

Foreword xvii

General introduction
Major strands of liberalism 1

Introductory 3

1. The doctrine of human rights 5

2. The classical economists and the utilitarians 12
by Dr John R. Dinwiddy

3. Aesthetic individualism 25

4. The desire for constitutional government 29

5. From 'classic' to 'hyphenated' liberalism 35

6. Radicalism as an aspect of English liberalism 42

7. Aspects of liberalism and radicalism in France 52

8. Liberals and radicals in Germany – some aspects 80

Notes and References 91

A. Roots of liberalism
– the eighteenth century 103

1. The civil State – representative government: introduction 105

Document 1.	JOHN LOCKE:	
	(a) From the Natural State to the Civil State	173
	(b) Of the Ends of Political Society and Government	175
	(c) Of the Extent of the Legislative Power	177
	(From: 'The Second Treatise of Government', 1690)	
2.	Religious toleration: introduction	110
Document 2.	JOHN LOCKE: 'A Letter Concerning Toleration'	
	(1689)	182
Document 3.	VOLTAIRE:	
	(a) Whether Intolerance is Consistent with Natural Law;	184
	(b) An Account of a Controversial Dispute in China;	185
	(c) A Prayer to God	186
	(From: <i>A Treatise on Toleration</i> , 1764)	
Document 4.	TURGOT: Memorial to the King 'On Toleration' (June 1775)	187
3.	'The Spirit of the Laws': introduction	117
Document 5.	MONTESQUIEU:	
	(a) Political Liberty with regard to the Constitution and the Separation of Powers	190
	(b) Political Liberty in Relation to the Subject	193
	(c) Of Laws in Relation to the order of things which they determine	193
	(From: <i>The Spirit of the Laws</i> , 1748)	
4.	'Government is a Necessary Evil': introduction	122
Document 6.	THOMAS PAINE: The Origin and Design of Government	195
	(From: <i>Common Sense</i> , February 1776)	
Document 7.	THOMAS PAINE: The First Principles of Government	197
	(From: <i>Dissertation on First Principles of Government</i> , 1795)	
5.	Freedom through the general will: introduction	126
Document 8.	JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU:	
	(a) The Social Contract	200
	(b) Sovereignty is Inalienable	201
	(c) Sovereignty is Indivisible	202
	(d) Whether the General Will is Subject to Error	202
	(e) The General Will is Indestructible	203
	(From: <i>The Social Contract</i> , 1762)	
6.	Natural law and the economy – the doctrine of <i>laissez faire</i>: introduction	135

	(i) TURGOT: The harmony between the economic interests of the individual and those of society	135
Document 9.	TURGOT: 'Eloge de Gournay' (1759)	205
Document 10.	TURGOT: Letter to the Abbé Terray 'Sur la Marque des Fers', (24 Dec. 1773)	210
	(ii) ADAM SMITH: 'The Wealth of Nations'	140
Document 11.	ADAM SMITH:	
	(a) Of the Natural and Market Price of Commodities	213
	(b) Of the Rent of Land	217
	(c) Of Restraints upon Importation from Foreign Countries	220
	(d) The System of Natural Liberty	223
	(From: <i>The Wealth of Nations</i> , 1776)	
7.	The doctrine of the rights of man: introduction	146
Document 12.	The Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1776	224
Document 13.	Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 27 Aug. 1789	227
Document 14.	THOMAS PAINE: The Voice of an English Supporter	229
	(From: <i>The Rights of Man</i> , 1791)	
Document 15.	JEREMY BENTHAM: The Voice of an English Critic	231
	(From: <i>Anarchical Fallacies</i> , 1824)	
8.	The belief in progress: introduction	162
Document 16.	THE MARQUIS DE CONDORCET: <i>The Future Progress of the Human Mind</i> (1795)	236
	Notes and References	165

B. Classical liberalism		241
1.	The utilitarian approach to government: introduction	243
Document 17.	JEREMY BENTHAM: The End of Legislation – the Greatest Happiness to the Greatest Number	294
	(From: <i>An Introductory View of the Rationale of Evidence</i>)	
Document 18.	The Principle of Utility	294
	(From: <i>An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation</i> , 1789)	
Document 19.	The Duties of a Citizen – to Obey and Censure	296
	(From: <i>A Fragment on Government or a Comment on the Commentaries</i> , 1776)	
Document 20.	The Leading Principles of a Constitutional Code	298
	(From: <i>Leading Principles of a Constitutional Code for Any State</i> , 1823)	

- Document 21.** JAMES MILL: Good Government 301
(From: *Essay on Government*, 1820)
- Document 22.** JOHN STUART MILL: The Ideally Best Form of Government is Representative Government 303
(From: *Considerations on Representative Government*)
2. Economic liberalism: introduction 250
- (i) Free trade and *laissez faire* in Britain 250
- Document 23.** DAVID RICARDO: On Foreign Trade and the Benefits to be Derived from Free Trade 310
(From: *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*)
- Document 24.** RICHARD COBDEN: Free Trade and the Argument against the Corn Laws (Speech, 8 Feb. 1844) 315
- Document 25.** JOHN STUART MILL: The Grounds and Limits of the Laissez-Faire or Non-Interference Principle 317
(From: *Principles of Political Economy*, 1848)
- (ii) Some trends on the Continent 259
- France: 259
- Document 26.** W. E. GLADSTONE: On Economical Government 321
(From: *The Financial Statements of 1853, 1860–63*)
- Document 27.** JEAN BAPTISTE SAY: On the Limits of Government Interference 326
(From: *A Treatise on Political Economy*, 1803)
- Document 28.** FREDERIC BASTIAT: Free Trade and Competition 328
(From: *Harmonies of Political Economy*, 1850)
- Germany: 264
- Document 29.** FRIEDRICH LIST: Petition on behalf of the *Handelsverein* to the Federal Assembly, April 1819 330
- Document 30.** JOHN PRINCE SMITH: On Freedom of Trade in Relation to Political Freedom 332
(From: *Über Handelsfeindseligkeit*)
3. The superiority of the middle classes: introduction 268
- Document 31.** JAMES MILL: On the Superior Wisdom and Virtue of the Middle Classes 334
(From: *Essay on Government*, 1820)
- Document 32.** FRANÇOIS GUIZOT: On the Middle Classes as the Basis of the New Society 335
(From: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*)
- Document 33.** DAVID HANSEMANN: The Middle Class in Prussia 337
(From: 'Memorandum on Prussia's Position and Politics, August–September, 1840')
4. Aesthetic individualism – 'The object of all mankind should be individuality': introduction 271
- Document 34.** WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT:

	(a) 'The Purpose of Man' 340	
	(b) 'The Purpose of the State' 341	
	(From: <i>The Sphere and Duties of Government (Ideen zu einem Versuch)</i>)	
Document 35.	JOHN STUART MILL: Of Individuality, as One of the Elements of Well-Being 346	
	(From: <i>On Liberty</i> , 1859)	
5.	The belief in international harmony: introduction	278
	(i) Through free trade and non-intervention	278
	(ii) Non-intervention and the image of the British abroad	284
Document 36.	JEREMY BENTHAM: In International Dealings, Justice and Beneficence 352	
	(From: <i>The Constitutional Code</i>)	
Document 37.	RICHARD COBDEN: 'Commerce is the Grand Panacea' 354	
	(From: <i>England, Ireland and America</i> , 1835)	
Document 38.	JOHN PRINCE SMITH: On the Significance of Freedom of Trade in World Politics 357	
	(From: <i>Über die weltpolitische Bedeutung der Handelsfreiheit</i>)	
Document 39.	JOHN BRIGHT: On Non-Intervention as a Principle of Foreign Policy (Speech, 13 Oct. 1853) 359	
Document 40.	Emile de Girardin: On the Principle of Non-Intervention (Speech, 24 Aug. 1850) 361	
Document 41.	JOHN STUART MILL: Non-Intervention is a Legitimate Principle of Morality 363	
	(From: 'A Few Words on Non-Intervention', 1859)	
Document 42.	FRANCIQUE BOUVET: International Arbitration and Universal Peace (Speech, 28 Nov. 1848) 370	
Document 43.	RICHARD COBDEN: International Arbitration (Speech, 12 June 1849) 374	
Document 44.	EMILE DE LAVELEYE: On the Causes of War, and the Means of Reducing their Number 379	
	(From: Cobden Club Essays)	
	Notes and References	288

C.	Major aspects of continental liberalism in the nineteenth century: Attitudes and ideas in France, Germany, Italy and Spain (1815-1881)	385
	Introductory	387
1.	The constitutional State: introduction	388

(i) Limitation of Power – the role of the Monarch 388

France: 431

- Document 45.** DESTUTT DE TRACY: A Commentary on Montesquieu's 'Spirit of the Laws' 431
(From: *Commentaire sur l'esprit des Lois*, 1814)
- Document 46.** BENJAMIN CONSTANT: On Constitutional Powers and Political rights 434
(From: *Course de politique constitutionnelle*, 1818–20)
- Spain: 438
- Document 47.** Political Constitution of the Spanish Nation (1812) 438
(From: *Manual of Spanish Constitutions 1808–1931*)
- Germany: 443
- Document 48.** KARL VON ROTTECK: Extract from 'Konstitution' in the *Staatslexikon* 443
- Document 49.** K. T. WELCKER: The Responsibility of Princes and the Ministers of State 446
(From: *Staatslexikon*)
- Document 50.** DAVID HANSEMANN: The Formation of the Constitution in Prussia 447
(From: 'Memorandum on Prussia's Position and Politics, August–September 1840')
- Document 51.** HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE: Political Freedom and its Limitations 449
(From: *Die Freiheit*, 1861)

(ii) The English model 391

France: 455

- Document 52.** MME DE STAEL: On Liberty and Public Spirit among the English 455
(From: *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*, 1818)
- Document 53.** MME DE STAEL: Can a limited Monarchy have other Foundations than those of the English Constitution? (op. cit.) 458
- Germany: 461
- Document 54.** FRIEDRICH CHRISTOPH DAHLMANN: 'On Constitution' (1815) 461
(From: *Kleine Schriften und Reden*)
- Document 55.** FRIEDRICH CHRISTOPH DAHLMANN: 'On Discussions in Parliament' 465
(From: *Die Politik auf den Grund und das Maass der gegebenen Zustaende zurueckgefuehrt*)
- Document 56.** DAVID HANSEMANN: England as a Model for the Formation of a Constitution 466

Italy: 467

Document 57.	CAMILLO DI CAVOUR: 'The Chartist Revolution and the British Government' (1848) 467 (From: <i>Scritti Politici</i>)	
2. Freedom and the individual: introduction		394
	(i) The rights of the individual	394
Document 58.	MME DE STAEL: On the Love of Freedom 469 (From: <i>Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française</i> , 1818)	
Document 59.	F. de LAMENNAIS: The Conditions of Liberty 472 (From: <i>Paroles d'un Croyant</i>)	
Document 60.	The Fundamental Rights of the German People (Section VI of the Constitution for the German Empire, 1849) 477	
Document 61.	GIUSEPPE MAZZINI: Liberty 479 (From: 'On the Duties of Man')	
Document 62.	EDOUARD LABOULAYE: Freedom, Ancient and Modern (1863) 484 (From: <i>L'Etat et ses limites</i>)	
Document 63.	ADOLPHE THIERS: On the Principles of 1789 (Speech, 26 Feb. 1866) 487	
	(ii) Freedom of speech, of the press, and of association	397
Document 64.	JOSEPH GORRES: Freedom of Speech 492 (From: <i>Rheinischer Merkur</i> No. 50, 1 May 1814)	
Document 65.	FRANCOIS GUIZOT: Thoughts upon the Liberty of the Press (1815) 493 (From: <i>Memoirs to Illustrate the History of my Times</i>)	
Document 66.	PIERRE PAUL ROYER-COLLARD: On Freedom of Speech and Publication (Speech, 1819) 496	
Document 67.	F. de LAMENNAIS: The Doctrines of <i>L'Avenir</i> (7 Dec. 1830) 498 (From: <i>Oeuvres complètes</i>)	
Document 68.	K. T. WELCKER: On the Political Salutariness and the Danger of Free Associations 502 (From: <i>Staatslexicon</i>)	
Document 69.	GIUSEPPE MAZZINI: Association – Progress 505 (From: 'On the Duties of Man', 1858)	
Document 70.	ADOLPHE THIERS: The 'Indispensable Liberties' (Speech, 11 Jan. 1864) 507	
Document 71.	LEON GAMBETTA: The Belleville Manifesto (1869) 509 (From: <i>L'Avenir National</i> , 15 May 1869)	
3. Freedom from the Church and freedom for the Church: introduction		407

France: 408

Document 72. COUNT DE MONTLOSIER: Concerning a Religious and Political System tending to overthrow Religion, Society and the Throne 512

(From: *Mémoire à consulter sur un système religieux et politique tendant à renverser la religion, la société et le trône*)

Document 73. F. DE LAMENNAIS: Freedom for the Church (Letter, 5 Sept. 1830) 514

Document 74. F. DE LAMENNAIS: On the Separation of Church and State 515

(From: *L'Avenir*, 18 Oct. 1830)

Document 75. COUNT CHARLES MONTALEMBERT: An Explanatory Note on the Formula 'A Free Church in a Free State' (1863) 521

(From: *L'Eglise libre dans l'Etat libre*)

Italy: 410

Document 76. CAMILLO DI CAVOUR: 'For Liberty of Conscience and of Worship (1848) 524

(From: *Scritti Politici*)

Document 77. GIUSEPPE MAZZINI: Humanity and the Papacy (1849) 525

(From: 'Rome and the French Government')

Document 78. The *Syllabus Errorum* of Pope Pius IX, 8 Dec. 1864 527

Germany: 413

Document 79. SYLVESTER JORDAN: On the Freedom of Faith and the Separation of Church and State (Speech, 21 Aug. 1848) 530

Document 80. IGNATZ DOLLINGER: On the Freedom of Belief and the Separation of Church and State (Speech, 22 Aug. 1848) 532

Spain: 415

Document 80a. Articles on Religion and Religious Cults in the Constitutions of Spain 1837–1931 533

(From: *Manual of Spanish Constitutions 1808–1931*)

4. Freedom, power and the nation-state: Germany

1814–1881: introduction

418

Document 81. ERNST MORITZ ARNDT: On Freedom and Fatherland 535

(From: 'Katchismus für den deutschen Kriegs und Wehrmann', 1814)

Document 82. ERNST MORITZ ARNDT: The Constitution and the Peasants 536

(From: *Der Wächter*, 1815)

Document 83. FRIEDRICH CHRISTOPH DAHLMANN: On the Right of Resistance (1835) 538

- (From: *Die Politik auf den Grund und das Maass der gegebenen Zustaende zurueckgefuehrt*)
- Document 84.** DAVID HANSEMANN: Freedom and Patriotism. The Necessity of Freedom 539
(From: 'Memorandum on Prussia's Position and Politics, August–September 1840')
- Document 85.** THE OFFENBURG PROGRAMME of the South West German Democrats, 10 September 1847 541
- Document 86.** THE HEPPEHEIM PROGRAMME of the South West German Liberals, 10 October 1847 542
- Document 87.** German Liberals at the Crossroads – For or Against Bismarck 1863–66 543
(a) Hermann Baumgarten to Heinrich von Sybel, 22 May 1863; 543
(b) H. von Sybel to H. Baumgarten, 26 May 1863; 544
(c) H. Baumgarten to H. von Sybel, 11 May 1866; 545
(d) *do.* 23 June 1866 546
- Document 88.** HERMANN BAUMGARTEN: German Liberalism: A Self-Criticism (1866) 547
(From: *Der deutsche Liberalismus: Eine Selbstkritik*, 1866)
- Document 89.** Programme of the Progressive Party in Prussia, 6 June 1861 550
(From: *Die deutsche Parteiprogramme*)
- Document 90.** Programme of the National Liberal Party, 12 June 1867 552
(From: *Die politischen Parteien in Deutschland*, vol. II)
- Document 91.** KARL TWESTEN: Draft of the foundation programme of the National Liberal Party (1867) 554
(From: *Deutscher Liberalismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks. Eine politische Briefsammlung*, vol. I)
- Document 92.** G. G. GERVINUS: A Warning Voice in Time of National Victory. Memorandum for the Peace: To the Royal House of Prussia (1870) 557
(From: 'Denkschrift zum Frieden. An das Preussische Königshaus')
- Document 93.** The Liberals and the New Empire 1871–1881 558
(a) Hermann Baumgarten to Max Weber, 30 May 1878; 558
(b) H. Baumgarten to Heinrich von Sybel, 27 Dec. 1879; 559
(c) H. Baumgarten to H. von Sybel, 21 July 1880; 559
(d) H. Baumgarten to H. von Sybel, 1 Jan. 1881; 560
(e) H. von Sybel to H. Baumgarten, 8 Jan. 1881; 560
(f) H. Baumgarten to H. von Sybel, 29 Mar. 1881. 561
- Document 94.** EUGEN RICHTER: Liberalism and National Unity. The Split within the Liberal Camp (1874) 563
(From: *Die deutsche Fortschrittspartei und die nationalliberale Partei*)
- Document 95.** The Anti-clerical Reaction of the German Liberals. The

Slogan of the 'Kulturkampf' against the Catholic Church 564
(From: The programme of the Progressive Party, 1875)

Notes and References 427

D. Liberty and democracy 567

Introductory 569

1. Are liberty and democracy compatible?: introduction 569

Document 96. ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE: The influence of Democratic Opinions and Sentiments on Political Society 605
(From: *Democracy in America*)

Document 97. FRANÇOIS GUIZOT: On the Government of the Majority and the True Doctrine of Representation 609
(From: *History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe*)

Document 98. MICHEL CHEVALIER: Association as a Danger to Liberty 612
(From: *The History of Political Economy Taught by the History of Freedom of Labour*)

Document 99. LEON GAMBETTA: Speech at Grenoble, 26 Sept. 1872 615

Document 100. W. E. H. LECKY: Democracy does not Harmonise well with Liberty 617
(From: *Democracy and Liberty*, 1896)

Document 101. FRIEDRICH NAUMANN: Democracy and Monarchy 620
(From: *Demokratie und Monarchie*, 1912)

2. The tyranny of majority and the right to non-conformity: introduction 577

Document 102. ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE: The Unlimited Power of the Majority in the United States and its Consequence 624
(From: *Democracy in America*)

Document 103. JOHN STUART MILL: On the Dangers Arising from the Rule of the Numerical Majority 628
(From: *Considerations on Representative Government*)

Document 104. LORD ACTON: On the Will of the Majority 632
(From: 'Sir Erskine May's *Democracy in Europe*')

3. The limitations and the scope of the State: introduction

(i) Anti-etatism intensified 583

583

Document 105. HERBERT SPENCER: Over-legislation (1859)	634
(From: <i>Essays, Scientific, Political, Speculative</i>)	
Document 106. EMILE FAGUET: The Rights of the State	638
(From: <i>Le Liberalisme</i>)	
Document 107. PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU: The Functions and Limitations of the State	643
(From: <i>The Modern State in Relation to Society and the Individual</i>)	
(ii) The case for moderate State intervention	
	589
Document 108. T. H. GREEN: 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract' 1881	652
Document 109. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: The Main Lines of Liberal Progress	657
(Speech at Hull, 5 Aug. 1885)	
Document 110. LEONARD T. HOBHOUSE:	
(a) The State and the Individual 662	
(b) Social Service and Reward 667	
(From: <i>Liberalism</i> , 1911)	
4. Freedom and power: introduction	598
Document 111. LORD ACTON: 'The History of Freedom in Antiquity' (Address, 26 Feb. 1877)	669
Document 112. ALAIN (Emile August Chartier):	
(a) Traps for a Minister (1911) 672	
(b) Politics of the Citizen (1923) 672	
(From: <i>Eléments d'une doctrine radicale</i>)	
Notes and References	602

E. Epilogue: Liberalism challenged, revised, maintained 1900–1950	675
Introductory	677
Document 113. BENEDETTO CROCE: History as the Story of Liberty (1941)	700
Document 114. BENEDETTO CROCE: Towards a Liberalised Europe	703
(From: <i>The History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century</i>)	
Document 115. JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES: The Liberal Position Re-defined (1926)	705
(From: <i>The End of Laissez faire</i>)	
Document 116. JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES: 'Liberalism and Labour'	709
(From: <i>Essays in Persuasion</i>)	
Document 117. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE: Liberal Radicalism and Liberty (1945)	712

(From: *Why I am a Liberal*)

- Document 118.** THOMAS MANN: The Problem of Freedom (Address, Sept. 1939) 717
- Document 119.** THOMAS MANN: The Social Renewal of Democracy 719
(From: *The Coming Victory of Democracy*)
- Document 120.** KARL MANNHEIM: The Discipline of Freedom 721
(From: *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning*)
- Document 121.** F. A. HAYEK: The Great Utopia 728
(From: *The Road to Serfdom*)
- Document 122.** GILBERT MURRAY: The Meaning of Freedom (1949) 735
- Document 123.** SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA: Europe and the Liberal Principles (23 May 1948) 744

Notes and References	697
Biographical List	749
Index	791