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Notes

Introduction

- 1 For some liberals, 'freedom' and 'liberty' are synonyms, whereas others see at least a vague division of function between the two, with freedom having a more positive content, as in 'the freedom to ...' and 'liberty' a more negative one, as in 'liberty from oppression'. But there is no clear pattern to these uses.
- 2 Andreas Kalyvas and Ira Katznelson, *Liberal Beginnings: Making a Republic for the Moderns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 17.
- 3 Benjamin Constant was among the first to use the word in a political sense, in 1797. By 1810, the first political party to describe itself as 'liberal' had arisen, in Spain. It is worth noting that organized political parties were very new in Europe in 1810, and that liberalism was present at their birth. Liberalism was intimately involved in the creation of modern politics as we know it across the globe. See K. Stephen Vincent, *Benjamin Constant and the Birth of French Liberalism* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2011), 76–7; Javier Fernandez Sebastian, "Toleration and Freedom of Expression in the Hispanic World between Enlightenment and Liberalism," *Past & Present* 211 (2011), 161–99.
- 4 For Mesopotamia, see Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).
- 5 Kalyvas and Katznelson, *Liberal Beginnings*, 15.
- 6 Duncan Bell, 'What is Liberalism,' *Political Theory* 42, no. 6 (2014), 682–715; Alan S. Kahan, *Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2003), 1–17.

Chapter 1

- 1 Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. A. M. Cohler, B. C. Miller and H. S. Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Book XI, 155–56. Unspecified references including book, chapter and page numbers are to this edition.
- 2 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Edwin Curley (Hackett Classics, 1994), chapter XXI.
- 3 Ibid. XIV, 79–80.
- 4 Ibid. XXI, 143.
- 5 Montesquieu, *My Thoughts*, trans. and ed. Henry C. Clark (Indianapolis IN: Liberty Fund Inc., 2012), no. 884.

Chapter 2

- 1 Madame de Staël, *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution*, ed. Aurelian Craiutu (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008), 96, 104–5.
- 2 See Aurelian Craiutu, *A Virtue for Courageous Minds: Moderation in French Political Thought, 1748-1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 158–97.
- 3 Staël, *Considerations*, 541.
- 4 Ibid., 96.
- 5 On this issue, see Keith Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 252–305.
- 6 Staël, *Considerations*, 17.
- 7 Ibid., 104.
- 8 Ibid., 633.
- 9 ‘Every country, every people, every man are fit for liberty by their different qualities; all attain or will attain it in their own way’ (Staël, *Considerations*, 633).
- 10 Staël, *Considerations*, 753–4.

Chapter 3

- 1 Benjamin Constant, ‘The Liberty of the Ancients Compared to That of the Moderns’, in Constant, *Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 310–11.
- 2 Ibid., 311.
- 3 Constant, ‘The Spirit of Conquest and Usurpation and their Relation to European Civilization’, in Constant, *Political Writings*, 77.
- 4 ‘Principles of Politics Applicable all Representative Governments’, in Constant, *Political Writings*, 177.
- 5 Ibid., 254.
- 6 ‘The Liberty of the Ancients Compared to That of the Moderns’, 327.
- 7 Constant, *Commentary on Filangieri’s Work*, ed. Alan S. Kahan (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2015), 316.
- 8 Isaiah Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 126.

Chapter 4

- 1 Jeremy Bentham, ‘An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation’ [1789], ed. J. H. Burns and H. L. A. Hart, with a new introduction by F. Rosen, in *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 11–12.

- 2 Jeremy Bentham, *A Fragment on Government*, ed. Ross Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 [1776]), 97.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 56.

Chapter 5

- 1 Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison, *The Federalist*, ed. George W. Carey and James McClellan (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2001), 181, 194.
- 2 *The Federalist*, #9, 38.
- 3 Thomas Jefferson to John Taylor, 28 May 1816, in *Jefferson* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 1392.
- 4 Jefferson to Samuel Kercheval, 12 July 1816, 1397.

Chapter 6

- 1 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Harvey Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), vol. I part 1, ch. 3, 52, henceforth DA. I cite by volume, part, chapter and/or page numbers.
- 2 DA, vol. I part 1, ch. 5, 89–90.
- 3 Letter to Stoffels, 24 July 1836, in A. S. Kahan and O. Zunz, *The Tocqueville Reader. A Life in Letters and Politics* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2002), 153.
- 4 DA II 2.1, 482.
- 5 Pierre Manent, 'Tocqueville: Liberalism Confronts Democracy', in *Intellectual History of Liberalism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), 103.
- 6 DA, Introduction, 7.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 6, 400.
- 8 DA, Introduction, 12, 7. Although conveyed in a stylish, accessible prose these lessons are far from simple. American institutions, Tocqueville insisted, are not to be imitated blindly.
- 9 The section from which the second passage is drawn stands out for its passionate arguments and personal tone – too revealing, as one reader complained, of Tocqueville's own convictions. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America. Historical Critical Edition* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2009), 142 c.
- 10 DA II 2.5, 492.
- 11 'It is at once necessary and desirable that the central power that directs a democratic people be active and powerful', DA II 4.7, 667.
- 12 Compare DA I 1.8 and I 2.7, 239–42, esp. note 4. and I 2.10. Delba Winthrop, 'Tocqueville on Federalism', *Publius* 6, no. 3 (1976), 93–115.

- 13 DA II 2.2–8, 482–503.
- 14 DA 57, 90–1, 489, 498, 515, 667; Aurelian Craiutu, ‘Tocqueville’s Paradoxical Moderation’, *Review of Politics* 67, no. 4 (2005), 620–6.
- 15 DA I 2.5, 85 and note. In the very chapter praising the effects of American decentralization, Tocqueville includes recommendations for greater oversight of local affairs.
- 16 DA 48 and 518, 672.
- 17 DA 64–5, 232–4, 486–8.
- 18 DA I 2.10. For a fuller discussion of Tocqueville’s account of patriotism and the psychology of civic engagement, see E. Atanassow ‘Patriotism in Democracy: What We Can Learn From Tocqueville’, in Z. Rau and M. Tracz-Tryniecki (eds), *Tocquevillian Ideas: Contemporary European Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2014), 39–58.
- 19 DA I 2.5, 57; II 2.8, 499. R. T. Gannett, ‘Tocqueville and Local Government’, *Review of Politics* 67, no. 4 (2005), 724, 726–31; J. Koritansky, ‘Decentralization and Civic Virtue in Tocqueville’s “New Science of Politics”’, *Publius* 5, no. 3 (1975), 80–1.
- 20 Alan S. Kahan, ‘Checks and Balances for Democratic Souls: Alexis de Tocqueville on Religion in Democratic Societies’, *American Political Thought* 4 (2015), 100–19.
- 21 Alan S. Kahan, ‘Tocqueville and Religion: Beyond the Frontier of Christendom’, in E. Atanassow and R. Boyd (eds), *Tocqueville and the Frontiers of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 89–110.
- 22 ‘The political world is changing; henceforth one must seek new remedies for new ills’ (DA II 4.8, 672).
- 23 DA, Introduction, 7.
- 24 DA Introduction, 7. Michael Locke McLendon, ‘Tocqueville, Jansenism and the Psychology of Freedom’, *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (July 2006), 664–75.

Chapter 7

- 1 Abraham Lincoln, ‘Speech on the Dred Scott Decision at Springfield, Illinois’, 26 June 1857, in *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Steven B. Smith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 115.
- 2 Lincoln, ‘To Henry L. Pierce and Others’, in *Writings*, 244.
- 3 See ‘Harrison Bergeron’, by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., for a dystopic vision of a United States in which ‘nobody was smarter than anybody else. Nobody was better looking than anybody else. Nobody was stronger or quicker than anybody else.’
- 4 Lincoln, ‘Fragment on Slavery’, in *Writings*, 58.
- 5 Aristotle, *Politics*, book 7, chapter 13.

- 6 Thomas Jefferson, 'Query XVIII: Manners', *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in *The Portable Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1975), 214.
- 7 Aristotle, *Politics*, book 1, chapter 2.
- 8 Lincoln, 'Address at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania', 19 November 1863, in *Writings*, 417.
- 9 Jefferson, 'To Henri Grégoire', 25 February 1809, in *Portable Jefferson*, 517.
- 10 Jefferson, 'To Roger C. Weightman', 24 June 1826, in *Portable Jefferson*, 585.
- 11 Declaration of Independence, first paragraph.
- 12 Lincoln attaches great significance to 'reverence', beginning with his Lyceum address in 1838.
- 13 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 674.
- 14 Lincoln, 'Gettysburg', in *Writings*, 417.

Chapter 8

- 1 John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008), Chapter One, 29.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 27.
- 3 Mill, 'Autobiography', in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. J. M. Robson and others, 33 vols (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1963–91), vol. I, 169. Hereafter CW followed by volume and page numbers.
- 4 'De Tocqueville on Democracy in America' (I), CW XVIII, 47–90.
- 5 CW IX, 493n.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 238.
- 7 John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 118. Fundamental to Rawls' theory of justice, a 'veil of ignorance' is the hypothetical situation in which we allegedly make choices without any knowledge of the particular facts about ourselves.
- 8 Nicolas Capaldi, *John Stuart Mill* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 230.
- 9 'The grand, leading principle towards which every argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in the richest diversity.' Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Sphere and Duties of Government* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1993). See Capaldi, *John Stuart Mill*, 268–70; Mill, 'Autobiography', CW I, 260. See also the introduction to Humboldt's book by John Burrow.
- 10 CW X, 55.
- 11 It is also a principle one can find in Adam Smith's *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, namely that for Smith each person has a natural right to 'do what he has a mind

- when it does not prove detrimental to any other person'. Adam Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, ed. R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1982), vol. V, 3.
- 12 'Principles of Political Economy', *CW* III, Book V, Chapter XI.
- 13 *CW* III, 98; *CW* V, 11, 2.
- 14 25 October 1865, *CW* XVI, 1108–9.
- 15 'A Few Words on Non-Intervention', *CW* XXI, 109–24. The essay originally appeared in December 1859 in *Fraser's Magazine*.

Chapter 9

- 1 Alexander Herzen, 'J. S. Mill and his book *On Liberty*'. All translations are mine. The selected text, with ellipses removed for ease of reading, is comprised of several excerpts from this essay, which is translated in *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, trans. Constance Garnett. Revised edition by Humphrey Higgs, with introduction by Isaiah Berlin, 4 vols (London: Chatto & Windus, 1968), vol. 3, 1075–85. A new edition, newly translated and annotated by Robert Harris and Kathleen Parthé, is forthcoming from Harvard University Press.
- 2 'Omnia mea mecum porto' (Paris, 3 April 1848), and 'Vixerunt!' (Paris, 1 December 1848), in *From the Other Shore*, trans. Moura Budberg (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1956), 124–25; 79; cf. J.P. Fallmerayer, review of *Von andern Ufer*, in *Gesammelte Werke in 5 Bänden*, ed. G. M. Thomas, v. 2: *Politische und Culturhistorische Aufsätze Türkei. Russland* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1861), 59.
- 3 These essays were published as *Vom anderen Ufer* (1849), appearing in Russian as *S togo berega* (1855); other articles were gathered under the title *Briefe aus Italien und Frankreich: 1848–1849* (1850), and as *Pis'ma is Frantsi i Italii* (1855).
- 4 'To Our Brothers in Russia' (London, 21 February 1853), in *A Herzen Reader*, ed. and trans. Kathleen Parthé, with a critical essay by Robert Harris (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 2012), 30.
- 5 Introduction to *From the Other Shore*, 4.
- 6 'J. S. Mill and his book *On Liberty*' (1859), 1075.
- 7 Herzen would have been thinking of Milton's landmark text, *Areopagitica: A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England*, published in 1644.
- 8 'Robert Owen' (1861), in *My Past and Thoughts*, 3:1217–18, 1226.
- 9 'J. S. Mill and his book *On Liberty*', 1082.
- 10 'Farewell' (Paris, 1 March 1849), in *From the Other Shore*, 12.
- 11 'Vixerunt!' in *From the Other Shore*, 88.
- 12 'Before the storm' (Rome, 31 December 1847), in *From the Other Shore*, 30.

- 13 'Letter from Avenue Marigny: III' (Paris, 20 June 1847), in *Letters from France and Italy, 1847–1851*, ed. and trans. Judith E. Zimmerman (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 40, 48.
- 14 'Letter from via del Corso: V' (Rome, December 1847); VI (Rome, 4 February 1848), in *Letters from France and Italy, 1847–1851*, 68, 92.
- 15 'Ends and Beginnings: Letters to I. S. Turgenev: VII' (29 December 1862), in *My Past and Thoughts*, 4:1734.
- 16 Letter of Herzen (Rome) to Moscow friends (30 January 1848), in A.I. Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii v tridsati tomakh* [Collected works in thirty volumes] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, 1954–66), 23:57; 'Consolatio' (Paris, 30 March 1849), in *From the Other Shore*, 104.
- 17 'Again in Paris: III', in *Letters from France and Italy, 1847–1851*, 260.
- 18 China and Persia were commonly cited as examples of great empires that had collapsed from cultural stagnation.
- 19 John Gray, *Isaiah Berlin: An Interpretation of his Thought* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2013), 31.
- 20 'Without free speech man is not free.' 'To Our Brothers in Russia', in *A Herzen Reader*, 28.
- 21 These are the three central demands presented in the opening manifesto of Herzen's journal, *Kolokol* [The Bell]. See 'Vivos voco' (London, 1 July 1857), in *A Herzen Reader*, 55.
- 22 'The Russian People and Socialism: An Open Letter to Jules Michelet' (Nice, September 1851), in *From the Other Shore*, 188.
- 23 Or *obshchina*.
- 24 There is a certain filiation between Herzen's sparse, non-intrusive notion of personal freedom and the concept of 'negative liberty' as defined by Isaiah Berlin in 'Two Concepts of Liberty' [1958], reprinted in I. Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969).
- 25 'Consolatio', in *From the Other Shore*, 106.
- 26 *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie* (Paris: Franck, 1851), 94–5
- 27 'The giant awakens', *A Herzen Reader*, 146.
- 28 See Aileen M. Kelly, *The Discovery of Chance: The Life and Thought of Alexander Herzen* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 524–5

Chapter 10

- 1 T. H. Green, 'Lecture on Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract'. An abridged version of the lecture was published in a temperance newspaper, the *Alliance News*, in late January 1881; it was issued as a pamphlet and later printed in full in Green's

- Works; it has often been reprinted. The extract comes from Paul Harris and John Morrow, eds, *T. H. Green, Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 199. All other references to Green's works are to this edition.
- 2 Green, 'On the Different Senses of "Freedom" as Applied to Will and to the Moral Progress of Man', 239.
 - 3 Green, 'Liberal Legislation', 195.
 - 4 Green, 'Freedom', 249.
 - 5 See Peter P. Nicholson, *The Political Philosophy of the British Idealists: Selected Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 116–22; sections II–V of this book provide the best account of Green's political philosophy.
 - 6 Ibid., 124–5.
 - 7 Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, 259.
 - 8 See Avital Simhony and David Weinstein, eds, *The New Liberalism: Reconciling Liberty and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
 - 9 Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, 92–6, 132–8; Colin Tyler, *Civil Society, Capitalism and the State* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2012), 191–6, 222–3.
 - 10 Green, 'Liberal Legislation', 196.
 - 11 *Lectures on Political Obligation*, 108.
 - 12 Green, *Political Obligation*, 65–106.
 - 13 Green, 'Liberal Legislation', 203.
 - 14 On Green's property theory, see John Morrow, 'Private Property, Liberal Subjects, and the State', in Harris and Morrow, *T. H. Green*, 92–114; Simhony and Weinstein, *The New Liberalism*, 93–101; Tyler, *Civil Society*, 213–30.
 - 15 Green, *Political Obligation*, 171–6.
 - 16 Green, 'Liberal Legislation', 204–9; *Political Obligation*, 176–8.
 - 17 See Simhony and Weinstein, *The New Liberalism*, *passim*.

Chapter 11

- 1 The author wishes to thank the editors as well as his colleagues José Antonio Aguilar Rivera, Juan Luis Ossa Santa Cruz and Eduardo Zimmermann for their helpful comments.
- 2 Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism*, trans. Kathleen Ross (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 77, 117. This is the edition from which I quote. A previous English translation of this book by Mary Peabody Mann was published under the title *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1868). The most recent edition

of Mann's translation, with an introduction by Ilan Stavans, was published under the title *Facundo: Or, Civilization and Barbarism* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1998).

- 3 Sarmiento, *Facundo*, 239.
- 4 Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey, 'Sarmiento on Barbarism, Race, and Nation Building', in *Forging People: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in Hispanic American and Latino/a Thought*, ed. Jorge J. E. Gracia (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 127–51.
- 5 Natalio R. Botana, 'Sarmiento and Political Order: Liberty, Power, and Virtue', in *Sarmiento: Author of a Nation*, ed. Tulio Halperín-Donghi, Iván Jaksic, Gwen Kirpatrick and Francine Masiello (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994), 101.
- 6 On the transformations of Latin American liberalism in the nineteenth century, see Eduardo Posada-Carbó and Iván Jaksic, 'Shipwrecks and Survivals: Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Latin America', *Intellectual History Review* 23, no. 4 (2013), 479–98.
- 7 See Jorge Myers, *Orden y virtud: El discurso republicano en el régimen Rosista* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1995).

Chapter 12

- 1 Namik Kemal, 'Usul-i Meşveret Hakkında Mektuplar I', *Hürriyet*, 26 September 1869, my translation.
- 2 Namik Kemal, 'Wa shawirhum fi'l-amr', *Hürriyet*, 11 August 1869, my translation.
- 3 Namik Kemal, 'Hukuk', *İbret*, 19 June 1872, my translation.
- 4 Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 211.
- 5 Christiane Czygan, 'Reflections on Justice: A Young Ottoman View of the Tanzimat', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46, no. 6 (2010), 951.
- 6 Joseph G. Rahme, 'Namik Kemal's Constitutional Ottomanism and Non-Muslims', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 1, no. 10 (1999), 23.
- 7 Ebuzziyya Tevfik, *Yeni Osmanlılar Tarihi* (Istanbul: Kervan Yayınları, 1973).
- 8 Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 208.
- 9 Gökhan Çetinsaya, 'Kalemiye'den Mülkiye'ye Tanzimat Zihniyeti', in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşünce 1: Tazimatın Birikimi ve Meşrutiyet*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 55.
- 10 Ibid., 56.
- 11 Namik Kemal, 'Maarif', *Hürriyet*, 10 August 1869, in Kurdakul, *Namik Kemal*, 184–5, my translation.

- 12 Namik Kemal, 'Usul-i Meşveret Hakkında Mektuplar VI', *Hürriyet*, 7 November 1869, my translation.
- 13 'Usul-i Meşveret Hakkında Mektuplar I'.
- 14 'Usul-i Meşveret Hakkında Mektuplar VI'.
- 15 Berkes, *The Development*, 212.
- 16 Czygan, 'Reflections on Justice', 951.
- 17 Namik Kemal, 'Maarif', *Hürriyet*, 10 August 1869.

Chapter 13

- 1 Khayr al-Din Al-Tunisi and L. Carl Brown, *The Surest Path; the Political Treatise of a Nineteenth-Century Muslim Statesman* (Harvard Middle Eastern Monograph. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 74–7. The *Tanzimat* was a period of reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1838–76.
- 2 Leon Carl Brown, 'An Appreciation of *the Surest Path*', in *The Surest Path* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 29–30.
- 3 The *Muqaddimah*, also known as the *Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun* or Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*, was written by the Arab-Berber historian Ibn Khaldun in 1377. It records an early view of universal history, and remains one of the most important works in Muslim history.
- 4 Khayr al-Din, *The Surest Path*, 5. Cited by Jeremy Kleidosty, 'What Would Khayr Al-Din Do? The Fusion of Islamic and Western Constitutional Traditions in Khayr Al-Din Al-Tunisi *The Surest Path*', APSA 2012 Annual Meeting Paper. Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2104854>, 59.
- 5 Abdul Azim Islahi, 'Economic Ideas of a Nineteenth Century Tunisian Statesman: Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi', *Islamic Economics Institute*, King Abdulaziz University (2002), 5. Available at: https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/43519/MPRA_Paper_No_43519.
- 6 Brown, 'An Appreciation of *the Surest Path*', 53.
- 7 Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 89. The Islamic Golden Age refers to a period in the history of Islam, traditionally dated from the ninth to the thirteenth century, during which the Islamic world was ruled by various caliphates and science, economic development and cultural works flourished.
- 8 Khayr al-Din, *The Surest Path*, 76.
- 9 Ibid., 76.
- 10 Ibid., 77.
- 11 Kleidosty, 'What Would Khayr Al-Din Do?', 37.

Chapter 14

- 1 J. Burckhardt to von Preen, 2 July 1871, in *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, selected, ed. and trans. Alexander Dru (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001), 143–44.
- 2 J. Burckhardt, *Reflections on History*, trans. M. D. Hottinger (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1979), 184, 139.
- 3 J. Burckhardt, *Judgements on History and Historians*, trans. Harry Zohn (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), 238–9.
- 4 On Burckhardt's anti-Semitism, see Lionel Gossman, 'Jacob Burckhardt: Cold War Liberal?', *Journal of Modern History* 74 (2002), 552–3.
- 5 Judith Shklar, 'The Liberalism of Fear', in *Liberalism and the Moral Life*, ed. Nancy L. Rosenblum (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- 6 *Selected Letters*, 212–13, 209.
- 7 *Judgments*, 229; *Reflections on History*, 314.
- 8 *Selected Letters*, 145; *Judgments*, 231.
- 9 See Alan S. Kahan, *Aristocratic Liberalism: The Social and Political Thought of Jacob Burckhardt, John Stuart Mill, and Alexis de Tocqueville* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2001).
- 10 *Judgements*, 226.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 227.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 183.
- 13 *Selected Letters*, 216.
- 14 *Selected Letters*, 144, 134, 147, 148; *Judgements*, 230.
- 15 *Selected Letters*, 148, 205, 209, 215; Gossman, 'Jacob Burckhardt', 551, 557.
- 16 *Judgements*, 3.
- 17 *Selected Letters*, 129, *Judgements*, 230.

Chapter 15

- 1 Max Weber, 'Parliament and Government in Germany under a New Political Order' (1918), in *Political Writings*, ed. Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 159, 161. Subsequent quotations from this text will be followed by parenthetical references. I am very grateful to Peter Baehr and Duncan Kelly for their comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this chapter.
- 2 Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 1208–10.
- 3 This is a point that Weber made more explicitly in his later lecture, 'The Profession and Vocation of Politics' (1919), in *Political Writings*, 338–9, 346–7.

- 4 See Max Weber, 'On the Situation of Constitutional Democracy in Russia' (1906), in *Political Writings*, 69–70.
- 5 Max Weber, 'The President of the Reich' (1919), in *Political Writings*, 306.
- 6 Weber, 'The President of the Reich'.
- 7 See Weber, 'The Profession and Vocation of Politics', 311–12. Though the Weimar Constitution did end up providing for a popularly elected president, it did not endow the office with as much political independence as Weber demanded.
- 8 Weber, 'The President of the Reich', 307.
- 9 On their trip, see Lawrence A. Scaff, *Max Weber in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- 10 This description of the Protestant sects, which applies equally to the American voluntary associations in Weber's view, appears in *Economy and Society*, 1204.
- 11 On Weber's legacy, see Joshua Derman, *Max Weber in Politics and Social Thought: From Charisma to Canonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Chapter 16

- 1 John Maynard Keynes, *Collected Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vol. IX, 305–6. Henceforth cited as *CW* followed by volume and page numbers.
- 2 Keynes, 'The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money', *CW* VII, 380, 377–8.
- 3 *CW* IX, 296–7.
- 4 'The End of Laissez-Faire' *CW* IX, 272.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 274–5.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 276–7.
- 7 *CW* IX, 286.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 305.
- 9 Keynes, 'Tract on Monetary Reform' [1923], *CW* IV, 65.
- 10 What in Germany is called 'social democratic' politics is closest to this, but the term has a different history.
- 11 *CW* IX, 289
- 12 *Ibid.*, 289
- 13 See, for example, Clarence S. Walton, *Corporate Social Responsibilities* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1967).
- 14 Michael C. Jensen and William H. Meckling, 'The Nature of Man', *Journal of Applied Corporate Finance* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1994), 4–19.

Chapter 17

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