

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As Christmas approaches the Scrooges amongst us like to point out that criticising the state monopoly postal system at this time of the year has a distinguished history. Here we have another essay by a member of the radical laissez-faire and individualist organization The Liberty and Property Defence League railing against some defect in state run enterprises. The problem emerges because entrepreneurs in the free market develop new products such as sending cards on St. Valentine's Day or encouraging gift giving at Christmas time which puts a huge load on the government monopoly postal service. If it were a private business (or businesses) they would leap at the opportunity of new customers. Robertson mocks the post office for its inability to cope with changing market conditions.

186. ALEXANDER HAMILTON WARNS OF THE DANGER TO CIVIL SOCIETY AND LIBERTY FROM A STANDING ARMY SINCE "THE MILITARY STATE BECOMES ELEVATED ABOVE THE CIVIL" (1787)



Source: *The Federalist (The Gideon Edition)*, Edited with an Introduction, Reader's Guide, Constitutional Cross-reference, Index, and Glossary by George W. Carey and James McClellan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001). Chapter: No. 8: The effects of Internal War in producing Standing Armies, and other institutions unfriendly to liberty.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 29 2008 - January 2 2009.

About the Author: Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804) was secretary and aide-de-camp to Washington in 1777-81, a member of the Continental Congress in 1782-83 and 1787-88, a representative from New York to the Annapolis Convention in 1786 and to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, first U. S. secretary of the treasury in 1789-95, and inspector general of the army, with the rank of major general, from 1798 to 1800. His efforts to defeat Aaron Burr for the presidency in 1800-01 and for the governorship of New York in 1804 led to his fatal duel with Burr.

Quotation

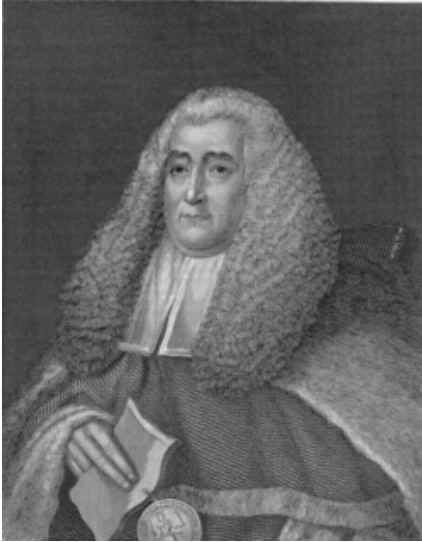
In *Federalist Paper* no. 8 "The effects of Internal War in producing Standing Armies, and other institutions unfriendly to liberty" Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804) warned of the dangers to liberty when the importance of the military is elevated above that of the citizenry

But in a country, where the perpetual menacings of danger oblige the government to be always prepared to repel it, her armies must be numerous enough for instant defence. The continual necessity for his services enhances the importance of the soldier, and proportionably degrades the condition of the citizen. The military state becomes elevated above the civil. The inhabitants of territories often the theatre of war, are unavoidably subjected to frequent infringements on their rights, which serve to weaken their sense of those rights; and by degrees, the people are brought to consider the soldiery not only as their protectors, but as their superiors.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Hamilton taps into the 18th century well of thinking which was very hostile to the existence of a standing army. We have noted Thomas Gordon's writings on this in a previous quotation and his views were shared by many American colonists. The fear of course was directed at the British Empire. Hamilton comments on the institutional changes which would come about ("the military state") if war fighting became permanent: huge demands on government finance, the people becoming "broken to military subordination", frequent infringements on the peoples' rights, and the populace coming to regard the army not as the protectors but as their superiors. This brings us back to the perennial problem of "who guards us from those who were appointed to guard us?"

187. SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE DECLARES UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT SLAVERY IS "REPUGNANT TO REASON, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURAL LAW" AND THAT IT HAS NO PLACE IN ENGLISH LAW (1753)



Source: Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books. Notes selected from the editions of Archibald, Christian, Coleridge, Chitty, Stewart, Kerr, and others, Barron Field's Analysis, and Additional Notes, and a Life of the Author by George Sharswood.* In Two Volumes. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1893). Vol. 1 - Books I & II. Chapter: CHAPTER XIV.: OF MASTER AND SERVANT.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 5-9, 2009.

About the Author: Sir William Blackstone's (1723-1780) four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England* assures him a place in history as one of the greatest scholars of English common law. Blackstone began his lectures on the common law in 1753. His *Commentaries* served as a primary instruction tool in England and America well into the nineteenth century and exerted a pronounced influence on the development of the American legal tradition.

Quotation

Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), the great English jurist, in his *Commentaries of the Laws of England* (1753) believed that slavery was "repugnant to reason, and the principles of natural law" and thus had no standing under English law

I have formerly observed that pure and proper slavery does not, nay, cannot, subsist in England: such, I mean, whereby an absolute and unlimited power is given to the master over the life and fortune of the slave. And indeed it is repugnant to reason, and the principles of natural law, that such a state should subsist anywhere. The three origins of the right of slavery assigned by Justinian are all of them built upon false foundations ... Upon these principles the law of England abhors, and will not endure the existence of, slavery within this nation; so that when an attempt was made to introduce it, by statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 3, which ordained, that all idle vagabonds should be made slaves, and fed upon bread and water, or small drink, and refuse meat; should wear a ring of iron round their necks, arms, or legs; and should be compelled, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, to perform the work assigned them, were it never so vile; the spirit of the nation could not brook this condition, even in the most abandoned rogues; and therefore this statute was repealed in two years afterwards. And now it is laid down, that a slave or negro, the instant he lands in England, becomes a freeman; that is, the law will protect him in the enjoyment of his person, and his property.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

There is some debate among historians whether or not Blackstone watered down his condemnation of slavery in later editions of his *Commentaries* as opinions polarised in England at the time of the Somerset case (1772). Nevertheless, in the edition we have online Blackstone has a two pronged set of arguments against slavery: firstly that traditional arguments in its favor are wrong (the right of capture in war, selling oneself into slavery); and secondly, that it historically has had no place in English law and that in fact "The law of England acts upon general and extensive principles: it gives liberty, rightly understood, that is, protection, to a Jew, a Turk, or a heathen, as well as to those who profess the true religion of Christ." End of argument.

188. GUSTAVE DE MOLINARI ARGUES THAT POLITICAL PARTIES ARE LIKE "ACTUAL ARMIES" WHO ARE TRAINED TO SEIZE POWER AND REWARD THEIR SUPPORTERS WITH JOBS AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGES (1904)



Source: Gustave de Molinari, *The Society of Tomorrow: A Forecast of its Political and Economic Organization*, ed. Hodgson Pratt and Frederic Passy, trans. P.H. Lee Warner (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904). Part I: Chapter V Why the State of War Continues When It No Longer Fulfils a Purpose.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website January 12-16, 2009.

About the Author: Gustave de Molinari (1819-1912) was born in Liège on March 3, 1819 and died in Adinkerque on January 28, 1912. He was the leading representative of the laissez-faire school of classical liberalism in France in the second half of the 19th century and was still campaigning against protectionism, statism, militarism, colonialism, and socialism into his 90s on the eve of the First World War. As he said shortly before his death, his classical liberal views had remained the same throughout his long life but the world around him had managed to turn full circle in the meantime.

Quotation

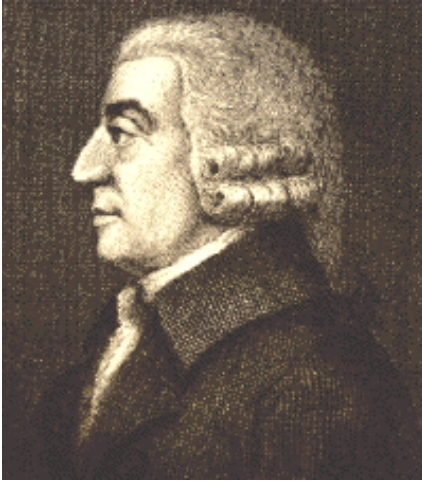
The French economist Gustave de Molinari (1819-1912) compared political parties to "armies" whose sole aim is to win office, distribute spoils and jobs, all at the expense of taxpayers

These associations, or political parties, are actual armies which have been trained to pursue power; their immediate objective is to so increase the number of their adherents as to control an electoral majority. Influential electors are for this purpose promised such or such share in the profits which will follow success, but such promises—generally place or privilege—are redeemable only by a multiplication of "places," which involves a corresponding increase of national enterprises, whether of war or of peace. It is nothing to a politician that the result is increased charges and heavier drains on the vital energy of the people. The unceasing competition under which they labour, first in their efforts to secure office, and next to maintain their position, compels them to make party interest their sole care, and they are in no position to consider whether this personal and immediate interest is in harmony with the general and permanent good of the nation.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

As a new year begins with a new political party seizing control of Congress and a new President taking office, one naturally asks about the true nature of political parties and the interest groups they represent. Gustave de Molinari, the laissez-faire Belgian economist, provides a succinct answer: they are like armies which train to take office, seize the "spoils" of office (a term actually and unashamedly used in American politics), and distribute them to their friends and supporters. According to Molinari, there is enormous pressure on any ruling party to increase the number of government jobs in order to increase the spoils which they have to distribute to their favoured friends and supporters. As the system grows in size and power there is in turn a heightening of the competition between different parties to win office and win this prize.

189. ADAM SMITH ARGUES THAT RETALIATION IN A TRADE WAR CAN SOMETIMES FORCE THE OFFENDING COUNTRY TO LOWER ITS TARIFFS, BUT MORE OFTEN THAN NOT THE REVERSE HAPPENS (1776)



Source: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, vol. II of the *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Chapter: CHAPTER II: Of Restraints upon the Importation a from foreign Countries of such Goods a as can be produced at Home.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website February 9-13, 2009.

About the Author: Adam Smith (1723-1790) is commonly regarded as the first modern economist with the publication in 1776 of *The Wealth of Nations*. He wrote in a wide range of disciplines: moral philosophy, jurisprudence, rhetoric and literature, and the history of science. He was one of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment. Smith also studied the social forces giving rise to competition, trade, and markets. While professor of logic, and later professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, he also had the opportunity to travel to France, where he met François Quesnay and the physiocrats; he had friends in business and the government, and drew broadly on his observations of life as well as careful statistical work summarizing his findings in tabular form. He is viewed as the founder of modern economic thought, and his work inspires economists to this day. The economic phrase for which he is most famous, the "invisible hand" of economic incentives, was only one of his many contributions to the modern-day teaching of economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

Adam Smith (1723-1790) grudgingly admits that retaliation in a trade war may have some good effect if it leads to the abandonment of the initial protective duty, but he is highly doubtful that the "insidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman or politician" can or really wants to end protection in this manner. All it does is benefit a few at the expense of the many:

There may be good policy in retaliations of this kind, when there is a probability that they will procure the repeal of the high duties or prohibitions complained of. The recovery of a great foreign market will generally more than compensate the transitory inconveniency of paying dearer during a short time for some sorts of goods. To judge whether such retaliations are likely to produce such an effect, does not, perhaps, belong so much to the science of a legislator, whose deliberations ought to be governed by general principles which are always the same, as to the skill of that insidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman or politician, whose councils are directed by the momentary fluctuations of affairs. When there is no probability that any such repeal can be procured, it seems a bad method of compensating the injury done to certain classes of our people, to do another injury ourselves, not only to those classes, but to almost all the other classes of them.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this quotation Adam Smith cites a number of examples involving the Dutch, where retaliation in a trade war can force the offending nation to withdraw its new tariff or restriction and return to free trading. However, he is also aware that this is not always going to happen because that creature, the "insidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman or politician" can continue the trade war knowing that he will not have to bear the brunt of the costs, these being passed onto "other classes" in the society.

190. FRÉDÉRIC BASTIAT ON THE STATE AS THE GREAT FICTION BY WHICH EVERYONE SEEKS TO LIVE AT THE EXPENSE OF EVERYONE ELSE (1848)



Source: Frédéric Bastiat, *Selected Essays on Political Economy*, trans. Seymour Cain, ed. George B. de Huszar, introduction by F.A. Hayek (Irvington-on-Hudson: Foundation for Economic Education, 1995). Chapter: 5: The State.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 9-13, 2009.

About the Author: Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) was one of the leading advocates of free markets and free trade in the mid-19 century. He was inspired by the activities of Richard Cobden and the organization of the Anti-Corn Law League in Britain in the 1840s and tried to mimic their success in France. Bastiat was an elected member of various French political bodies and opposed both protection and the rise of socialist ideas in these forums. His writings for a broader audience were very popular and were quickly translated and republished in the U.S. and throughout Europe. His incomplete magnum opus, *Economic Harmonies*, is full of insights into the operation of the market and is still of great interest to economists. He died at a young age from cancer of the throat. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

In his essay on "The State", which Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) wrote during the revolutionary year of 1848 when socialist governments were promising the moon to French citizens, he sarcastically offered his own definition of what the state was

As, on the one hand, it is certain that we all address some such request to the state, and, on the other hand, it is a well-established fact that the state cannot procure satisfaction for some without adding to the labor of others, while awaiting another definition of the state, I believe myself entitled to give my own here. Who knows if it will not carry off the prize? Here it is: The state is the great fictitious entity by which everyone seeks to live at the expense of everyone else.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Liberty Fund is preparing a multi-volume collection of the selected works of Frédéric Bastiat in a translation which will take several years to complete. Much of this material has never been translated into English before. Here we have an older English translation of this favorite aphorism by Bastiat. In an earlier quotation we provided the French original. Soon after he wrote this piece Bastiat died in Italy from a serious throat condition and thus France lost one of its ablest defenders of the free market and individual liberty.

191. MERCY OTIS WARREN ASKS WHY PEOPLE ARE SO WILLING TO OBEY THE GOVERNMENT AND ANSWERS THAT IT IS SUPINENESS, FEAR OF RESISTING, AND THE LONG HABIT OF OBEDIENCE (1805)



Source: Mercy Otis Warren, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution interspersed with Biographical, Political and Moral Observations, in Two Volumes*, Foreword by Lester H. Cohen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund 1994). Vol. 1. Chapter 1: The Stamp Act • A Congress convened at New York, One thousand seven hundred and sixty-five • The Stamp-Act repealed • New Grievances • Suspension of the Legislature of New York.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 16-20, 2009.

About the Author: Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814) was one of the most formidable female intellectuals in 18th century America. She wrote plays, poetry, letters, a pamphlet warning of the dangers of the new Constitution, and one of the most important contemporary histories of the American Revolution. In her history we see the continual struggle between liberty, virtue, and reason on the one hand, against the blind pursuit of power, luxury, and passion on the other.

Quotation

In her pioneering *History of the American Revolution* (1805) Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814) reflected upon the propensity of human beings to obey authority out of old habits of obedience until they have been pushed to the limits by despotic masters

[T]here is a certain supineness which generally overspreads the multitude, and disposes mankind to submit quietly to any form of government, rather than to be at the expense and hazard of resistance. They become attached to ancient modes by habits of obedience, though the reins of authority are sometimes held by the most rigorous hand. Thus we have seen in all ages the many become the slaves of the few; preferring the wretched tranquillity of inglorious ease, they patiently yield to despotic masters, until awakened by multiplied wrongs to the feelings of human nature; which when once aroused to a consciousness of the native freedom and equal rights of man, ever revolts at the idea of servitude.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Like many authors Warren asks a key question: why do people so readily obey the government? David Hume believed that it was a combination of physical force on the part of the government as well as an ideological belief in the legitimacy of the rulers. Warren seems to think it is perhaps inherent in human nature ("supiness") but she does admit that resistance does sometime occur (like the American Revolution) and it is again as a result of something in human nature which "ever revolts at the idea of servitude". She does however admit of some economic reasons for obedience such as old habits of thought which are hard to shake off, and fear of retribution or punishment by the state.

192. LUDWIG VON MISES LAYS OUT FIVE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS OF MONETARY EXPANSION (1949)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*, in 4 vols., ed. Bettina Bien Greaves (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). Vol. 2. Chapter: 18: The Inflationist View of History.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website March 23-27, 2009.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University.

Quotation

The Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973), in the chapter "The Inflationist View of History" in his masterwork *Human Action* (1949), criticises the popular view that a policy of inflation (or a general rise in prices of all goods and services) is good for economic development

Economics recommends neither inflationary nor deflationary policy. It does not urge the governments to tamper with the market's choice of a medium of exchange. It establishes only the following truths:

1. By committing itself to an inflationary or deflationary policy a government does not promote the public welfare, the commonweal, or the interests of the whole nation. It merely favors one or several groups of the population at the expense of other groups.
2. It is impossible to know in advance which group will be favored by a definite inflationary or deflationary measure and to what extent. These effects depend on the whole complex of the market data involved. They also depend largely on the speed of the inflationary or deflationary movements and may be completely reversed with the progress of these movements.
3. At any rate, a monetary expansion results in misinvestment of capital and overconsumption. It leaves the nation as a whole poorer, not richer. These problems are dealt with in Chapter 20.
4. Continued inflation must finally end in the crack-up boom, the complete breakdown of the currency system.
5. Deflationary policy is costly for the treasury and unpopular with the masses. But inflationary policy is a boon for the treasury and very popular with the ignorant. Practically, the danger of deflation is but slight and the danger of inflation tremendous.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We continue our exploration of Austrian monetary theory in Liberty Fund's "Library of the Works of Ludwig von Mises". In his magnum opus *Human Action* Mises has a chapter with the puzzling title "The Inflationist View of History". Here he debunks the popular notion that government policy to lower the cost of money has had a beneficial effect on the course of history and economic development. In the process he formulates 5 "truths" concerning inflation and monetary expansion: it favors one group at the expense of all others; it is not possible to predict which group will benefit from a particular period of inflation; it always results in malinvestment of capital which must be liquidated in the following collapse; an economic collapse is inevitable and cannot be avoided; and inflation is a boon to the treasury but very dangerous for ordinary people.

193. LUDWIG VON MISES ARGUES THAT SOUND MONEY IS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND A MEANS OF LIMITING GOVERNMENT POWER (1912)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *The Theory of Money and Credit*, trans. H.E. Batson (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Chapter: CHAPTER 21: The Principle of Sound Money.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 6-10, 2009.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University.

Quotation

The Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973), argues in *The Theory of Money and Credit* (1912) that "sound money" was a crucial part of classical liberal theory because it was the market's choice of a commonly used medium of exchange and also a method for obstructing the government's propensity to meddle with the currency system:

The principle of sound money that guided nineteenth-century monetary doctrines and policies was a product of classical political economy. It was an essential part of the liberal program as developed by eighteenth-century social philosophy and propagated in the following century by the most influential political parties of Europe and America... It is impossible to grasp the meaning of the idea of sound money if one does not realize that it was devised as an instrument for the protection of civil liberties against despotic inroads on the part of governments. Ideologically it belongs in the same class with political constitutions and bills of rights. The demand for constitutional guarantees and for bills of rights was a reaction against arbitrary rule and the nonobservance of old customs by kings. The postulate of sound money was first brought up as a response to the princely practice of debasing the coinage. It was later carefully elaborated and perfected in the age which—through the experience of the American continental currency, the paper money of the French Revolution and the British restriction period—had learned what a government can do to a nation's currency system... Thus the sound-money principle has two aspects. It is affirmative in approving the market's choice of a commonly used medium of exchange. It is negative in obstructing the government's propensity to meddle with the currency system.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In the middle of a serious monetary crisis we again turn to Ludwig von Mises for insights. In 1912 he published *The Theory of Money and Credit* in which he discussed the political and social consequences of a policy of "sound money" (by this he meant money which could not be manipulated by governments for their own ends). In an insight not shared by mainstream economists, Mises argues that sound money policies were part of the 18th and 19th century classical liberal agendas to expand individual liberty and to restrict government power. This is an important aspect of history which most people have lost sight of today to their great cost and inconvenience.

194. ST. AUGUSTINE STATES THAT KINGDOMS WITHOUT JUSTICE ARE MERE ROBBERIES, AND ROBBERIES ARE LIKE SMALL KINGDOMS; BUT LARGE EMPIRES ARE PIRACY WRIT LARGE (5TH C)



Source: Philip Schaff, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Vol. II St. Augustin's City of God and Christian Doctrine*, ed. Philip Schaff, LL.D. (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Co., 1887). Chapter: BOOK IV.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 13-17, 2009.

About the Author: Saint Augustine (354-430 AD) was bishop of Hippo in Roman Africa from 396 to 430 and may have been the most important theologian of the early Christian church during the last days of the western Roman Empire. His best known works are the *Confessions* and *the City of God*.

Quotation

St. Augustine (354-430), in Book IV of *The City of God*, relates the story about the pirate who had been seized and brought before Alexander the Great. The cheeky pirate asks Alexander what is the real difference between a pirate and an emperor apart from the scale of action

Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves, but little kingdoms? The band itself is made up of men; it is ruled by the authority of a prince, it is knit together by the pact of the confederacy; the booty is divided by the law agreed on. If, by the admittance of abandoned men, this evil increases to such a degree that it holds places, fixes abodes, takes possession of cities, and subdues peoples, it assumes the more plainly the name of a kingdom, because the reality is now manifestly conferred on it, not by the removal of covetousness, but by the addition of impunity. Indeed, that was an apt and true reply which was given to Alexander the Great by a pirate who had been seized. For when that king had asked the man what he meant by keeping hostile possession of the sea, he answered with bold pride, "What thou meanest by seizing the whole earth; but because I do it with a petty ship, I am called a robber, whilst thou who dost it with a great fleet art styled emperor."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Somali pirates are in the news at the moment so it seemed appropriate to see what some of the great political philosophers had to say on the topic. Here is St. Augustine with his view on the matter. In many respects, his approach is similar to that of Gustave de Molinari's on political parties as "armies". Kingdoms and principedoms are like a confederacy of robbers who loot the cities and countryside they control. Next comes his charming story of the pirate who confronted Alexander the Great over the key difference between himself with one ship and the Emperor with his fleet. It was only a matter of scale.

195. JOHN STUART MILL ON THE NEED FOR LIMITED GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL RIGHTS TO PREVENT THE "KING OF THE VULTURES" AND HIS "MINOR HARPIES" IN THE GOVERNMENT FROM PREYING ON THE PEOPLE (1859)



Source: John Stuart Mill, *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XVIII - Essays on Politics and Society Part I*, ed. John M. Robson, Introduction by Alexander Brady (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977). On Liberty: CHAPTER I: Introductory.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 20-24, 2009.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age, He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

This year is the 150th anniversary of the publication of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859), one of the key texts in 19th century classical liberal thought. In the second paragraph of this work, Mill states that societies need a system of legal and political rights and constitutional checks and balances in order to prevent the stronger, the "innumerable vultures" and their allied "minor harpies", from oppressing ordinary people in a perpetual struggle between "Liberty and Authority":

To prevent the weaker members of the community from being preyed upon by innumerable vultures, it was needful that there should be an animal of prey stronger than the rest, commissioned to keep them down. But as the king of the vultures would be no less bent upon preying on the flock than any of the minor harpies, it was indispensable to be in a perpetual attitude of defence against his beak and claws. The aim, therefore, of patriots was to set limits to the power which the ruler should be suffered to exercise over the community; and this limitation was what they meant by liberty. It was attempted in two ways. First, by obtaining a recognition of certain immunities, called political liberties or rights, which it was to be regarded as a breach of duty in the ruler to infringe, and which, if he did infringe, specific resistance, or general rebellion, was held to be justifiable. A second, and generally a later expedient, was the establishment of constitutional checks, by which the consent of the community, or of a body of some sort, supposed to represent its interests, was made a necessary condition to some of the more important acts of the governing power.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Once again we have a classical liberal warning us about the problem of "who will guard against the guardians." In this case it is John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty* and he uses some very colorful language to describe those who use the government for their own benefit ("vultures") at the expense of the ordinary people. The vultures have their followers and accomplices, which he calls "harpies" (named after the mythical Greek winged spirits who stole food by snatching it away). The people supposedly set up government in the first place in order to protect themselves from the "vultures" and their "harpies" but inevitably the government is seized by "the king of the harpies" and the cycle of struggle begins again. Mill thought that only constitutional limits on government power, a system of checks and balances, and a vigorous legal and political protection of basic rights could keep the "vultures" at bay. The passage is also significant for his broad perspective on history as an ongoing struggle between "Liberty and Authority" (or "Power" as we call it in this collection of quotations).

196. JOHN STUART MILL USES AN ANALOGY WITH THE REMOVAL OF PROTECTIVE DUTIES AND BOUNTIES IN TRADE TO URGE A SIMILAR "FREE TRADE" BETWEEN THE SEXES (1869)



Source: John Stuart Mill, *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXI - Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, ed. John M. Robson, Introduction by Stefan Collini (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984). The Subjection of Women: Chapter I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website April 27 - May 1, 2009.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age, He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

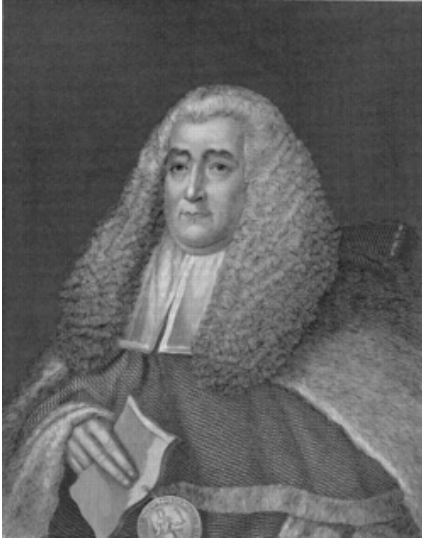
In *The Subjection of Women* (1869) J.S. Mill (1806-1873) argues that, just as with trade between different nations, men and women will have different comparative advantages and that both will benefit if one side is not favoured by the government with unfair "bounties and protective duties in favour of men":

One thing we may be certain of—that what is contrary to women’s nature to do, they never will be made to do by simply giving their nature free play. The anxiety of mankind to interfere in behalf of nature, for fear lest nature should not succeed in effecting its purpose, is an altogether unnecessary solicitude. What women by nature cannot do, it is quite superfluous to forbid them from doing. What they can do, but not so well as the men who are their competitors, competition suffices to exclude them from; since nobody asks for protective duties and bounties in favour of women; it is only asked that the present bounties and protective duties in favour of men should be recalled. If women have a greater natural inclination for some things than for others, there is no need of laws or social inculcation to make the majority of them do the former in preference to the latter. Whatever women’s services are most wanted for, the free play of competition will hold out the strongest inducements to them to undertake. And, as the words imply, they are most wanted for the things for which they are most fit; by the apportionment of which to them, the collective faculties of the two sexes can be applied on the whole with the greatest sum of valuable result.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In a rather daring analogy, Mill asks for the legal "bounties and protective duties in favour of men" to be removed in order that there be the social and legal equivalent of "free trade between the sexes". Note that, unlike many in the modern feminist movement, he is not asking for "protective duties and bounties in favour of women" but to see what kind of relationship between the sexes might develop if one gave "their nature free play." On another matter, it is interesting that the editor's of the University of Toronto Press edition of Mill's works which are very pleased to now have online at the OLL website, did not think that the writings of Mill (and his associate Harriet Taylor) merited a separate volume in their collection, but Mill's writings on India did. We think that scattered throughout the collection there is sufficient material on women to merit a single volume. Since such a physical volume does not exist, we have created a "virtual" volume of their writings on women instead - <http://oll.libertyfund.org/readinglists/view/177-john-stuart-mill-s-and-harriet-taylor-s-writings-on-women>.

197. SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE PROVIDES A STRONG DEFENCE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY AND CONCLUDES THAT TO "SECRETLY HURRY" A MAN TO PRISON IS A "DANGEROUS ENGINE OF ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT" (1753)



Source: Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books. Notes selected from the editions of Archibald, Christian, Coleridge, Chitty, Stewart, Kerr, and others, Barron Field's Analysis, and Additional Notes, and a Life of the Author by George Sharswood.* In Two Volumes. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1893). Vol. 1 - Books I & II. Chapter: CHAPTER I.: OF THE ABSOLUTE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 4-8, 2009.

About the Author: Sir William Blackstone's (1723-1780) four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England* assures him a place in history as one of the greatest scholars of English common law. Blackstone began his lectures on the common law in 1753. His *Commentaries* served as a primary instruction tool in England and America well into the nineteenth century and exerted a pronounced influence on the development of the American legal tradition.

Quotation

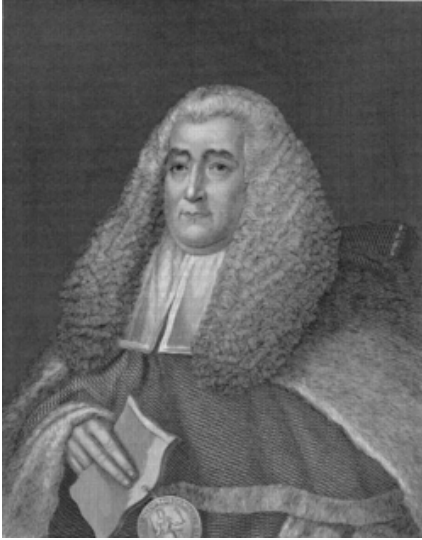
The great English jurist, Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), argued in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1753) that one of the key "absolute rights of individuals" was the right to the preservation of one's personal liberty. Following from this principle he further argued that it was "a more dangerous engine of arbitrary government" to "secretly hurry" a man to jail where he might suffer unknown or forgotten by the people

Of great importance to the public is the preservation of this personal liberty; for if once it were left in the power of any the highest magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomever he or his officers thought proper, (as in France it is daily practised by the crown,) there would soon be an end of all other rights and immunities. Some have thought that unjust attacks, even upon life or property, at the arbitrary will of the magistrate, are less dangerous to the commonwealth than such as are made upon the personal liberty of the subject. To bereave a man of life, or by violence to confiscate his estate, without accusation or trial, would be so gross and notorious an act of despotism, as must at once convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the whole kingdom; but confinement of the person, by secretly hurrying him to jail, where his sufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a less public, a less striking, and therefore a more dangerous engine of arbitrary government.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Blackstone believes that in a dire emergency key liberties like habeas corpus can be suspended temporarily but only by an act of the parliament or the courts, and not by the executive power. The use of arbitrary power to curtail personal liberty would be to him "so gross and notorious an act of despotism, as must at once convey the alarm of tyranny throughout the whole kingdom". But he left his very considerable wrath for the case of secret imprisonment without trial or charges ("secretly hurrying him to jail") as the "more dangerous engine of arbitrary government".

198. SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE DIFFERENTIATES BETWEEN "ABSOLUTE RIGHTS" OF INDIVIDUALS (NATURAL RIGHTS WHICH EXIST PRIOR TO THE STATE) AND SOCIAL RIGHTS (CONTRACTURAL RIGHTS WHICH EVOLVE LATER) (1753)



Source: Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books. Notes selected from the editions of Archibald, Christian, Coleridge, Chitty, Stewart, Kerr, and others, Barron Field's Analysis, and Additional Notes, and a Life of the Author by George Sharswood.* In Two Volumes. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1893). Vol. 1 - Books I & II. Chapter: CHAPTER I.: OF THE ABSOLUTE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 4, 2009.

About the Author: Sir William Blackstone's (1723-1780) four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England* assures him a place in history as one of the greatest scholars of English common law. Blackstone began his lectures on the common law in 1753. His *Commentaries* served as a primary instruction tool in England and America well into the nineteenth century and exerted a pronounced influence on the development of the American legal tradition.

Quotation

Blackstone argues that government exists principally to protect and enforce the absolute or natural rights of individuals which exist prior to the formation of the state:

[T]he principal aim of society is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights, which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature, but which could not be preserved in peace without that mutual assistance and intercourse which is gained by the institution of friendly and social communities. Hence it follows, that the first and primary end of human laws is to maintain and regulate these absolute rights of individuals. Such rights as are social and relative result from, and are posterior to, the formation of states and societies: so that to maintain and regulate these is clearly a subsequent consideration. And, therefore, the principal view of human laws is, or ought always to be, to explain, protect, and enforce such rights as are absolute...

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Because Blackstone distinguishes between the "absolute" or natural rights of individuals and their "social" or contractual rights he has a dual function of the state in mind. The absolute or natural rights are small in number, exist prior to the state, and take precedence over any social or contractual rights when it comes to enforcement. The social or contractual rights by contrast derive from individuals' absolute rights and are thus "relative", more numerous, and proliferate as society becomes more complex and developed. The aim of the state is to ensure that it "leaves the subject entire master of his own conduct".

199. JOHN RAMSAY MCCULLOCH ARGUES THAT SMUGGLING IS "WHOLLY THE RESULT OF VICIOUS COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL LEGISLATION" AND THAT IT COULD BE ENDED IMMEDIATELY BY ABOLISHING THIS LEGISLATION (1899)



Source: *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States by the best American and European Authors*, ed. John J. Lalor (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Co., 1899). Vol 3 Oath - Zollverein Chapter: SMUGGLING.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 11-15, 2009.

About the Author: John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864) was the leader of the Ricardian school following the death of Ricardo. He was a pioneer in the collection of economic statistics and was the first professor of political economy at the University of London in 1828. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

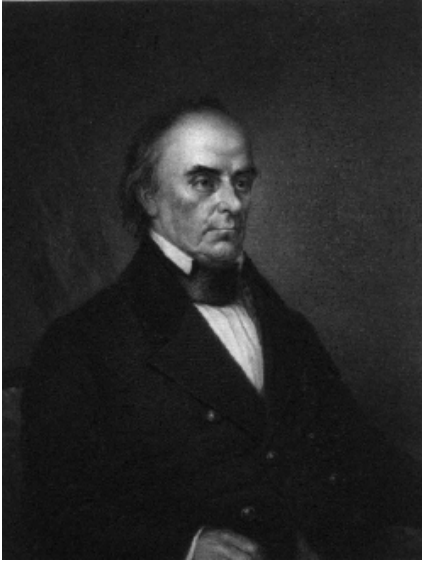
The advocate of Ricardian economics, John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864), argued that smuggling was caused by poor legislation, and that it resulted in the corruption of the law courts and the sending of troops into the field

This crime, which occupies so prominent a place in the criminal legislation of all modern states, is wholly the result of vicious commercial and financial legislation. It is the fruit either of prohibitions of importation, or of oppressively high duties. It does not originate in any depravity inherent in man; but in the folly and ignorance of legislators. ... To create by means of high duties an overwhelming temptation to indulge in crime, and then to punish men for indulging in it, is a proceeding completely subversive of every principle of justice. It revolts the natural feelings of the people; and teaches them to feel an interest in the worst characters—for such smugglers generally are—to espouse their cause, and avenge their wrongs. ... The true way to put down smuggling is to render it unprofitable; to diminish the temptation to engage in it; and this is not to be done by surrounding the coasts with cordons of troops, by the multiplication of oaths and penalties, and making the country the theatre of ferocious and bloody contests in the field, and of perjury and chicanery in the courts of law; but by repealing prohibitions, and reducing duties, so that their collection may be enforced with a moderate degree of vigilance; and that the forfeiture of the article may be a sufficient penalty upon the smuggler.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

One has to admire McCulloch's directness and simplicity. Who would have thought that so intractable problem like smuggling could be solved by one stroke of the pen? Adam Smith, Jean-Baptiste Say, Frédéric Bastiat, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, perhaps?

200. DANIEL WEBSTER THUNDERS THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF CONSCRIPTION WOULD BE A VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, AN AFFRONT TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND AN ACT OF UNRIVALED DESPOTISM (1814)



Source: Daniel Webster, *Daniel Webster on the Draft: Text of a Speech delivered in Congress, December 9, 1814* (Washington, D.C.: American Union Against Militarism, 1917). Chapter: II.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website May 25-29, 2009.

About the Author: Daniel Webster (1782-1852) was elected to Congress as a Federalist and served in the House of Representatives from 1813 to 1817. He was a prominent opponent of the Republican embargo and the War of 1812 and was elected to the House of Representatives from Boston, serving from 1823 to 1827, and then to the Senate in 1827. He opposed the protective tariff from 1816 to 1824 but voted for the tariff act of 1828. Webster supported Andrew Jackson in the nullification crisis, and opposed him on policy toward the Bank of the United States. As a critic of Jackson's exercise of the executive power, he became a leading Whig politician when that party came into existence in 1834. He was reelected to the Senate in 1833 and 1839, resigning in 1841 to become Secretary of State under William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. Elected to the Senate in 1844, Webster supported the Compromise of 1850. He served in the administration of Millard Fillmore as Secretary of State from 1850 until his death in 1852.

Quotation

Daniel Webster (1782-1852) gave a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives on December 9, 1814 in opposition to President Madison's proposal for compulsory military service in which he argued that Madison's plan to conscript individuals into the army was "an abominable doctrine (which) has no foundation in the Constitution"

Is this, sir, consistent with the character of a free government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No sir, indeed it is not. The Constitution is libelled, foully libelled. The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not purchased at a vast expense of their own treasure and their own blood a Magna Charta to be slaves. Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children, and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or the wickedness of government may engage it? Under what concealment has this power lain hidden which now for the first time comes forth, with a tremendous and baleful aspect, to trample down and destroy the dearest rights of personal liberty? Who will show me any Constitutional injunction which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender everything valuable in life, and even life itself, not when the safety of their country and its liberties may demand the sacrifice, but whenever the purposes of an ambitious and mischievous government may require it? Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations and references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Now and again we come across a speech which prompts us to imagine being in the audience when it was delivered. Daniel Webster had a reputation for public speaking and this speech is one which gained him that deserved reputation. The last paragraph of this quotation is one we would have very much liked to have heard: "It is their task to raise arbitrary powers, by construction, out of a plain written charter of National Liberty. It is their pleasing duty to free us of the delusion, which we have fondly cherished, that we are the subjects of a mild, free, and limited government, and to demonstrate, by a regular chain of premises and conclusions, that government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder,

more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every sort and degree of misery than has been exercised by any civilized government, with a single exception, in modern times." It is dripping with sarcasm which would have upset the supporters of the bill to a great degree. One wonders what government he is referring to with the phrase "single exception"? Perhaps France under Napoleon, or Britain when it was fighting the American revolutionary wars.

201. AUGUSTIN THIERRY RELATES THE HEROIC TALE OF THE KENTISHMEN WHO DEFEAT WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND SO ARE ABLE TO KEEP THEIR ANCIENT LAWS AND LIBERTIES (1856)



Source: Augustin Thierry, *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans; Its Causes, and its Consequences, in England, Scotland, Ireland, & on the Continent*, translated from the seventh Paris edition, by William Hazlitt (London: H.G. Bohn, 1856). In 2 volumes. Vol. 1. Chapter: No. IX. (page 182.): The valiant Courage and Policy of the Kentishmen which overcame William the Conqueror, who sought to take from them their Ancient Laws and Customs, which they retain to this day.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 1-5, 2009.

About the Author: Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) was a classical liberal historian who pioneered the collection, publication, and analysis of primary sources, especially for medieval French history. One of the themes of his work was the study of ruling elites or classes who came to power often through conquest.

Quotation

Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) was an important classical liberal historian who developed a class theory of history based upon the conflict between those who used force (as in conquest and taxation) and those who were the victims of that force (peasants and tax payers). In an Appendix to his *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans* (1856) Thierry includes a poem about William's failure to subdue the "Kentishmen" who refused to bow to his authority and forced William to allow them to keep their traditional laws. In return, the Kentishmen acknowledged William as King of England

They set themselves in armour bright,
These mischiefs to prevent;
With all the yeomen brave and bold
That were in fruitful Kent.

At Canterbury did they meet,
Upon a certain day,
With sword and spear, with bill and bow,
And stopt the conqueror's way.

"Let us not yield, like bond-men poor,
To Frenchmen in their pride,
But keep our ancient liberty,
What chance so e'er betide:

"And rather die in bloody field,
With manly courage prest,
Than to endure the servile voke,
Which we so much detest."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Among Augustin Thierry's talents as an historian was his diligence in tracking down primary sources. Here is an excellent example concerning the resistance of the Kentishmen to the Norman invaders of England. They are happy with the laws laid down by King Edward and see no reason to accept the new Norman king, his court and tax collectors, and laws. In the classic style of the guerrilla campaign against far superior odds, the Kentishmen use deception - they dress up as "trees" and so frighten the Norman force that they surrender and cut a deal with the Kentishmen. In exchange for recognizing the nominal authority of the Normans, the Kentishmen are "allowed" to keep their ancient laws and liberties. It reminds us of the scene in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* where soldiers dress up as trees in Birnam Wood to disguise their numbers as they move against Macbeth.

202. VOLTAIRE IN *CANDIDE* SAYS THAT "TENDING ONE'S OWN GARDEN" IS NOT ONLY A PRIVATE ACTIVITY BUT ALSO PRODUCTIVE (1759)



Source: Voltaire, *The Works of Voltaire. A Contemporary Version. A Critique and Biography by John Morley, notes by Tobias Smollett*, trans. William F. Fleming (New York: E.R. DuMont, 1901). In 21 vols. Vol. I. CHAPTER XXX.: conclusion.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 8-12, 2009.

About the Author: Voltaire (1694-1778) was one of the leading figures of the French Enlightenment. He first made a name for himself as a poet and playwright before turning to political philosophy, history, religious criticism, and other literary activities.

Quotation

The enlightened playwright and social critic Voltaire (1694-1778) concluded his satirical tale *Candide* (1759) with the observation that the violence and plunder of kings could not compare with the productive and peaceful life of those who minded their own business, "cultivated their own garden," and traded the surpluses with their neighbors:

Candide, as he was returning home, made profound reflections on the Turk's discourse. "This good old man," said he to Pangloss and Martin, "appears to me to have chosen for himself a lot much preferable to that of the six kings with whom we had the honor to sup." ... "Neither need you tell me," said Candide, "that we must take care of our garden." "You are in the right," said Pangloss; "for when man was put into the garden of Eden, it was with an intent to dress it: and this proves that man was not born to be idle." "Work then without disputing," said Martin; "it is the only way to render life supportable."

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

After his long journey across Europe and Asia Minor, Voltaire has his hero Candide settle down on the outskirts of the Muslim city of Constantinople to "tend his own garden", in other words "to mind his own business." After witnessing horrifying episodes of religious intolerance and political oppression Candide decides that the best thing to do in the world is settle down, live peacefully with his neighbours, and produce something of value to others which he can sell in the markets.

203. CESARE BECCARIA SAYS THAT TORTURE IS CRUEL AND BARBARIC AND A VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT NO ONE SHOULD BE PUNISHED UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY IN A COURT OF LAW; IN OTHER WORDS IT IS THE "RIGHT OF POWER" (1764)



Source: Cesare Bonesana di Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments. By the Marquis Beccaria of Milan. With a Commentary by M. de Voltaire. A New Edition Corrected.* (Albany: W.C. Little & Co., 1872). CHAPTER XVI.: OF TORTURE.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 15-19, 2009.

About the Author: Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794) was an Italian legal philosopher, political economist and politician who was much influenced by the French philosophes. In Milan he introduced a number of legal and monetary reforms but is best known for his 1764 work *On Crimes and Punishments* in which he advocated an end to torture and the death penalty.

Quotation

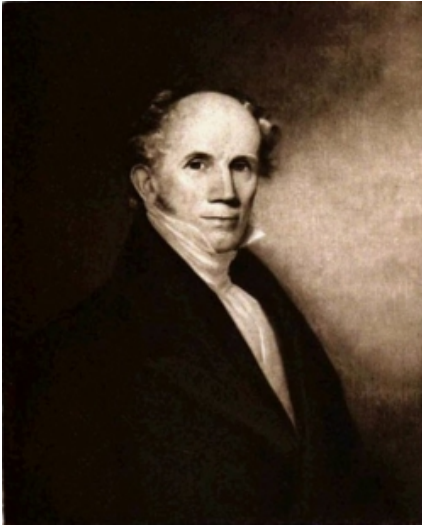
Chapter XVI of Cesare Beccaria's work on *Crimes and Punishments* (1764) is devoted to the issue of torture. Here he methodically lays out the modern, enlightened case against such practices, calling them cruel and based upon the "right of power" not justice

No man can be judged a criminal until he be found guilty; nor can society take from him the public protection, until it have been proved that he has violated the conditions on which it was granted. What right, then, but that of power, can authorise the punishment of a citizen, so long as there remains any doubt of his guilt? The dilemma is frequent. Either he is guilty, or not guilty. If guilty, he should only suffer the punishment ordained by the laws, and torture becomes useless, as his confession is unnecessary. If he be not guilty, you torture the innocent; for, in the eye of the law, every man is innocent, whose crime has not been proved.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Perhaps it is no coincidence that Beccaria's *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments* appeared in 1764, the same year as Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* appeared in France. Voltaire's work was an attempt to expose the religious intolerance at the heart of the French state, and torture was a common tool used by the church and state to punish or investigate heretics. In this English edition we have Voltaire's introduction as well as the text by Beccaria. A double bonus. Beccaria may well wonder why there is torture in the "enlightened" 18th century; what would he say about torture in the 21st century?

204. CONDY RAGUET LAYS OUT A SET OF BASIC PRINCIPLES OF FREE TRADE AMONG WHICH IS THE IDEA THAT GOVERNMENTS CANNOT CREATE WEALTH BY MEANS OF LEGISLATION AND THAT INDIVIDUALS ARE BETTER JUDGES OF THE BEST WAY TO USE THEIR CAPITAL AND LABOR THAN GOVERNMENTS (1835)



Source: Condé Raguet, *The Principles of Free Trade illustrated in a series of short and familiar Essays originally published in the Banner of the Constitution*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1840). Chapter: ESSAY No. I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website June 29 - July 3, 2009.

About the Author: Condé Raguet (1784-1842) was born in Philadelphia of French parents. He was elected to Congress in the Federalist Party but after the Panic of 1819 became increasingly in favor of sound banking and free trade. He served as Consul to Brazil under President Monroe.

Quotation

The American free trader Condé Raguet began a series of articles in the Philadelphia paper *Banner of the Constitution* in 1829 in which he listed the basic principles of free trade and its benefits to consumers

That individuals are better judges of the most advantageous mode of employing their labour and capital, than governments—
That wealth cannot be created by the mere enactment of laws—
That commerce is an exchange of equivalents not merely beneficial to one of the parties which carries it on, but to both, by enabling each to exchange with the other, those products which it can furnish upon the most favourable terms —
That commerce must be reciprocal, and consequently, that when one nation restricts its trade with another, and says, "I will not buy," she declares in the same words, "I will not sell."
That as far as foreign nations refuse to take our productions, they ipso facto, and without requiring any laws on our part to enforce a retaliation, absolutely deprive us of the power to take their productions—
That it is an error, to suppose that free trade is only advantageous when adopted by all nations, and that the interests of a country are to be promoted by counter restrictions.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Ten years before there was Richard Cobden in Britain and Frédéric Bastiat in France, there was the populariser of free trade ideas in America, Condé Raguet. The opponent against which he had to fight, and ultimately lost out to, was the Hamiltonian "America system" of tariffs and government funded "internal improvements". In this First Essay from 1829 Raguet clearly lays out for a popular audience a list of the main free trade principles. In some respects he is like the free trade popularisers Thomas Hodgskin (who spoke to ordinary working people in the Mechanics Institutes) and Jane Haldimand Marcet who pioneered writing for a popular audience. One wonders how different America would have been if it chosen to follow the free trade Raguet path in the 19th century instead of the protectionist Hamiltonian path.

205. BEETHOVEN'S HERO FLORESTAN IN THE OPERA *FIDELIO* LAMENTS THE LOSS OF HIS LIBERTY FOR SPEAKING THE TRUTH TO POWER (1805)



Source: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Beethoven's Opera Fidelio. German Text, with an English Translation* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1864). Chapter: SCENE I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 6-10, 2009.

About the Author: Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) was one of the great European classical composers of the first half of the 19th century. He wrote a number of politically inspired works including an opera *Fidelio* which had as one of its themes the issue of individual liberty.

Quotation

In Beethoven's only opera, *Fidelio* (1805), the hero Florestan is imprisoned and laments the loss of his liberty for speaking truth to power. He awaits his wife Leonora who comes to rescue him

Alas! what darkness dense!
What horrid stillness!
Here in this dark tomb, is nothing known
But my deep anguish! Oh, most cruel torture!
Oh, Heavenly Providence, how much longer
Will this my misery last!

In the bright morning of life
My liberty, alas! was lost:
These chains are the reward
Of true and open speaking.
But what avails my lamentations?
Hopeless is my condition:
The only solace for my torments
Rests on my conscious innocence.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Beethoven was a supporter of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the early phase of the French Revolution. He was to begin with a supporter of Napoleon as the embodiment of these ideals and he is reputed to have written the Eroica Symphony with the great man Napoleon in mind. One account has it that when he heard Napoleon had started on one of his many escapades of conquest that Beethoven in a fit of despair and anger scratched out the title "Eroica" as Napoleon was at the gates of Vienna. Another story has it that he had originally wanted to write the 9th Symphony using the radical liberal words of Friedrich Schiller "Freiheit" (freedom) instead of the now used "Freude" (joy) in the choral segment. In a post-1989 fall of the Berlin Wall concert in Berlin, Leonard Bernstein used the words of Schiller in a celebratory concert of the 9th. The sentiments expressed in *Fidelio*, that of conjugal love, loyalty, hatred of despotism, and love of liberty suggest that Beethoven was indeed a true friend of liberty.

**206. ÉTIENNE DE LA BOÉTIE PROVIDES ONE OF THE EARLIEST AND
CLEAREST EXPLANATIONS OF WHY THE SUFFERING MAJORITY OBEYS THE
MINORITY WHO RULE OVER THEM; IT IS AN EXAMPLE OF VOLUNTARY
SERVITUDE (1576)**



Source: This text is part of the "Forgotten Gems" in The Forum section of the Online Library of Liberty.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 6, 2009.

About the Author: Étienne de la Boétie (1530-1563) was a friend of Montaigne and made a name for himself with his poetry and translations of ancient Greek authors. He is perhaps better known today for his essay "Discourse of Voluntary Servitude" where he explores why the majority too often willingly capitulates to the demands of a tiny ruling minority.

Quotation

La Boétie poses one of the thorniest problems in political philosophy: why the suffering majority obey the orders of the ruling few:

For the present I should like merely to understand how it happens that so many men, so many villages, so many cities, so many nations, sometimes suffer under a single tyrant who has no other power than the power they give him; who is able to harm them only to the extent to which they have the willingness to bear with him; who could do them absolutely no injury unless they preferred to put up with him rather than contradict him.[3] Surely a striking situation! Yet it is so common that one must grieve the more and wonder the less at the spectacle of a million men serving in wretchedness, their necks under the yoke, not constrained by a greater multitude than they, but simply, it would seem, delighted and charmed by the name of one man alone whose power they need not fear, for he is evidently the one person whose qualities they cannot admire because of his inhumanity and brutality toward them. A weakness characteristic of human kind is that we often have to obey force; we have to make concessions; we ourselves cannot always be the stronger. Therefore, when a nation is constrained by the fortune of war to serve a single clique, as happened when the city of Athens served the thirty Tyrants, one should not be amazed that the nation obeys, but simply be grieved by the situation; or rather, instead of being amazed or saddened, consider patiently the evil and look forward hopefully toward a happier future.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Boétie's answer to this question is thoughtful and detailed. The country and system one is born under is accepted without question as normal; only a very few are born with the faculty to question the justice and necessity of the rule of the few; most are content to remain cowardly and submissive under tyranny; ordinary people are trained to adore their leaders; a select few who cooperate with the ruler are rewarded well for their services; others accept their servility because they wish to acquire wealth under the tyrant's rule. In 1549 Boétie was content to "consider patiently the evil and look forward hopefully toward a happier future" when this would no longer be the case.

207. THOMAS PAINE RESPONDED TO ONE OF BURKE'S CRITIQUES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION BY CYNICALLY ARGUING THAT WARS ARE SOMETIMES STARTED IN ORDER TO INCREASE TAXATION ("THE HARVEST OF WAR") (1791)



Source: Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution*. (2nd edition) by Thomas Paine (London: J.S. Jordan, 1791). Chapter: RIGHTS OF MAN, &c. &c.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 13-17, 2009.

About the Author: Thomas Paine (1737-1809) was a vigorous defender of and participant in both the American and French Revolutions. His most famous work is *Common Sense* (1776) which was an early call for the independence of the American colonies from Britain. His other well known work is *The Rights of Man* (1791) which was a reply to Burke's critique of the French Revolution.

Quotation

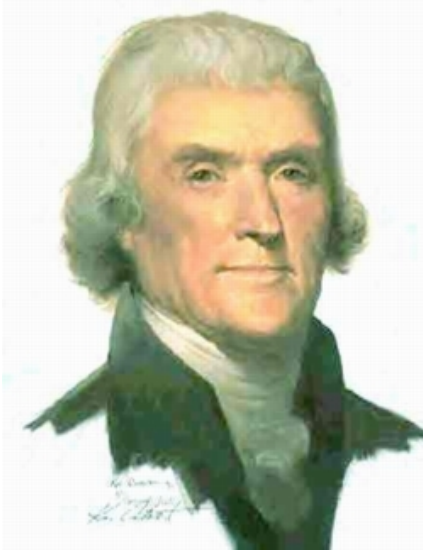
In his debate with Edmund Burke over the French Revolution, Thomas Paine (1737-1809) argues that there is a connection between war and the raising of taxes and that sometimes the former is engaged in to promote the latter:

It may with reason be said, that in the manner the English nation is represented, it signifies not where this right resides, whether in the Crown, or in the Parliament. War is the common harvest of all those who participate in the division and expenditure of public money, in all countries. It is the art of conquering at home: the object of it is an increase of revenue; and as revenue cannot be increased without taxes, a pretence must be made for expenditures. In reviewing the history of the English government, its wars and its taxes, a by-stander, not blinded by prejudice, nor warped by interest, would declare, that taxes were not raised to carry on wars, but that wars were raised to carry on taxes.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Paine here returns to his theme of the connection between war, public financing, and taxation. He cynically argues that history might lead one to the conclusion that far from raising taxes in order to fund wars, much benefit can be gained by the ruling and banking elite if wars are started in order to raise the national debt and increase taxation. Sometimes one wonders if this might be true. Paine and Burke were only two figures in a very spirited debate which took place in the 1790s about the significance and meaning of the French Revolution. It also involved Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Joseph Priestley, Catharine Macaulay, and Sir James Mackintosh, whose writings on the subject can be found at the OLL website [<http://oll.libertyfund.org/collection/73>].

208. THOMAS JEFFERSON ON THE DRAFT AS "THE LAST OF ALL OPPRESSIONS" (1777)



Source: Thomas Jefferson, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Federal Edition* (New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-5). Vol. 2. Chapter: To John Adams

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 20-24, 2009.

About the Author: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), a Virginian, was the author of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), an active participant in the Revolution, Governor of Virginia (1779), member of Congress, Minister to France, Secretary of State under President Washington, and president of the United States (1800). He was a polymath who wrote on and was knowledgeable about science, architecture, music, agriculture, law, education, geography, and music.

Quotation

Even when the revolutionary war was not going well for the colonists, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) reminded John Adams in a letter that the colonists would not stand for military conscription or the draft under any circumstances regarding it as "the last of all oppressions":

Our battalions for the continental service were some time ago so far filled as rendered the recommendation of a draught from the militia hardly requisite, and the more so as in this country it ever was the most unpopular and impracticable thing that could be attempted. Our people, even under the monarchical government, had learnt to consider it as the last of all oppressions.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Sometimes it comes down to the question of what is more important, the rights of individuals or the existence of the nation state? In this case, in the face of serious difficulties faced by the colonists in their war against the British Empire, Jefferson came down on the side of individual liberty. If it was tyranny to be conscripted under the monarchy, how would it be any different for the conscriptee if he were to be conscripted by another government in waiting? Jefferson concluded that, no matter the outward form of government, conscription is conscription and in any guise would be "the last of all oppressions." For many of them, those who died as a result, it would indeed be the "last" oppression they would ever suffer under.

209. ST. JOHN, PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND THE PARABLE OF THE WOLF AND THE GOOD SHEPHERD (2NDC AD)



Source: *The Parallel Bible. The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues: being the Authorised Version arranged in parallel columns with the Revised Version* (Oxford University Press, 1885). The Gospel according to S. John. Chapter: 10.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website July 27-31, 2009.

About the Author: John the Apostle is traditionally considered to be the author of the three Epistles of John, the Fourth Gospel, and Revelation.

Quotation

In the Gospel of St. John there is related a parable by Jesus about the wolf and the good shepherd. (10: 7-14). Only a property owner truly cares for his property and does what is necessary to protect it:

- 11. I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.
- 12. But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep.
- 13. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.
- 14. I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Scattered among the parables of the Christian Bible are many sound economic lessons gleaned from centuries of historical practice. In this parable John tells us about the junior employees who have no economic stake in the protection of the capital accumulated over time. When threatened by the appearance of the wolf the "employed" shepherd runs off leaving the flock (the invested capital) exposed to attack. Only the owner of the capital has a real economic interest in protecting that capital investment. Is this what Max Weber called the "Protestant work ethic", or is it a universal truth applicable to all societies at all times?

210. EDWARD GIBBON CALLED THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE AND EXCESSIVE OBEDIENCE THE "SECRET POISON" WHICH CORRUPTED THE ROMAN EMPIRE (1776)



Source: Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury with an Introduction by W.E.H. Lecky (New York: Fred de Fau and Co., 1906), in 12 vols. Vol. 1. Chapter: CHAPTER II

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 3-7, 2009.

About the Author: Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) is regarded as the greatest historian of the Enlightenment. His multi-volume history of Rome was both scholarly and full of humane scepticism. Although he was a Member of Parliament he was a long-time resident of Lausanne.

Quotation

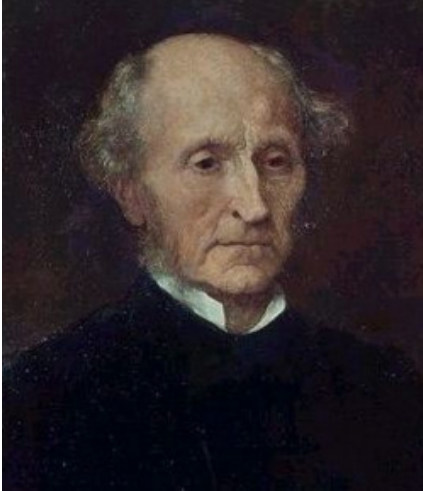
Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) called the loss of independence and excessive obedience to the Emperor the "secret poison" which corrupted the Roman Empire:

It was scarcely possible that the eyes of contemporaries should discover in the public felicity the latent causes of decay and corruption. This long peace, and the uniform government of the Romans, introduced a slow and secret poison into the vitals of the empire...Their personal valour remained, but they no longer possessed that public courage which is nourished by the love of independence, the sense of national honour, the presence of danger, and the habit of command. They received laws and governors from the will of their sovereign, and trusted for their defence to a mercenary army. The posterity of their boldest leaders was contented with the rank of citizens and subjects.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

We have turned to Gibbon many times for a consoling or warning quotation about the dangers of empire, the weakening of the spirit of liberty, and the expansion of national debt. So as we settle into a new regime it seems appropriate to turn yet again to the master chronicler of imperial decline (but not to forget Tacitus). In this quotation, written at the beginning of his vast history which took some 20 years to complete, Gibbon forewarns of "a slow and secret poison" which seeped into "the vitals of the empire". This was a combination of a uniformity of spirit, the diminution of the love of independence, the habit of command, the willingness to accept the commands of the central authority, and the growth of indifference to the political issues which concerned their liberty. Plus ça change.

**211. JOHN STUART MILL DISCUSSES THE ORIGINS OF THE STATE
WHEREBY THE "PRODUCTIVE CLASS" SEEKS PROTECTION FROM ONE
"MEMBER OF THE PREDATORY CLASS" IN ORDER TO GAIN SOME SECURITY
OF PROPERTY (1848)**



Source: John Stuart Mill, *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume III - The Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy (Books III-V and Appendices)*, ed. John M. Robson, Introduction by V.W. Bladen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965). CHAPTER VIII: Of the Ordinary Functions of Government, Considered as to Their Economical Effects.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 10-14, 2009.

About the Author: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was the precocious child of the Philosophical Radical and Benthamite James Mill. Taught Greek, Latin, and political economy at an early age, He spent his youth in the company of the Philosophic Radicals, Benthamites and utilitarians who gathered around his father James. J.S. Mill went on to become a journalist, Member of Parliament, and philosopher and is regarded as one of the most significant English classical liberals of the 19th century.

Quotation

In a chapter on the function of government in *The Principles of Political Economy* (1848) John Stuart Mill observed how the state (or the predatory class) forces the productive classes into a condition of uncertainty, insecurity, and dependence:

There is no need to expatiate on the influence exercised over the economical interests of society by the degree of completeness with which this duty of government [the protection of person and property] is performed. Insecurity of person and property, is as much as to say, uncertainty of the connexion between all human exertions or sacrifice, and the attainment of the ends for the sake of which they are undergone. It means, uncertainty whether they who sow shall reap, whether they who produce shall consume, and they who spare to-day shall enjoy to-morrow. It means, not only that labour and frugality are not the road to acquisition, but that violence is. When person and property are to a certain degree insecure, all the possessions of the weak are at the mercy of the strong. No one can keep what he has produced, unless he is more capable of defending it, than others who give no part of their time and exertions to useful industry are of taking it from him. The productive classes, therefore, when the insecurity surpasses a certain point, being unequal to their own protection against the predatory population, are obliged to place themselves individually in a state of dependence on some member of the predatory class, that it may be his interest to shield them from all depredation except his own. In this manner, in the Middle Ages, allodial property generally became feudal, and numbers of the poorer freemen voluntarily made themselves and their posterity serfs of some military lord.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In an analysis of the history of the formation of the state which is quite similar to that of Franz Oppenheimer (1864-1943) [<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/3806>] John Stuart Mill begins by discussing the deleterious effects on production caused by the "incomplete security of person and property". One should recall his discussion of the "vultures" and their "harpies" which drive the productive classes to seek some security from the strongest "vulture" against the myriad other "vultures" who prey on them. In exchange for continuing to pay the strongest "vulture" his protection money, the productive class is spared from having to pay off all the others. Thus begins the state in the medieval period according to Mill. In another interesting passage Mill discusses the impact that established governments have on national prosperity: "oppression by the government, whose power is generally irresistible by any efforts that can be made by individuals, has so much more baneful an effect on the springs of national prosperity, than almost any degree of lawlessness and turbulence under free institutions."

212. BENJAMIN CONSTANT DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN THE LIBERTY OF THE ANCIENTS ("THE COMPLETE SUBJECTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMUNITY") AND THAT OF THE MODERNS ("WHERE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND COMMERCE ARE RESPECTED") (1816)



Source: Benjamin Constant, *The Liberty of Ancients Compared with that of Moderns* (1816)

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 12, 2009.

About the Author: Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) was born in Switzerland and became one of France's leading writers, as well as a journalist, philosopher, and politician. His colorful life included a formative stay at the University of Edinburgh; service at the court of Brunswick, Germany; election to the French Tribunate; and initial opposition and subsequent support for Napoleon, even the drafting of a constitution for the Hundred Days. Constant wrote many books, essays, and pamphlets. His deepest conviction was that reform is hugely superior to revolution, both morally and politically. Sir Isaiah Berlin called Constant "the most eloquent of all defenders of freedom and privacy" and believed to him we owe the notion of "negative liberty," that is, what Bianca Maria Fontana describes as "the protection of individual experience and choices from external interferences and constraints." To Constant it was relatively unimportant whether liberty was ultimately grounded in religion or metaphysics—what mattered were the practical guarantees of practical freedom—"autonomy in all those aspects of life that could cause no harm to others or to society."

Quotation

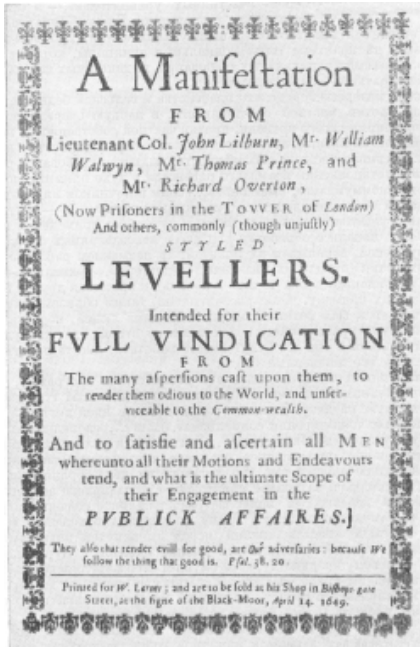
In this section of his essay Constant argues that the right to engage in commerce and the protection of property rights which makes this possible is one of the key factors which distinguished modern liberty from ancient liberty:

The effects of commerce extend even further: not only does it emancipate individuals, but, by creating credit, it places authority itself in a position of dependence. Money, says a French writer, 'is the most dangerous weapon of despotism; yet it is at the same time its most powerful restraint; credit is subject to opinion; force is useless; money hides itself or flees; all the operations of the state are suspended'. Credit did not have the same influence amongst the ancients; their governments were stronger than individuals, while in our time individuals are stronger than the political powers. Wealth is a power which is more readily available in all circumstances, more readily applicable to all interests, and consequently more real and better obeyed. Power threatens; wealth rewards: one eludes power by deceiving it; to obtain the favors of wealth one must serve it: the latter is therefore bound to win.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

It is interesting to reflect on the context in which this essay was written. In 1816 Napoleon had been defeated for the second time, the economies of Europe had been wasted by 25 years of war, international commerce had been severely disrupted, millions of men had been under arms, hundreds of thousands had been killed or wounded, the French republican experiment had been brought to a close, and the monarchs were re-established in their thrones. In this climate Constant writes this important essay drawing a clear distinction between the liberty of the ancients (formal political liberties for some so long as all other freedoms were under the control of the state) and the liberty of the moderns (representative government, respect of individual rights, the rule of law, and the right to engage in commerce). The right to engage in commerce is central to this essay as Constant and other French liberals of the time believed that Europe had turned an historical corner and that it was entering a new "era of commerce and industry" and leaving behind it the "era of war and despotism" which had come to an ignominious end under Napoleon.

213. RICHARD OVERTON SHOOTS AN ARROW AGAINST ALL TYRANTS FROM THE PRISON OF NEWGATE INTO THE PREROGATIVE BOWELS OF THE ARBITRARY HOUSE OF LORDS AND ALL OTHER USURPERS AND TYRANTS WHATSOEVER (1646):



Source: Richard Overton, *An Arrow against all Tyrants* (12 October 1646).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 12, 2009.

About the Author: Richard Overton (1631-1664) was an actor, playwright, and Leveller pamphleteer during the English Revolution. He had his own secret printing press and wrote many articles for the Leveller journal *The Moderate*. His most important works include *Mans Mortalitie* (1644), *An Arrow against all Tyrants* (1646), and *A Defiance against all Arbitrary Usurpations* (1646).

Quotation

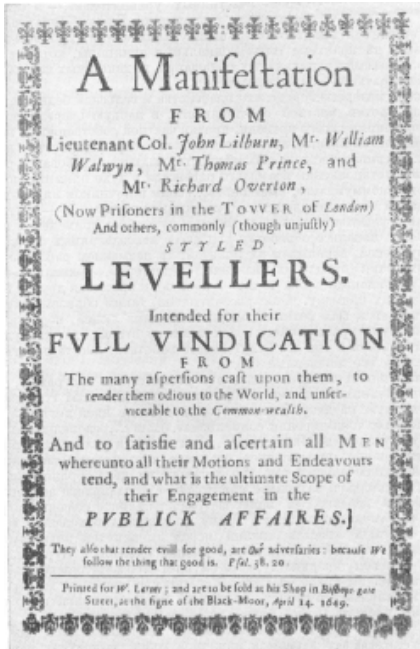
While in prison the Leveller Richard Overton "shoots an arrow" (ideological not literal) at the arbitrary government which imprisoned him. He begins with a solid defense of individual property rights and goes from there:

To every individual in nature is given an individual property by nature not to be invaded or usurped by any. For every one, as he is himself, so he has a self-propriety, else could he not be himself; and of this no second may presume to deprive any of without manifest violation and affront to the very principles of nature and of the rules of equity and justice between man and man. Mine and thine cannot be, except this be. No man has power over my rights and liberties, and I over no man's. I may be but an individual, enjoy my self and my self-propriety and may right myself no more than my self, or presume any further; if I do, I am an encroacher and an invader upon another man's right — to which I have no right. For by natural birth all men are equally and alike born to like propriety, liberty and freedom; and as we are delivered of God by the hand of nature into this world, every one with a natural, innate freedom and propriety — as it were writ in the table of every man's heart, never to be obliterated — even so are we to live, everyone equally and alike to enjoy his birthright and privilege; even all whereof God by nature has made him free.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The Levellers were the radical individualist wing of the republican movement which unseated Charles I and helped institute a republic in England. Belying the name they were given by their enemies, the Levellers believed strongly individual property rights as the foundation of individual liberty. Overton's pamphlet is an excellent example of this. In many ways Overton sounds like a precursor to Lysander Spooner with his uncompromising and consistent logic from first principles, his stress on "mine and thine", and his strict notion of consent theory.

214. CAPTAIN JOHN CLARKE ASSERTS THE RIGHT OF ALL MEN TO VOTE IN THE FORMATION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION BY RIGHT OF THE PROPERTY THEY HAVE IN THEMSELVES (1647)



Source: Arthur Sutherland Pigott Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty, being the Army Debates (1647-9) from the Clarke Manuscripts with Supplementary Documents*, selected and edited with an Introduction A.S.P. Woodhouse, foreword by A.D. Lindsay (University of Chicago Press, 1951). Chapter: Putney, 29th October 1647.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 17-21, 2009.

About the Author: Captain John Clarke was one of the officers of the New Model Army who met in general council at Putney in October 1647 to debate the constitutional settlement. Cromwell argued that the franchise should be strictly limited to men of property. He was challenged by Rainborough, Sexby, and Clarke who were representatives of the radical Leveller movement within the army. Clarke argued for a much broader franchise in elections based upon his notion of natural law and individual property rights.

Quotation

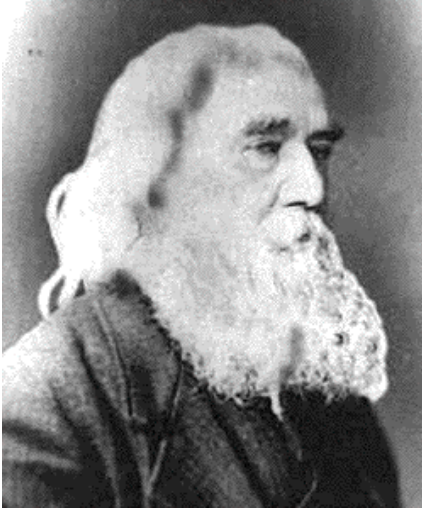
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... the grand question of all is, whether or no it be the property of every individual person in the kingdom to have a vote in election[s]; and the ground [on which it is claimed] is the Law of Nature, which, for my part, I think to be that law which is the ground of all constitutions. Yet really properties are the foundation of constitutions, [and not constitutions of property]. For if so be there were no constitutions, yet the Law of Nature does give a principle [for every man] to have a property of what he has, or may have, which is not another man's. This [natural right to] property is the ground of meum and tuum. Now there may be inconveniencies on both hands, but not so great freedom [on either as is supposed—not] the greater freedom, as I conceive, that all may have whatsoever [they have a mind to]. And if it come to pass that there be a difference, and that the one [claimant] doth oppose the other, then nothing can decide it but the sword, which is the wrath of God.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The Putney Debates of October 1647 are one of those few revolutionary moments when the direction a nation might go in is being determined. Here is the vigorous discussion with the New Model Army over what kind of constitution they want the New Britain to have. Cromwell and others want to severely restrict the vote to the "better part" of property owners. He is courageously challenged by Captain John Clarke who states that constitutions are based on the natural right of property which all men have, and all men at least have a property in themselves and this entitles them to vote in any election.

215. LYSANDER SPOONER ARGUES THAT ACCORDING TO THE TRADITIONAL ENGLISH COMMON LAW, TAXATION WOULD NOT BE UPHELD BECAUSE NO EXPLICIT CONSENT WAS GIVEN BY INDIVIDUALS TO BE TAXED (1852)



Source: Lysander Spooner, *An Essay on the Trial by Jury* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1852). Chapter: APPENDIX.: TAXATION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 17, 2009.

About the Author: Lysander Spooner (1808-1887) was a legal theorist, abolitionist, and radical individualist who started his own mail company in order to challenge the monopoly held by the US government. He wrote on the constitutionality of slavery, natural law, trial by jury, intellectual property, paper currency, and banking.

Quotation

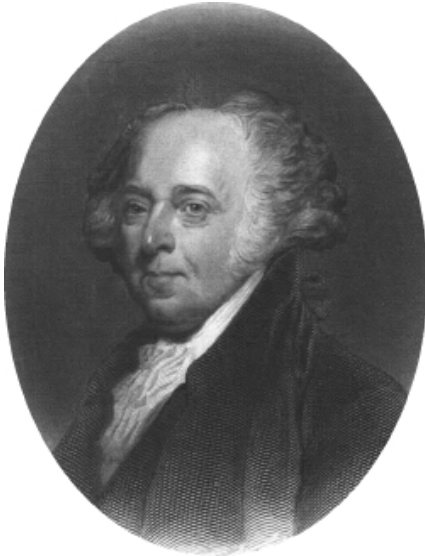
One of the demands of the American revolutionaries was "no taxation without representation"; Spooner takes this demand one step further by stating "no taxation without explicit consent":

If the trial by jury were reestablished, the Common Law principle of taxation would be reestablished with it; for it is not to be supposed that juries would enforce a tax upon an individual which he had never agreed to pay. Taxation without consent is as plainly robbery, when enforced against one man, as when enforced against millions; and it is not to be imagined that juries could be blind to so self-evident a principle. Taking a man's money without his consent, is also as much robbery, when it is done by millions of men, acting in concert, and calling themselves a government, as when it is done by a single individual, acting on his own responsibility, and calling himself a highwayman. Neither the numbers engaged in the act, nor the different characters they assume as a cover for the act, alter the nature of the act itself.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Tucked away at the back of his book on *Trial by Jury* (1852) is this small gem of an Appendix on Taxation. Spooner is convinced that, if the laws of taxation were tested in a traditional common law trial by jury and if (a big if one might say) juries were allowed to pronounce on the justice of the law as well as any crime committed under that law, then they would find any reluctant taxpayer not guilty of refusing to pay their taxes. Once again, Spooner wants to push explicit consent theory and his natural law beliefs to their logical conclusion.

216. JOHN ADAMS THOUGHT HE COULD SEE ARBITRARY POWER EMERGING IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND URGED HIS COUNTRYMEN TO "NIP IT IN THE BUD" BEFORE THEY LOST ALL THEIR LIBERTIES (1774)



Source: John Adams, *The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams*, Selected and with a Foreword by C. Bradley Thompson (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2000). *Novanglus*. Chapter: No. iii.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 23-28, 2009.

About the Author: John Adams (1735-1826) was one of the principal framers of the American republic and the successor to Washington as president. Before the Revolution he wrote some of the most important documents on the nature of the British Constitution and the meaning of rights, sovereignty, representation, and obligation. And it was Adams who, once the colonies had declared independence, wrote equally important works on possible forms of government in a quest to develop a science of politics for the construction of a constitution for the proposed republic.

Quotation

In 1774 John Adams (1735-1826) replied to a series of essays by Daniel Leonard who defended the authority of the British Parliament over the American colonies. His *Novanglus* letters had a powerful impact in the colonies, especially his arguments about the limits of British imperial authority which Adams wanted to "nip in the bud":

Obsta principiis, nip the shoots of arbitrary power in the bud, is the only maxim which can ever preserve the liberties of any people. When the people give way, their deceivers, betrayers, and destroyers press upon them so fast, that there is no resisting afterwards. The nature of the encroachment upon the American constitution is such, as to grow every day more and more encroaching. Like a cancer, it eats faster and faster every hour. The revenue creates pensioners, and the pensioners urge for more revenue. The people grow less steady, spirited, and virtuous, the seekers more numerous and more corrupt, and every day increases the circles of their dependents and expectants, until virtue, integrity, public spirit, simplicity, and frugality, become the objects of ridicule and scorn, and vanity, luxury, foppery, selfishness, meanness, and downright venality swallow up the whole society.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

John Adams uses a Latin phrase in order to warn his fellow colonists to put an end to the growing arbitrary power of the British crown: "obsta principiis" (or "nip it in the bud"). In 1774 they were close to taking the final step and seeking a separation from the Crown in an act of independence and revolt. One of the most dangerous aspects of arbitrary government, in Adams' view, was that it created swarms of "pensioners" who lived off the tax revenues. These "pensioners" of the state revenue urge the government to increase the taxes in order to expand their own incomes as well as those of their "dependents and expectants" until they "swallow up the whole society".

217. LYSANDER SPOONER ON JURY NULLIFICATION AS THE "PALLADIUM OF LIBERTY" AGAINST THE TYRANNY OF GOVERNMENT (1852)



Source: Lysander Spooner, *An Essay on the Trial by Jury* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1852). Chapter: SECTION I.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website August 31-September 4, 2009.

About the Author: Lysander Spooner (1808-1887) was a legal theorist, abolitionist, and radical individualist who started his own mail company in order to challenge the monopoly held by the US government. He wrote on the constitutionality of slavery, natural law, trial by jury, intellectual property, paper currency, and banking.

Quotation

Lysander Spooner (1808-1887) argued in *Trial by Jury* (1852) that juries had the right and the duty to judge the justice of the law and to thereby act as a "palladium of liberty" against the tyranny of government:

It is manifest, therefore, that the jury must judge of and try the whole case, and every part and parcel of the case, free of any dictation or authority on the part of the government. They must judge of the existence of the law; of the true exposition of the law; of the justice of the law; and of the admissibility and weight of all the evidence offered; otherwise the government will have everything its own way; the jury will be mere puppets in the hands of the government; and the trial will be, in reality, a trial by the government, and not a "trial by the country." By such trials the government will determine its own powers over the people, instead of the people's determining their own liberties against the government; and it will be an entire delusion to talk, as for centuries we have done, of the trial by jury, as a "palladium of liberty," or as any protection to the people against the oppression and tyranny of the government.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Lysander Spooner was one of the most radical legal theorists of the 19th century. At one stage he argued that the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Amendments to the Constitution (the Bill of Rights) clearly prohibited slavery as a matter of principle and equal rights before nature and the law. When this proved to be a losing proposition in the 1850s he turned to arguing that the U.S. Constitution had no authority over free men and that it should be ignored or undermined. One powerful way to do this was "jury nullification", i.e. the ancient right of juries going back to Magna Carta to determine the justice of any law which might be applied to a case, to determine the rules of evidence, and to thus act as brake on central government power. He wrote this tract in 1852 arguing along these lines. Needless to say, he was unsuccessful in changing the course of the growth of government power but his arguments linger on.

218. JAMES MILL ON THE NATURAL DISPOSITION TO ACCUMULATE PROPERTY (1808).



Source: James Mill, *Commerce Defended. An Answer to the Arguments by which Mr. Spence, Mr. Cobbett, and Others, have attempted to Prove that Commerce is not a source of National Wealth* (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1808). Chapter: General Reflections.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 7-13, 2009.

About the Author: James Mill (1773-1836) was an early 19th century Philosophic Radical, journalist, and editor from Scotland. He was very influenced by Jeremy Bentham's ideas about utilitarianism which he applied to the study of British India, political economy, and electoral reform. Mill wrote on the British corn laws, free trade, comparative advantage, the history of India, and electoral reform. His son, John Stuart, after a rigorous home education, became one of the leading English classical liberals in the 19th century.

Quotation

James Mill (1773-1836), the father of John Stuart Mill, defended commerce and the freedom to trade against its critics on the grounds that it was natural, greatly contributed to human happiness, and added to the amount of wealth in society.

...no arrangement of society, consistent with any tolerable degree of freedom and security, seems capable of preventing this wonderful agent [the disposition to accumulation] from adding something every year to the fund of production, from continually increasing the annual produce. As it is this gradual produce on which the happiness of the great body of the people depends, we may reflect with satisfaction and wonder on the strength of the principle on which it is secured; on the provision which is laid in the original laws of human nature for the well-being of the species!

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill, was an ardent defender of free trade and an opponent of the "sinister interests" which controlled British politics in the early 19th century. In this tract he defends the liberty and mutual benefits of free trade at a difficult time - Napoleon's blockade of continental Europe was in force, in an attempt to weaken Britain by denying it its traditional markets on the mainland, and there existed a popular notion that trade and industry were not "really productive" whereas only "agriculture" was. So Mill had to fight a battle for free trade on two fronts: that England would benefit from free trade even if other countries persisted in subsidies and tariff protection; and that trade in goods other than traditional agricultural products could add to the sum total of "national wealth". Even 200 years after Mill wrote this tract, we are still fighting the same battles.

219. SAMUEL SMILES ON HOW AN IDLE, THRIFTLESS, OR DRUNKEN MAN CAN, AND SHOULD, IMPROVE HIMSELF THROUGH SELF-HELP AND NOT BY MEANS OF THE STATE (1859).



Source: Samuel Smiles, *Self Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863). Chapter I: SELF-HELP,—NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 14-17, 2009.

About the Author: Samuel Smiles (1812-1904) was a Scot who originally trained as a doctor before turning to journalism fulltime. Smiles wrote for a popular audience to show people how best to take advantage of the changes being brought about by the industrial revolution which was sweeping Britain and other parts of the world in the first half of the 19th century. In his best known work, *Self-Help* he combines Victorian morality with sound free market ideas into moral tales showing the benefits of thrift, hard work, education, perseverance, and a sound moral character. He drew upon the personal success stories of the emerging self-made millionaires in the pottery industry (Josiah Wedgwood), the railway industry (Watt and Stephenson), and the weaving industry (Jacquard) to make his point that the benefits of the market were open to anyone.

Quotation

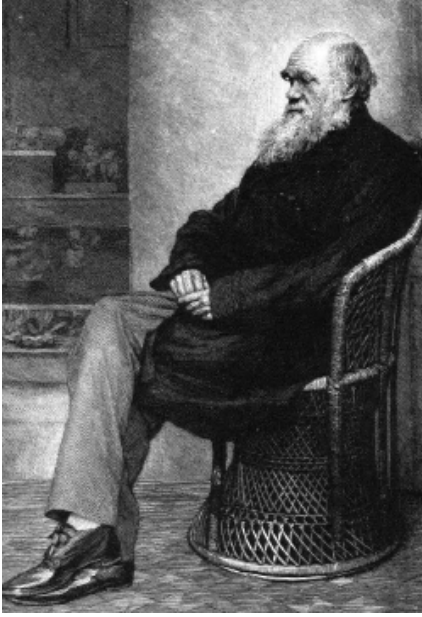
The Scot, Samuel Smiles (1812-1904), argued that individuals could and should improve themselves through hard work, thrift, self-discipline, education, and moral improvement and not seek the help of government:

[T]here is no power of law that can make the idle man industrious, the thriftless provident, or the drunken sober; though every individual can be each and all of these if he will, by the exercise of his own free powers of action and self-denial. Indeed, all experience serves to prove that the worth and strength of a state depend far less upon the form of its institutions than upon the character of its men. For the nation is only the aggregate of individual conditions, and civilization itself is but a question of personal improvement.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Samuel Smiles is one of several writers of the Victorian period who advocated what are now called "Victorian values", i.e. the value of hard work, thrift, self-discipline, education, and moral improvement. He used a number of historical examples of successful and self-made men, such as Josiah Wedgwood, to urge ordinary working men and women to follow these examples. In a passage just before the quote shown above, Smiles makes the following point which shows his radical liberal perspective: "it is every day becoming more clearly understood, that the function of government is negative and restrictive, rather than positive and active; being resolvable principally into protection,—protection of life, liberty, and property. Hence the chief "reforms" of the last fifty years have consisted mainly in abolitions and disenactments."

220. CHARLES DARWIN ON LIFE AS A SPONTANEOUS ORDER WHICH EMERGED BY THE OPERATION OF NATURAL LAWS (1859)



Source: Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life, with additions and corrections from the sixth and last English edition*, in two volumes (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1896). Volume 2. CHAPTER XV.: RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 21-25, 2009.

About the Author: Charles Darwin (1809-1882) studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and then theology at Cambridge before deciding to travel on the H.M.S. Beagle to observe first hand the distribution and change in structure of animal and plant life in many parts of the world, notably South America. From the material he gathered from this voyage he developed the idea that life evolved over time from common ancestors by a process he called "natural selection."

Quotation

Charles Darwin (1809-1882) concludes *The Origin of Species* (1859) by marvelling at the "grandeur" and complexity of the life which has evolved as a spontaneous order through the operation of natural laws:

It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us... Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being evolved.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Charles Darwin is an interesting figure for a number of reasons. Recent scholarship suggests that he became interested in the common ancestry of all creatures as a result of his family's connections to the anti-slavery movement, sentiments which Darwin shared. He is also an interesting example of how ideas can spread across disciplines. In this case, the idea of complex structures emerging spontaneously and the absence of the need for a central planner was developed first in economic thought in the 18th century (one could mention Adam Ferguson here). Darwin's *The Origin of Species* is an example of these ideas being successfully applied to the natural world, namely that complex creatures can and do emerge spontaneously over time from simpler creatures as a result of the operation of natural laws.

221. DAVID HUME ARGUES THAT "LOVE OF LIBERTY" IN SOME INDIVIDUALS OFTEN ATTRACTS THE RELIGIOUS INQUISITOR TO PERSECUTE THEM AND THEREBY DRIVE SOCIETY INTO A STATE OF "IGNORANCE, CORRUPTION, AND BONDAGE" (1757)



Source: David Hume, *The Natural History of Religion*. By David Hume. With an Introduction by John M. Robertson (London: A. and H. Bradlaugh Bonner, 1889). Chapter: Section IX.: Comparison of these Religions with regard to Persecution and Toleration.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website September 28 - October 2, 2009.

About the Author: David Hume (1711-1776) was a moral philosopher and historian and a leading member of the Scottish Enlightenment. In philosophy he was a skeptic. In his multi-volume *History of England* he showed how the rule of law and the creation of an independent judiciary created the foundation for liberty in England. Hume also wrote on economics, was a personal friend of Adam Smith, and was a proponent of free trade. His works highlighted the neutrality of money and the errors of the mercantilists (whose flawed theories in favor of increased exports in order to build up a stock of gold remain the foundations of many public policies even today).

Quotation

When faced with the problem of religious persecution and even death at the hands of the inquisitor Hume argues that "the illegal murder of one man by a tyrant is more pernicious than the death of a thousand by pestilence, famine, ... calamity":

[V]irtue, knowledge, love of liberty, are the qualities which call down the fatal vengeance of inquisitors; and when expelled, leave the society in the most shameful ignorance, corruption, and bondage. The illegal murder of one man by a tyrant is more pernicious than the death of a thousand by pestilence, famine, or any undistinguishing calamity.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In a world in which religious intolerance is on the increase it is useful to reflect on what some of the great philosophers, like John Locke and David Hume, have had to say on the topic. In this quotation David Hume discusses the different approaches to intolerance taken by monotheistic religious versus polytheistic one. In his view the monotheistic religious have shown greater hostility to other religions and have accordingly committed some outrageous crimes such as persecution and murder. He believes that some individuals, because of their "virtue, knowledge, love of liberty" have attracted the wrath of the religious inquisitors who have often persecuted or even murdered them. When these "lovers of liberty" have been expelled or eliminated it leaves society in a much worse state than it was before, "in the most shameful ignorance, corruption, and bondage". Hume concludes that "the illegal murder of one man by a tyrant is more pernicious than the death of a thousand by pestilence, famine, or any undistinguishing calamity."

222. THE ABBÉ DE MABLY ARGUES WITH JOHN ADAMS ABOUT THE DANGERS OF A "COMMERCIAL ELITE" SEIZING CONTROL OF THE NEW REPUBLIC AND USING IT TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE (1785)



Source: Gabriel Bonnet Abbé de Mably, *Remarks concerning the Government and Laws of the United States of America: in Four Letters addressed to Mr. Adams, with Notes by the Translator* (Dublin: Moncrieffe, 1785). Chapter: LETTER IV.: Concerning the Dangers to which the American Confederation stands exposed; the Circumstances which will give rise to Troubles and Divisions; and the Necessity of augmenting the Power of the Continental Congress.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 5-9, 2009.

About the Author: The Abbé de Mably (1709-1785) was the brother of Condillac and a noted French political writer of republican sympathies who thought the state should redistribute wealth of the grounds of equality.

Quotation

The Abbé de Mably has an interesting debate with John Adams about the dangers of a "commercial elite" seizing control of the new Republic and using it to their own advantage:

[I] shall rest satisfied with observing that our European manners which, probably, are, at this period, too common in America, will enable money (or, in other words, the rich) to usurp and to maintain an absolute dominion throughout the several states. To prevent it from striking root, some weak and feeble efforts will arise; and, perhaps, it may not prove impossible, by a multitude of precautions, to prevent this empire from becoming actually tyrannical. If feeble laws have not the power to hinder the commercial bodies from seizing upon all authority; if the public morals present no succors to the people; but, strive, in vain, to set some limits to the rage of avarice, I must tremble at the prospect of the final rupture of all the bonds of your confederation.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

A number of European writers (Mably, Turgot, and others) were concerned that the new American Republic did not have sufficient checks and balances to prevent a new elite (commercial in Mably's fear) from coming to power and turning the U.S. government into a new form of tyranny. John Adams replied to their criticisms in his *Defence of the Constitutions* (1787) which we also have online.

223. HARRIET TAYLOR WANTS TO SEE "FREEDOM AND ADMISSIBILITY" IN ALL AREAS OF HUMAN ACTIVITY REPLACE THE SYSTEM OF "PRIVILEGE AND EXCLUSION" (1847)



Source: John Stuart Mill, *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXI - Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, ed. John M. Robson, Introduction by Stefan Collini (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984). Harriet Taylor: Rights of Women—and Especially with Regard to the Elective Franchise—By a Woman—Dedicated to Queen Victoria.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 12-16, 2009.

About the Author: Harriet Taylor (1807-1858) was the long-time companion and eventually the wife of John Stuart Mill. She had a great influence on his thinking about the situation of women in Victorian Britain and co-wrote some articles with him. She also wrote a number of works on her own such as *The Enfranchisement of Women* (1851).

Quotation

Harriet Taylor (1807-1858), in an essay dedicated to Queen Victoria, claims that the replacement of "privilege and exclusion" by that of "freedom and admissibility" is "the very most important advance which has hitherto been made in human society":

Trades and occupations have almost everywhere ceased to be privileges. Thus exclusion after exclusion has disappeared, until privilege has ceased to be the general rule, and tends more and more to become the exception: it now no longer seems a matter of course that there should be an exclusion, but it is conceded that freedom and admissibility ought to prevail, wherever there is not some special reason for limiting them. Whoever considers how immense a change this is from primitive opinions and feelings, will think it nothing less than the very most important advance which has hitherto been made in human society. It is nothing less than the beginning of the reign of justice, or the first dawn of it at least. It is the introduction of the principle that distinctions, and inequalities of rights, are not good things in themselves, and that none ought to exist for which there is not a special justification, grounded on the greatest good of the whole community, privileged and excluded taken together.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Tucked away in an appendix at the back of volume 21 of the 33 volume *Collected Works of J.S. Mill* are the small number of essays written by Harriet Taylor. She is important both for her own ideas and for the influence she exerted on her companion. This piece is taken from a letter or essay she wrote and dedicated to Queen Victoria on the need to abolish all forms of "privilege and exclusion" and to replace it with a system based upon "freedom and admissibility". What is also interesting in this passage is how she puts this demand into a broader historical context where the demand for the freedom of women is seen in a long march towards liberty which had been going on since the end of feudalism. It is not known how Queen Victoria reacted to this essay.

224. FRANK TAUSSIG ARGUES FOR THE REVERSE OF A COMMON MISCONCEPTION ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIGH WAGES AND THE USE OF MACHINERY (1915)



Source: Frank William Taussig, *Some Aspects of the Tariff Question* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915). Part I, Chapter III: The Principle of Comparative Advantage.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 19-23, 2009.

About the Author: Frank W. Taussig (1859-1940), American economist, taught at Harvard, and worked on international trade. His articles and books on tariffs, both in theory and in careful empirical studies of industries and history, became the foundation of how modern trade theory is taught today. He was editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

Quotation

Frank W. Taussig (1859-1940), in a chapter on comparative advantage, shows the connection between high wages, the use of machinery, and the widespread existence of "freedom and competition in [men's] affairs":

The relation between high wages and the use of machinery calls for a word more of explanation. It is usually said that high wages are cause of the adoption of machinery, and that we find here the explanation of the greater use of machinery in the United States. I believe that the relation is the reverse; high wages are the effect, not the cause.... The abundant resources which so long contributed greatly, and indeed still contribute, to making labor productive and wages high, thereby stimulated the introduction of labor-saving methods in industries not so directly affected by the favor of nature. But the fundamental cause of the prevalent use of machinery was in the intelligence and inventiveness of the people; these being promoted again by the breath of freedom and competition in all their affairs.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

One could almost say for a certainty that the economic truth of a proposition is the opposite of what "common sense" would usually argue for. For example, if rents are seen to be "too high" then rent control of some kind will solve the problem, when in fact such controls will almost certainly increase rents and reduce the supply of rental housing. Taussig here gives us another example concerning the link between high wages and the introduction of machinery. It is commonly believed that the introduction of machinery occurs in an industry in order to replace high wage labor. Taussig argues the opposite: that high wages are the result of machinery making the productivity of workers greater than they were before.

225. ALTHUSIUS ARGUES THAT A POLITICAL LEADER IS BOUND BY HIS OATH OF OFFICE WHICH, IF VIOLATED, REQUIRES HIS REMOVAL (1614)



Source: Johannes Althusius, *Politica. An Abridged Translation of Politics Methodically Set Forth and Illustrated with Sacred and Profane Examples*, ed. and Trans. Frederick S. Carney. Foreword by Daniel J. Elazar (Indianapolis: 1995 Liberty Fund). Chapter: XX.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website October 26-30, 2009.

About the Author: Johannes Althusius (1557-1638) was a German political and legal philosopher whose ideal commonwealth was a harmonious ordering of natural associations, beginning with the family and moving up through local and regional associations. He is an early theorist of the idea of federalism.

Quotation

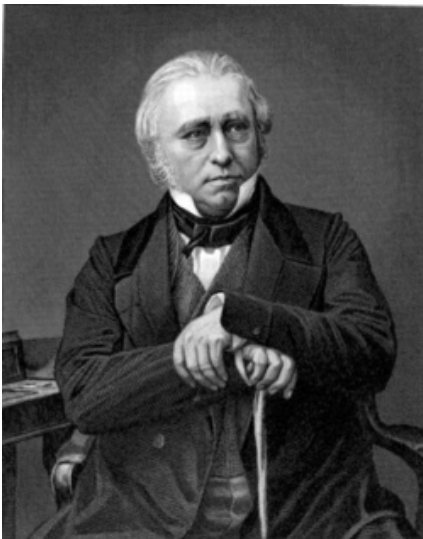
Johannes Althusius (1557-1638) believed that all political leaders were bound by their oath of office to protect the liberties of the people. If he failed in this duty the people were free to replace him with another who would:

[I]f the supreme magistrate does not keep his pledged word, and fails to administer the realm according to his promise, then the realm, or the ephors and the leading men in its name, is the punisher of this violation and broken trust. It is then conceded to the people to change and annul the earlier form of its polity and commonwealth, and to constitute a new one.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The idea that "the people" have the right to remove a bad ruler has a very long history before the American Revolution enshrined the principle in the modern era. Of course, the problem is to know what constitutes a sufficient degree of "badness" to merit such a drastic act, who exactly has this right of deposition (all "the people" or their delegates or "ephors" as Althusius phrased it); and when might this deposition occur (at any time as in the Westminster system, or only at election time as in the American system). In this instance, Althusius argues that there is quite a low level of "badness" before it is justified in throwing a bad ruler out, namely "not keeping his word". If we held all elected officers to this standard there would probably only be the cleaning staff left in the chambers of Congress or Parliament.

226. MACAULAY ARGUES THAT POLITICIANS ARE LESS INTERESTED IN THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF PUBLIC WORKS TO THE CITIZENS THAN THEY ARE IN THEIR OWN REPUTATION, EMBEZZLEMENT AND "JOBS FOR THE BOYS" (1830)



Source: Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the Edinburgh Review*, 5th ed. in 3 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848). Vol. 1. Chapter: SOUTHEY'S COLLOQUIES. (Jan. 1830.)

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 2-6, 2009.

About the Author: Lord Macaulay, born Thomas Babington (1800-1859), was an English historian, peer, politician, and poet. He was an active opponent of slavery, a supporter of education and equality in India, and instrumental to parliamentary reform to increase representation of cities that had become unrepresented relative to rural areas during the rapid industrial growth. He authored a five-volume work on the History of England, and wrote numerous clear-minded, critical essays.

Quotation

Lord Macaulay (1800-1859) takes on the witless Southey again, this time on the supposed benefits of public works undertaken by the government:

Can we find any such connexion in the case of a public work executed by a government? If it is useful, are the individuals who rule the country richer? If it is useless, are they poorer? A public man may be solicitous for his credit. But is not he likely to gain more credit by an useless display of ostentatious architecture in a great town than by the best road or the best canal in some remote province? The fame of public works is a much less certain test of their utility than the amount of toll collected at them. In a corrupt age, there will be direct embezzlement. In the purest age, there will be abundance of jobbing. Never were the statesmen of any country more sensitive to public opinion, and more spotless in pecuniary transactions, than those who have of late governed England. Yet we have only to look at the buildings recently erected in London for a proof of our rule. In a bad age, the fate of the public is to be robbed outright. In a good age, it is merely to have the dearest and the worst of every thing.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Lord Macaulay was a very witty reviewer and didn't hesitate to bring out the knives when he thought an author was foolish or witless. One of the best examples of his reviewing style was his review of the poet Southey's *Colloquies* in 1830. Macaulay took him to task for his poor understanding of economics and history. In a previous quote we saw how he ridiculed Southey's claims that the working class was worse off in the 19th century than they had been in the middle ages. In this quote he skewers Southey for thinking that government public works increase the welfare of the ordinary citizen and taxpayers, when in reality all they do is increase the prestige of the politicians who organise them and fill the pocket books of the politicians themselves and their crony contractors.

227. LUDWIG VON MISES ON THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF RATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING UNDER SOCIALISM (1922)



Source: Ludwig von Mises, *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, trans. J. Kahane, Foreword by F.A. Hayek (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981). Chapter: 9: The Teachings of Soviet Experience

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 9-13, 2009.

About the Author: Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) was the acknowledged leader of the Austrian School of economic thought, a prodigious originator in economic theory, and a prolific author. Mises' writings and lectures encompassed economic theory, history, epistemology, government, and political philosophy. His contributions to economic theory include important clarifications on the quantity theory of money, the theory of the trade cycle, the integration of monetary theory with economic theory in general, and a demonstration that socialism must fail because it cannot solve the problem of economic calculation. Mises was the first scholar to recognize that economics is part of a larger science in human action, a science which Mises called "praxeology". He taught at the University of Vienna and later at New York University. Mises wrote many works on two related economic themes: 1. monetary economics, inflation, and the role of government, and 2. the differences between government-controlled economies and free trade. His influential work on economic freedoms, their causes and consequences, brought him to highlight the interrelationships between economic and non-economic freedoms in societies, and the appropriate role for government.

Quotation

The Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) as early as 1922 (a mere 5 years after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia) showed that a centrally planned economy (a key platform of the socialists) was both morally wrong because it violated property rights as well as utterly impractical because it prevented the rational allocation of resources. In his view, the socialist experiment could only lead to dictatorship and chaos:

The fundamental objection advanced against the practicability of socialism refers to the impossibility of economic calculation. It has been demonstrated in an irrefutable way that a socialist commonwealth would not be in a position to apply economic calculation. Where there are no market prices for the factors of production because they are neither bought nor sold, it is impossible to resort to calculation in planning future action and in determining the result of past action. A socialist management of production would simply not know whether or not what it plans and executes is the most appropriate means to attain the ends sought. It will operate in the dark, as it were. It will squander the scarce factors of production both material and human (labour). Chaos and poverty for all will unavoidably result.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

This quote is going online on the day of the 20th anniversary of the coming down of the Berlin Wall - a symbol of both the Cold War as well as the communist system of eastern Europe. The wall was built to prevent East Berliners fleeing in huge numbers to the West and, as the communist economic system steadily stagnated and began to collapse under its own weight of inefficiency and absurdity, the forces of opposition built to such a point that even a concrete wall could not contain those eager for change. What is amazing is that the most systematic critique of socialist central planning of the economy was penned by Ludwig von Mises only 5 years after the coming to power of the Bolshevik Party in late 1917. The first serious and disastrous attempt to collectivise the Russian economy began under the rule of Lenin and this was followed soon afterwards by Stalin's First Five Year plan of 1928. Mises was writing during this period and his prescient analysis was as correct then as well as 67 years later when the Berlin Wall was breached

by any demonstrators.

228. LAO TZU DISCUSSES HOW "THE GREAT SAGES" (OR WISE ADVISORS) PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE PRINCE AND THUS "PROVE TO BE BUT GUARDIANS IN THE INTEREST OF THE GREAT THIEVES" (600 BC)



Source: Lao Tzu, *The Sacred Books of China. The Texts of Taoism. Part I: The Tao Teh King. The Writings of Kwang Ze Books I-XVII*, trans. James Legge (Oxford University Press, 1891). Chapter: Part II. Section III.: Khü Khieh, or 'Cutting open Satchels.'

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 16-20, 2009.

About the Author: Lao Tzu (or Laozi) (600 BC) is remembered as the first philosopher of Taoism. He is often cited as a contributor to, if not the author of, the *Tao-te Ching*, the basic philosophical discourse on Taoism. His life is shrouded in mystery and legend, but it is generally accepted that he was active sometime in the early sixth century B.C. and served as a resident scholar, called a shih, at the royal court of the Shou. By the seventh century A.D. he was worshipped as an imperial ancestor by the T'ang and regarded by commoners as the equivalent of a Western saint, or demigod. Legend says that an aged Lao Tzu upbraided a young and overconfident Confucius and that the young man later compared Lao Tzu to a dragon rising in the sky, riding on the winds and clouds.

Quotation

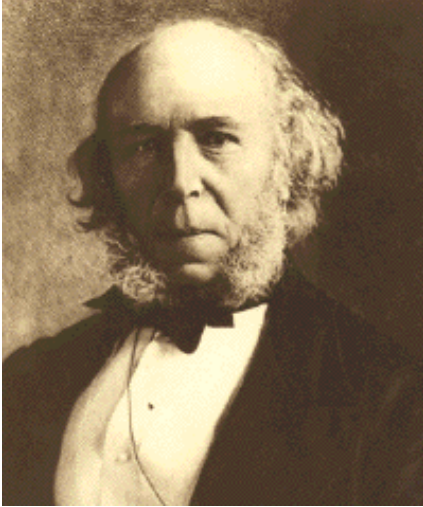
The founder of the Taoist tradition of thought, Lao Tzu (600 BC), compares the actions of a petty thief who steals a satchel with those of the great thieves who steal entire kingdoms following the advice of their intellectual advisors, or "sages":

Here is one who steals a hook (for his girdle);—he is put to death for it: here is another who steals a state;—he becomes its prince. But it is at the gates of the princes that we find benevolence and righteousness (most strongly) professed;—is not this stealing benevolence and righteousness, sageness and wisdom? Thus they hasten to become great robbers, carry off principedoms, and steal benevolence and righteousness, with all the gains springing from the use of pecks and bushels, weights and steelyards, tallies and seals:—even the rewards of carriages and coronets have no power to influence (to a different course), and the terrors of the axe have no power to restrain in such cases. The giving of so great gain to robbers (like) Kih, and making it impossible to restrain them;—this is the error committed by the sages.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The role of intellectuals (or "advisors" or 'sages') in the creation and maintenance of state power is a considerable one as Lao Tzu notes. It was also a common notion that there is a fine line which separates what a petty thief does from what a "great thief" does. Saint Augustine makes a similar point about pirates in an amusing confrontation between the emperor Alexander the Great and a captive petty pirate. The latter says that "scale" alone is what separates the two.

229. HERBERT SPENCER ON THE PITFALLS OF ARGUING WITH FRIENDS AT THE DINNER TABLE (1897)



Source: Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, introduction by Tibor R. Machan (Indianapolis: LibertyClassics, 1978). Vol. 2. CHAPTER 5.: Restraints on Displays of Ability.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 23-27, 2009.

About the Author: Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was one of the leading 19th century English radical individualists. He began working as a journalist for the laissez-faire magazine *The Economist* in the 1850s. Much of the rest of his life was spent working on an all-encompassing theory of human development based upon the ideas of individualism, utilitarian moral theory, social and biological evolution, limited government, and laissez-faire economics. [The image comes from "The Warren J. Samuels Portrait Collection at Duke University."]

Quotation

The English radical individualist philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) wisely counsels silence when arguing with others at the dinner table. Sometimes it may be fit and proper to blow one's own horn. At other times biting one's tongue when a family member says something foolish or incorrect is the best way to promote "social intercourse":

Over the dinner table, or in groups of persons otherwise held together, there frequently occur cases in which an erroneous statement is made or an invalid argument urged. One who recognizes the error may either display his superior knowledge or superior logic, or he may let the error pass in silence: not wishing to raise the estimate of himself at the cost of lowering the estimate of another. Which shall he do? A proper decision implies several considerations. Is the wrong statement or invalid argument one which will do appreciable mischief if it passes uncorrected? Is the person who utters it vain, or one whose self-esteem is excessive? Is he improperly regarded as an authority by those around? Does he trample down others in the pursuit of applause? If to some or all of these questions the answer is—Yes, the correction may fitly be made; alike for the benefit of the individual himself and for the benefit of hearers. But should the error be trivial, or should the credit of one who makes it, not higher than is proper, be unduly injured by the exposure, or should his general behavior in social intercourse be of a praiseworthy kind, then sympathy may fitly dictate silence—negative beneficence may rightly restrain the natural desire to show superiority.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Once again Thanksgiving is upon us and our thoughts turn to what the great authors of the past had to say about sharing food with family and friends. Here is Herbert Spencer mulling over the problem faced by many in a family situation over a meal, to engage or not to engage one's relatives in spirited argument and risk bad tempers and hurt feelings. Spencer counsels silence for the sake of "social intercourse."

230. MADISON ARGUED THAT WAR IS THE MAJOR WAY BY WHICH THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE INCREASES ITS POWER, PATRONAGE, AND TAXING POWER (1793)



Source: James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, *The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793-1794: Toward the Completion of the American Founding*, edited with and Introduction by Morton J. Frisch (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2007). Chapter: Helvidius Number IV.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website November 30 - December 4, 2009.

About the Author: James Madison (1751-1836) was a member of the Virginia legislature in 1776-80 and 1784-86, of the Continental Congress in 1780-83, and of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, where he earned the title "father of the U. S. Constitution." He was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1789 to 1797, where he was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights and an opponent of Hamilton's financial measures. He was the author of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 in opposition to the U. S. alien and sedition laws. He was U. S. secretary of state in 1801-09, President of the U. S. in 1809-17, and rector of the University of Virginia, 1826-36.

Quotation

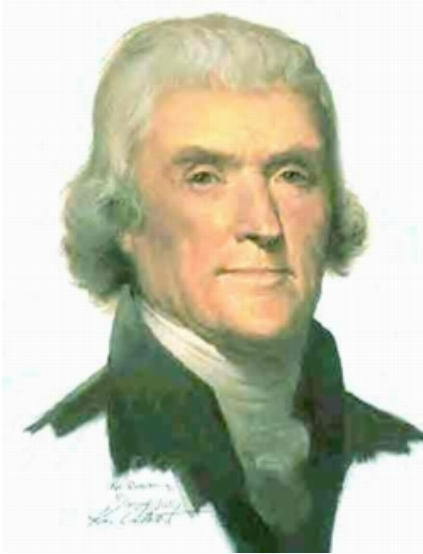
After President Washington issued the Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 a debate ensued between James Madison and Alexander Hamilton over the power of the President to declare war. Madison took the view that Washington had introduced dangerous new powers to the office of the president

In no part of the constitution is more wisdom to be found than in the clause which confides the question of war or peace to the legislature, and not to the executive department. Beside the objection to such a mixture of heterogeneous powers: the trust and the temptation would be too great for any one man: not such as nature may offer as the prodigy of many centuries, but such as may be expected in the ordinary successions of magistracy. War is in fact the true nurse of executive aggrandizement. In war a physical force is to be created, and it is the executive will which is to direct it. In war the public treasures are to be unlocked, and it is the executive hand which is to dispense them. In war the honors and emoluments of office are to be multiplied; and it is the executive patronage under which they are to be enjoyed. It is in war, finally, that laurels are to be gathered, and it is the executive brow they are to encircle. The strongest passions, and most dangerous weaknesses of the human breast; ambition, avarice, vanity, the honorable or venial love of fame, are all in conspiracy against the desire and duty of peace.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

When the new American Republic was still very young, a debate ensued between James Madison and Alexander Hamilton over the power claimed by President Washington to unilaterally issue the Neutrality Proclamation, thus changing American foreign policy without consulting congress. Madison strenuously objected and coined this wonderful metaphor about war being the "true nurse" of the growth of state power.

231. JEFFERSON FEARED THAT IT WOULD ONLY BE A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT DEGENERATED INTO A FORM OF "ELECTIVE DESPOTISM" (1785)



Source: Thomas Jefferson, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Federal Edition* (New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-5). Vol. 4. Notes on the State of Virginia: QUERY XIII The constitution of the State and its several charters.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 7-11, 2009.

About the Author: Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), a Virginian, was the author of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), an active participant in the Revolution, Governor of Virginia (1779), member of Congress, Minister to France, Secretary of State under President Washington, and president of the United States (1800). He was a polymath who wrote on and was knowledgeable about science, architecture, music, agriculture, law, education, geography, and music.

Quotation

Because Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) thought it would be only a matter of time before the American system of government degenerated into an "elective despotism," he warned that citizens should act now in order to make sure that "the wolf [was kept] out of the fold"

Mankind soon learn to make interested uses of every right and power which they possess, or may assume. The public money and public liberty, intended to have been deposited with three branches of magistracy, but found inadvertently to be in the hands of one only, will soon be discovered to be sources of wealth and dominion to those who hold them... They [the assembly] should look forward to a time, and that not a distant one, when a corruption in this, as in the country from which we derive our origin, will have seized the heads of government, and be spread by them through the body of the people; when they will purchase the voices of the people, and make them pay the price. Human nature is the same on every side of the Atlantic, and will be alike influenced by the same causes. The time to guard against corruption and tyranny, is before they shall have gotten hold of us. It is better to keep the wolf out of the fold, than to trust to drawing his teeth and talons after he shall have entered.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

1785 seems rather early for Jefferson to be making such dire predictions about the unhappy fate of the new American government, yet his worry that democracy might turn into a form of despotism has proven to be correct if some 200 years later and "not a distant" time as he originally thought. What is interesting about this quote is also the use of animal imagery, this time seeing government as a "wolf" whose teeth and claws would need to be pulled if liberty were to survive.

232. EMERSON ON THE RIGHT OF SELF-OWNERSHIP OF SLAVES TO THEMSELVES AND TO THEIR LABOR (1863)



Source: *The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, in 12 vols. Fireside Edition (Boston and New York, 1909). Vol. 9 Poems.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 14-18, 2009.

About the Author: Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803 - 1882) was a famous writer, orator, and abolitionist. He studied at Harvard Divinity School but made his living as a school master and then as a popular lecturer. He founded the philosophy of transcendentalism.

Quotation

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) caused a stir when he read this poem in Boston to celebrate President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. What seemed to ruffle some feathers was his notion that the slaves had a right to self-ownership and therefore should be compensated for the crimes committed against them while they were slaves:

But, lay hands on another
To coin his labor and sweat,
He goes in pawn for his victim
For eternal years in debt.

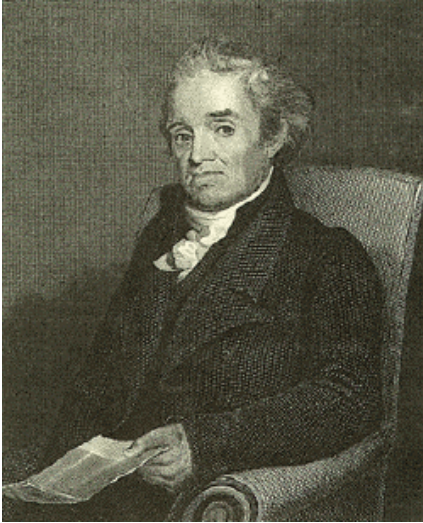
To-day unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;
Lift up a people from the dust,
Trump of their rescue, sound!

Pay ransom to the owner
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

The radical individualists grounded their defence of individual liberty in the notion of self-ownership. Thus they abhorred slavery - the idea that one human being could own another - as the grossest violation of that right. This is very clear in the writings of Herbert Spencer, Lysander Spooner and interestingly in this poem by Ralph Waldo Emerson who asks and then answers this key question in political philosophy "Who is the owner? The slave is owner, and ever was."

233. NOAH WEBSTER ON THE RESILIENCE OF COMMON RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE FACE OF ATTEMPTS BY THE STATE TO RADICALLY CHANGE THEM (1794)



Source: *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era: 1730-1805*, 2 vols, Foreword by Ellis Sandoz (2nd ed. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998). Vol. 2. Chapter: 44: Noah Webster, THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE (1794).

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 21-25, 2009.

About the Author: Noah Webster (1758-1843) was an ardent Federalist, lexicographer, and political writer in the early American republic.

Quotation

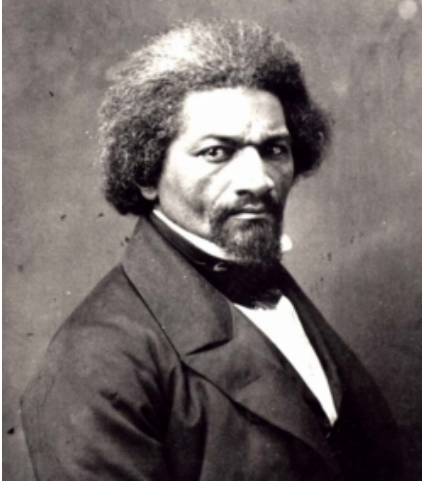
In a sermon given at the height of the French Terror Noah Webster (1758-1843) noted the failure of attempts by the state or established church to change the way ordinary people practised their religion. Whether it was the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Roman Catholic Church, or the Jacobins in Paris, the result was much the same. The ordinary people continued to practise their traditional beliefs with a universal passion for feasting and gift giving:

The Romans had a celebrated festival, called Saturnalia in honor of Saturn; this festival found its way into antient Scandinavia, among our pagan ancestors, by whom it was new-modelled or corrupted, being kept at the winter solstice. The night on which it was kept was called mother-night, as that which produced all the rest; and the festival was called Iuule or Yule. The christians, not being able to abolish the feast, changed its object, gave it the name of Christmas, and kept it in honor of Jesus Christ, altho the ancient name yule was retained in some parts of Scotland, till within a century. ... What is the deduction from these facts? This certainly, that men have uniformly had a high veneration for some person or deity real or imaginary: the Romans for Saturn: the Goths for the mother-night of the year; and the christians for the founder of their religion. The christians have the advantage over the pagans in appropriating the feast to a nobler object; but the passion is the same, and the joy, the feasting, and the presents that have marked the festival are nearly the same among pagans and christians.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

In this sermon on the French Revolution given by the great lexicographer Noah Webster in 1794 at the height of the Terror, he reflects on how for millenia the state and established churches have tried to forcibly change how ordinary people practice their religion and social customs. What he had in mind in 1794 were the attempts of the Jacobins to impose a new Cult of Reason on the French people. He reminds his listeners that the tradition of Christmas has survived attempts by Roman paganism, Scandinavian paganism, the Catholic church, and the Protestant Reformers to make it conform to their notions of what is right and proper. Webster identifies a resilient "passion for feasting and gift giving" and a sense of joy which has survived all these attempts by the state to eradicate them or bend them to its will.

234. FREDERICK DOUGLASS MAKES A NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION TO GAIN HIS FREEDOM FROM SLAVERY (1836)



Source: *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: From 1817-1882, written by himself; with an Introduction by the Right Hon. John Bright*, ed. John Lobb (London: Christian Age Office, 1882). Chapter: CHAPTER XIX.: THE RUNAWAY PLOT.

Date of Publication: This quotation first appeared on the Online Library of Liberty website December 28, 2009 - January 1, 2010.

About the Author: Frederick Douglass (1817-1895) was an ex-slave who wrote three accounts of his life as a slave, runaway, and campaigner for the abolition of slavery: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) and *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881).

Quotation

Frederick Douglass (1817-1895) must have been 19 or so when he made a solemn vow as part of his New Year's resolutions for 1836 to exercise his "natural and inborn right" to be free by escaping the "hell of horrors" which was slavery:

I AM now at the beginning of the year—1836—when the mind naturally occupies itself with the mysteries of life in all its phases—the ideal, the real, and the actual. Sober people look both ways at the beginning of a new year, surveying the errors of the past, and providing against the possible errors of the future. I, too, was thus exercised. I had little pleasure in retrospect, and the future prospect was not brilliant. "Notwithstanding," thought I, "the many resolutions and prayers I have made in behalf of freedom, I am, this first day of the year 1836, still a slave, still wandering in the depths of a miserable bondage. My faculties and powers of body and soul are not my own, but are the property of a fellow-mortal in no sense superior to me, except that he has the physical power to compel me to be owned and controlled by him. By the combined physical force of the community I am his slave—a slave for life." With thoughts like these I was chafed and perplexed, and they rendered me gloomy and disconsolate. The anguish of my mind cannot be written.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Frederick Douglass took the opportunity of a New Year's resolution to usher in the year of 1836 to swear that he would attempt to runaway from his bondage as a slave. He is deeply aware of his natural right to be free and a burning hatred of his "prison". What is interesting to note is that his reading matter which inspired these sentiments was a book of speeches used in schools, the *Columbian Orator* (1st ed. 1797), which provided him with both the theory of individual liberty as well as an historical context in which others had sought their liberty. No wonder that the slave owners made learning to read a crime.

235. LIVY ON THE IRRECOVERABLE LOSS OF LIBERTY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE (10 AD)



Source: The History of Rome by Titus Livius. Translated from the Original with Notes and Illustrations by George Baker, A.M.. First American, from the Last London Edition, in Six Volumes (New York: Peter A. Mesier et al., 1823). Vol. 1. Chapter: BOOK III.

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About the Author: Titus Livius (Livy) (59 BC - 17 AD) is best known for his massive (but largely lost) History of Rome from its founding up to the reign of Augustus. Although written during Augustus's reign Livy takes a pro-republican viewpoint.

Quotation

The Roman historian Livy (59 BC - 17 AD) wrote his History of Rome (10) as the Roman Republic was being turned into a despotic empire. He argued that true liberty consisted of regular elections and the rule of law, and that its loss was irrecoverable and marked a return to slavery:

The ides of May came. The offices of the state not having been filled up by election, men, invested with no public character, made their appearance as decemvirs, retaining still the same spirit to enforce their authority, and the same emblems to support the splendor of their station. This was held the height of arbitrary government, and the loss of liberty was deplored as irrecoverable. No one champion stood forth in its cause, nor was there a prospect of any such appearing: so that the people not only sunk into despondence, but began to be despised by the neighbouring nations, who thought it would reflect shame on themselves, if a state which had forfeited its own liberty, should be allowed to retain its dominion over others.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

Livy's idea that the freedom enjoyed by Rome was undermined and eventually destroyed by rising emperors like Augustus spoke to many authors in the Renaissance and early modern period. Machiavelli, Harrington, and Milton all heeded Livy's warnings and passed them onto a later generation of thinkers who helped prepare the ground for the American Revolution. It is no surprise that Livy was one of the most read authors in 18th century America.

236. RICHARD COBDEN OUTLINES HIS STRATEGY OF ENCOURAGING MORE PEOPLE TO ACQUIRE LAND AND THUS THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN ORDER TO DEFEAT THE "LANDED OLIGARCHY" WHO RULED ENGLAND AND IMPOSED THE "INIQUITY" OF THE CORN LAWS (1845)



Source: *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* by Richard Cobden, M.P., ed. by John Bright and J.E. Thorold Rogers with a Preface and Appreciation by J.E. Thorold Rogers and an Appreciation by Goldwin Smith (London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1908). 2 volumes in 1. Vol. 1 Free Trade and Finance. Chapter: FREE TRADE. XIV. LONDON, JANUARY 15, 1845

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About the Author: Richard Cobden (1804-1865) was a member of the British Parliament and an advocate of free trade, a non-interventionist foreign policy, peace, and parliamentary reform. He is best remembered for his activity on behalf of the Anti-Corn Law League which helped reduce British tariffs in 1846 and for negotiating the Anglo-French trade agreement of 1860.

Quotation

In the Covent Garden Theatre in London on 15 January 1845 Richard Cobden (1804-1865) addressed a large crowd on the continuing struggle to abolish the Corn Laws (tariffs) which was eventually achieved when Sir Robert Peel announced their repeal on 27 January, 1846. In this New Year speech Cobden urged the better off members of the middle class to purchase land in the counties so that they could acquire the right to vote and thus defeat the "landed oligarchy". In passing, he suggested that women should also have the right to vote:

We have begun a new year, and it will not finish our work; but whether we win this year, the next, or the year after, in the mean time we are not without our consolations. When I think of this most odious, wicked, and oppressive system, and reflect that this nation—so renowned for its energy, independence, and spirit—is submitting to have its bread taxed, its industry crippled, its people—the poorest in the land—deprived of the first necessities of life, I blush that such a country should submit to so vile a degradation. It is, however, consolation to me, and I hope it will be to all of you, that we do not submit to it without doing our best to put an end to the iniquity.

Notes on the Author and the Quotation

At the beginning of 1845 Richard Cobden could sense that victory in the struggle to repeal the Corn Laws was immanent. As he realised, a great deal had been achieved politically in the 5 years the Anti-Corn Law League had been active and that "the old edifice" of the English establishment had been shaken by the movement he led. In the final push he urged the better off members of the middle class to purchase land in the counties in order to qualify to vote in the next election which might see the power of the "landed oligarchy" challenged and the Corn Laws finally abolished. In passing, he makes a remarkable admission about women and the right to vote, stating that he wished they had the franchise "for they would often make a much better use of it than their husbands."