# Select Bibliography

Because of the scope of this book, its bibliography is necessarily selective. Space considerations alone prevent mention of many important works of reference in the broad terrain disclosed by a survey of American political philosophy.

The criterion of selection has been to facilitate better understanding, on the part of the general reader, of the principles underlying the American system of government. No book without some value in this direction is listed. But the compiler is well aware that there is no reference to many studies which could properly be included.

Most of the titles named are available in the better public and college libraries. More specific guidance for the reader has been attempted in two respects. With some temerity a line of personal valuation is included. There is also classification of the utility of the source to the present writer. Two asterisks indicate that the particular work of reference has been indispensable; one asterisk means that the source has proved suggestive or otherwise definitely instructive; unemphasized mention means that the volume cited has been occasionally helpful.

A number of sources quoted in this volume are omitted from the bibliography. In the case of the New Testament, inclusion would be superfluous. In some secondary cases, also, the footnote identification by itself is sufficient reference. Conversely, this bibliography includes a number of titles which have not been utilized in a manner requiring citation in the text. The publisher, and particular editions, are identified whenever desirable for purposes of guidance. And because each chapter of this book is written as a unit, the bibliographical references have been made to conform to the chapter arrangement. This procedure is admittedly somewhat arbitrary, for many of the sources have been useful in more than one chapter. But the breakdown by chapters should assist the reader who wishes to go more deeply into various phases of the subject.

# Chapter I

\*Acton, John Emerick Edward Dalberg: The History of Freedom and Other Essays; especially valuable for its refined critical faculty, not less stimulating because of conclusions which are often highly controversial (Macmillan, 1909).

\* DE MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES DE SECONDAT: De l'Esprit des Lois. This classic is available in various translations. I have used the French text in the "Collected Works," Guettier edition, Paris (An IV de la République Française).

\*\* FARRAND Max (editor): The Records of the Federal Convention, Revised edition (Yale University Press, 4 vols., 1937). This is the definitive record of the Constitutional Convention, supplementing Madison's reports and correcting them wherever later evidence warrants; indispensable for thorough study of American governmental origins.

\*\* Hamilton, Alexander; Madison, James; Jay, John: The Federalist. This famous contemporary commentary on the Constitution remains unique in the field of political analysis. Perhaps the most satisfactory of the innumerable editions is the "Sesquicentennial" (1937), promoted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, with introduction by Professor Edward Mead Earle.

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH: The Philosophy of History. I have used the Sibree translation, but if possible these remarkable lectures should be read in the original German.

\*\* Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress (compiler): The Constitution of the United States; annotated and with citations of cases construing its provisions as decided by the Supreme Court to January 1, 1938. This invaluable compendium is published in one volume by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. A new edition is scheduled.

\*\* Madison, James: Reports of Debates in the Federal Convention; the fundamental source book on the actual framing of the Constitution. The edition used in this study is that published in three volumes by Allston

Mygatt, Mobile, 1842.

\*\* MILL, JOHN STUART: Essays, especially On Liberty and Representative Government. Nobody who seeks to understand the political meaning of liberty can afford to neglect these essays, first published in 1859 and 1861 respectively. The Oxford University Press edition (1912) is recommended.

\*PLATO: The Dialogues, translated and edited (5 vols.) by Benjamin Jowett; The Republic (Vol. III in Oxford University Press edition) and The Laws (Vol. V) of course cannot be overlooked.

SANDBURG, CARL: Abraham Lincoln; The Prairie Years (2 vols.), The War Years (4 vols.); excellent biography (Harcourt, Brace).

- \*Spengler, Oswald: The Decline of the West. These "Perspectives of World History" are important not only for their erudition and insight, but also paradoxically, because the reasoning is often completely alien to the main body of American political thought. The George Allen and Unwin edition (London) is the authorized translation by Charles Francis Atkinson.
- \*Toynbee, Arnold: A Study of History, the first six volumes (Oxford University Press). This heroically ambitious inquiry into the rise and fall of civilizations has been condensed into an authorized one-volume edition, satisfactory for the purposes of the general reader.

### Chapter II

- \*Beard, Charles A. and Mary: The Rise of American Civilization (2 vols.); a thorough survey, with emphasis on economic forces, of national development up to the year of publication (Macmillan, 1927).
- \*BEARD, CHARLES A.: The Republic; a searching symposium on the Constitution, in the Socratic manner (Viking Press, 1943).
- \*Brant, Irving: James Madison (4 vols., of which only the first two had been published by Bobbs-Merrill prior to the completion of the present book); very comprehensive biography; thoroughly reliable as well as readable, with much emphasis on the nationalist strain in Madison's thought.
- \*\* BRYCE, JAMES: The American Commonwealth (Macmillan, 2 vols.) Although outmoded in details, this famous study by an eminent English statesman is still essential reading for serious students of American politics.

\* CAIRNS, HUNTINGTON: Law and the Social Sciences; the chapter on "Political Theory" is of particular interest (Harcourt, Brace, 1935).

CHINARD, GILBERT: Thomas Jefferson; a standard biography (Little, Brown), especially interesting because of the French background of the author.

\* DICEY, A. V.: The Law of the Constitution; a classic study of English Constitutional Law. The eighth (1915) edition (Macmillan), with its comprehensive and luminous introduction, should be utilized. The chapter on "Parliamentary Sovereignty and Federalism" is especially important for American readers.

MALONE, DUMAS: Jefferson and His Time. The work as a whole is designed to have four volumes, of which only Vol. I, Jefferson the Virginian had been published (Little, Brown) prior to the completion of the present book.

NOCK, ALBERT JAY: *Jefferson*; a stimulating biographical essay (Harcourt, Brace, 1926).

- \* OLIVER, F. S.: Alexander Hamilton. This "Essay on American Union" is more than an interesting biography, from an English viewpoint. Putnam has published an American edition.
- \* PAINE, THOMAS: Rights of Man and Common Sense. Both of these essays are in Vol. I of the two-volume Foner edition of The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine, an excellent compilation published by the Citadel Press, New York, 1945.

VAN DOREN, CARL: Benjamin Franklin; excellent biography (Viking Press, 1938).

VAN DOREN, CARL: The Great Rehearsal; a popular and readable account of the drafting and ratifying of the Constitution (Viking Press, 1948).

\*VINOGRADOFF, PAUL: Common-Sense in Law; a short but illuminating study of the principles underlying legal arrangements (The Home University Library).

#### Chapter III

Buell, Augustus C.: William Penn (Appleton, 1904); a balance to the Comfort biography, cited below. Mr. Buell concludes, of Penn: "Sometimes he was a great statesman; at other times he was a great Quaker; but he was never both at the same time."

\*CATLIN, GEORGE: Story of the Political Philosophers; an encyclopedic study, gracefully written and useful to all who are interested in political theory (Whittlesey House, 1939).

CHANNING, EDWARD: Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America; a careful study of local government.

COMFORT, W. W.: William Penn; readable biography, excellent on Penn as a Quaker but deficient in presenting his political importance (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944).

FISKE, JOHN: The Discovery of America (2 vols.); continues to be standard.

\*\* GARDINER, S. R.: Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution; essential source material (Oxford University Press).

GARDINER, S. R.: History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate; standard for reference.

- \*\* Hobbes, Thomas: Leviathan. There are many editions. I have used that published by George Routledge & Sons (London, 1894), with introduction by Henry Morley.
- \* LABAREE, LEONARD W. (editor): Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors (2 vols.). This American Historical Association study is a mine of valuable documentary material for the period covered (1670-1776).
- \*\*Locke, John: Essay Concerning the True Original Extent and End of Civil Government. There is a good edition, with thoughtful introduction by Professor William S. Carpenter, in the Everyman's Library. The Essay Concerning Human Understanding and the Letters on Toleration should also be consulted in Locke's Collected Works.
- \*MAITLAND, F. W.: The Constitutional History of England; a series of lectures which, in the words of H. A. L. Fisher, will always be notable for "the union of high speculative power with exact and comprehensive knowledge of detail" (Cambridge University Press).
- \* MILLER, JOHN C.: Origins of the American Revolution, a popular and scholarly study (Little, Brown, 1943).
- \*\* MILTON, JOHN: Prose Writings. The definitive edition is that published by the Columbia University Press, in 18 volumes (1931-38) plus two-volume index (1940). The Modern Library Edition, Complete Poetry and Selected Prose, of John Milton, contains some of the more important political essays, including Areopagitica, as also the Everyman Edition. There are many good biographies of Milton; that by Mark Pattison, in the English Men of Letters Series, has been useful for the present writer.

MORLEY, JOHN: Oliver Cromwell; excellent biography, which may be supplemented by that of John Buchan (later Lord Tweedsmuir) with the same title.

\* ORTON, WILLIAM AYLOTT: The Liberal Tradition; an impressive statement of the principles underlying "the noblest of political philosophies" (Yale University Press, 1945).

PARKMAN, FRANCIS: France and England in North America (9 vols.); graphic historical narrative, now superseded in some details by later schol-

arship.

- \*\* PROTHERO, G. W.: Select Statutes of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I; a carefully edited source book of constitutional documents for the period immediately preceding the Puritan Revolution (Oxford).
- \* ROBERTSON, C. GRANT: Select Statutes, Cases and Documents, 1660-1832; contains the more important English constitutional source material for the period covered (Methuen, London).
- \* Thwartes, Reuben J.: The Colonies. This little book, in the Epochs of American History Series, is a good introductory study.
- \*Trevelyan, George M.: England Under the Stuarts; good and easily readable general history of the period (Methuen, London).
- \*WINTHROP, JOHN: History of New England, 1630-49 (2 vols.); indispensable for thorough research in the period.
- \*Woodhouse, A. S. P. (editor): Puritanism and Liberty. Contains well-selected documentation of the Puritan Revolution in England. The introduction is excellent (J. M. Dent & Sons, London).

## Chapter IV

BALLAGH, JAMES C. (editor): The Letters of Richard Henry Lee (2 vols.); useful for advanced students.

- \*Burke, Edmund: Speeches and Letters on American Affairs. The Everyman Edition contains both the speech on Conciliation with the Colonies and the famous address To the Electors of Bristol.
- \*\* DE TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS: Democracy in America (2 vols.). The most satisfactory edition for the general reader is that with introduction by Phillips Bradley (Alfred A. Knopf, 1945). The foreword by Harold J. Laski is controversial. This translation, based on that of Henry Reeve, is also subject to some criticism, as will appear on comparison with the original French.
- \* HILL, HELEN: George Mason; good biography, especially important for its careful analysis of the States' Rights viewpoint (Harvard University Press, 1938).

JAMES, MARQUIS: The Life of Andrew Jackson; reliable and entertaining biography (Bobbs-Merrill).

\* JEFFERSON, THOMAS: Commonplace Book. The original manuscript can be consulted in the Library of Congress. A satisfactory edition is that edited by Gilbert Chinard (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1926).

PARTON, JAMES: Life of Thomas Jefferson; first published in 1874 and superseded by later biographies, but still interesting for reasons other than its vehement partisanship.

- \* POLLOCK, SIR FREDERICK: History of the Science of Politics; a short but brilliant study, based on lectures delivered in 1882.
- \*\* ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES: Du Contrat Social. This should be read in the original French. The best contemporary edition is that published by Constant Bourquin, Geneva, with critical introductory essay by Bertrand de Jouvenel.

## Chapter V

\*\* Aristotle: Politics. The edition used is the 1920 Oxford, translation by Benjamin Jowett; introduction and analysis by H. W. C. Davis, who reminds us that this classic embodies "theories of perennial value, and refutations of fallacies which are always re-emerging."

Belloc, Hilaire: The Servile State; first published in 1912 and interesting for its prophetic power (reprinted by Examiner Books, New York).

BOURNE, RANDOLPH: *The State*; an interesting essay, definitely anarchistic. Obtainable, with other anarchist writings, from the Resistance Press, Cooper Station, N. Y.

- \*Casirer, Ernst: The Myth of the State. This study by a Swedish philosopher is not less important because written during World War II. Published posthumously (Yale University Press) and perhaps for that reason imperfectly edited.
- \* CORWIN, EDWARD S.: Liberty Against Government. As the title suggests, this challenging book examines liberty as a juridical concept, enforceable by courts against other branches of government. Published by the Louisiana State University Press, 1948, a decade after the same author's Court Over Constitution (Princeton University Press) which has also been utilized.
- \* DE JOUVENEL, BERTRAND: Power. Translated by J. F. Huntington. Hutchinson, London, 1948.
- \*ELIOT, THOMAS S.: The Idea of a Christian Society. Three important lectures, delivered in March, 1939, and taking as their point of departure "the suspicion that the current terms in which we discuss... political theory may only tend to conceal from us the real issues of contemporary civilization." The American edition is by Harcourt, Brace.

- \*Frazer, Sir James George: The Golden Bough. For the general reader the one-volume abridgement (Macmillan) will be satisfactory. The condensation has been done so skillfully that reference to the full twelve-volume edition will seldom seem essential.
- \* Hocking, William Ernest: Man and the State; thought-provoking, but unnecessarily discursive and lacking in unity (Yale University Press, 1926).

KROPOTKIN, PETER: The State. Written as a lecture, in 1896, this famous essay survives as the primary thesis of modern philosophical anarchism (Freedom Press, London, 1920).

- \* MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLO: The Prince and The Discourses. The Modern Library edition is excellent.
- \* NOCK, ALBERT J.: Our Enemy the State; a stimulating appetizer for all who seek to understand the nature of the subject discussed. Republished in 1946 by the Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho.
- \*\* OPPENHEIMER, FRANZ: The State. This brilliant political study is simultaneously readable, brief and profound. The authorized translation (Vanguard Press) by John M. Gitterman is wholly satisfactory, except that it lacks an index.
- \*Pareto, Vilfredo: The Mind and Society (4 vols., Harcourt, Brace, 1935). This tremendous treatise on "General Sociology" remains difficult reading, in spite of the superb editorial treatment by Arthur Livingston. But it cannot be ignored by any thorough student of representative government.
- \* Spencer, Herbert: The Man Versus The State. These remarkably prescient articles were first published in the Contemporary Review (London) in 1884. There is no more acute analysis of the thesis that "increase of freedom in form" can lead to "decrease of freedom in fact."

# Chapter VI

- \*Burckhardt, Jacob: Force and Freedom. In 1943 Pantheon Books published the first English translation of this classic by an eminent Swiss historian. The introductory essay by James Hastings Nichols is a valuable appraisal for any who are unfamiliar with Burckhardt's work.
- \* COLE, FRANKLIN P.: They Preached Liberty; significant excerpts from the sermons of New England Ministers during the late Colonial period. The collection (Fleming H. Revell) is made with a view to throwing light on two vital questions: Where does liberty originate? What are its obligations and results?

\*CROCE, BENEDETTO: Politics and Morals. A good English edition of these important essays is the Castiglione translation (Philosophical Library, Inc., New York).

\*Madelin, Louis: The French Revolution. From the viewpoint of political theory this is an outstanding study in its field. Crowned by the French Academy, in 1911, the excellent English translation is published by Heinemann, of London.

ORTEGA Y GASSET, José: The Revolt of the Masses; more readable, less pedantic and less controversial than Spengler, whose thought is often paralleled. The authorized English translation was published (1932) by W. W. Norton, also publisher of the same author's less important: Toward A Philosophy of History.

\*Penn, William: Collected Writings. The Everyman Edition contains both the famous "Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe" and the "Fruits of Solitude."

\*WILLOUGHBY, WESTEL W.: The Ethical Basis of Political Authority; a scholarly attempt to state "criteria for testing the right of particular States or Governments to exist" (Macmillan); see also the same author's earlier book: The Nature of the State.

## Chapter VII

\*\*AQUINAS, ST. THOMAS: Basic Writings; an excellent edition is that edited by Professor Anton C. Pegis (Random House, 1945). Careful students will profit from Walter Farrell's: A Companion to the Summa.

\*Augustine, St.: De Civitate Dei. The Everyman Edition (2 vols.) is a revised edition of the famous Healey translation and has an important introduction by Ernest Barker.

BAILLIE, JOHN: What Is Christian Civilization? A fundamental question briefly but searchingly posed by a former Moderator of the Church of Scotland (Scribner).

\*Fox, George: Journal. There are many editions of this classic. That of 1901, edited by T. Ellwood, has been utilized.

GAEVERNITZ, G. VON SCHULZE: Democracy and Religion. The "Swarthmore Lecture" for 1930 (Allen and Unwin, London).

\*Gomperz, Theodor: Greek Thinkers. The authorized (4 vols.) translation, by Laurie Magnus and G. G. Berry, of the lifetime work of the great Austrian classicist (John Murray, London, 1906).

\*Hamilton, Edith: Witness to the Truth. Profound scholarship shines through the simplicity of these essays on personal Christianity (Norton).

\* Jones, Rufus M.: The Quakers in the American Colonies; an interesting historical study which is unfortunately less well-known than other books by this great contemporary interpretator of Quakerism.

MARITAIN, JACQUES: L'Humanisme Intégral. The English translation of this important book is called True Humanism.

\*\* NUTTALL, GEOFFREY F.: The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience. This important historical study is additionally interesting for advanced students because of the "synopsis of argument" included in each section (Blackwell, Oxford, 1946).

\*OATES, WHITNEY J. (editor): The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers; containing in one volume, with a general introduction by the editor, the complete extant writings of Epicurus, Epictetus, Lucretius and Marcus Aurelius, in standard translation (Random House, 1940).

\* Wells, Herbert G.: Mind at the End of Its Tether. Published by Didier, 1946, to whom acknowledgment is made for permission to quote.

### Chapter VIII

Austin, John: Lectures on Jurisprudence (5th edition, 1885). This careful political analysis, in the Hobbes tradition, leads to the conclusion that political sovereignty is not a matter of law, but of fact.

\*BEER, MAX: A History of British Socialism (2 vols.). An Austrian scholar examines the way in which: "From the thirteenth century to the present day the stream of Socialism . . . has been largely fed by British thought and experiment" (London, G. Bell & Sons, 1920).

\*Brandeis, Louis D.: The Curse of Bigness, being the miscellaneous papers of Mr. Justice Brandeis (Viking Press). The collection is so heterogeneous that the student would be well advised to consult first Brandeis and the Modern State, by Alpheus T. Mason (National Home Library Foundation).

GEORGE, HENRY: *Progress and Poverty*. This classic, of which there are innumerable editions, cannot be ignored by any objective student of "free enterprise."

\*\* GIBBON, EDWARD: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The Modern Library Edition (2 vols.) is adequate. The most desirable edition of this classic is that published by the Heritage Press (3 vols.),

with critical introduction by J. B. Bury, beautifully printed and adorned by the Piranesi etchings.

- \*\* HALLAM, HENRY: View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages (3 vols.). The fifth edition, John Murray, London, 1829, has been utilized. Few historical works have stood the test of time better than this study.
- \*\* HAYEK, FRIEDRICH A.: The Road to Serfdom. This is a careful post-war analysis of the actual effect of Socialism on liberty and freedom. It is well supplemented by John Jewkes: Ordeal by Planning, a case study of English post-war experience. See also L. von Mises: Omnipotent Government.
- \*Hobson, John A.: The Evolution of Modern Capitalism (Revised edition, Walter Scott, London, 1916); a lucid and objective study in economic history.
- \* MARX, KARL: Capital. I have used the Glaisher edition, London, 1920, translation by Moore and Aveling. This tremendous work is far too readily derided by many who have never even read it.
- \*\*SMITH, ADAM: The Wealth of Nations.' The Modern Library. Edition, with analytical introduction by Professor Edwin Cannan, is excellent. An interesting and valuable condensation of this classic—"simplified, shortened and modernized"—has been made by Arthur Hugh Jenkins: Adam Smith Today (Richard R. Smith, New York).
- \*\* TAWNEY, R. H.: The Acquisitive Society. A great deal of the strength in contemporary indictments of Capitalism stems, consciously or unconsciously, from this brilliant essay (London, G. Bell & Sons, 1921).

# Chapter IX

- \*BAYKOV, ALEXANDER: The Development of the Soviet Economic System; an admirably objective and comprehensive study of state planning in the U.S.S.R. The comprehensive bibliography is invaluable for advanced studies (Cambridge University Press; American edition (1948) by Macmillan).
- \*Burnham, James: The Managerial Revolution; a brilliant, if journalistic, attempt "to elaborate a descriptive theory able to explain the character of the present period of social transition." Reference may also be made to this writer's: The Struggle for the World (John Day, New York).

\*CARR, EDWARD HALLETT: The Soviet Impact on the Western World; a preliminary, but important, analysis of Communist influence on the intelligentsia of Western Europe (Macmillan, 1947).

CHAMBERLIN, WILLIAM HENRY: The Russian Enigma; a balanced interpretation, not less valuable for having been published (Scribner, 1943) during the honeymoon period of wartime Russo-American alliance.

\*\*CHAMBERLIN, WILLIAM HENRY (editor): Blueprint For World Conquest; fundamental documentation of the Communist International (Human Events, 1946).

\*DALLIN, DAVID J.: The Real Soviet Russia. An acknowledged authority here examines the seamy side of life under Communism. Mr. Dallin's Russia and Postwar Europe, also written during the war, is equally forthright. These are Yale University Press publications.

DOBB, MAURICE: Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution. This study, published in 1927, is out-of-date in many respects, but remains useful for its analysis of Soviet economic policy during the first years of the Revolution.

\*\* MARX, KARL AND ENGELS, FRIEDRICH: The Communist Manifesto. The International Publishers edition is reliable and obtainable at every Communist bookstore.

MAYNARD, SIR JOHN H.: Russia in Flux; a careful examination of the Soviet period. The American edition (Macmillan) is edited and abridged by S. Haden Guest.

\* PARES, SIR BERNARD: A History of Russia. The fourth edition (Knopf, 1944) brings this sympathetic study down to the post-war period.

\*Shub, David: Lenin. This vivid and penetrating biography is by a former member of the Russian Social Democratic Party. It is carefully documented and has an appendix with important quotations from Lenin's Works (Doubleday, 1948).

SOROKIN, PITIRIM A.: Russia and the United States. This emotional study has a continuing value primarily because it senses and emphasizes the underlying strength of Soviet Russia as an "original sociopolitical innovation" (Dutton, 1944).

\* TROTSKY, LEON: The History of the Russian Revolution. The Simon and Schuster edition, translation by Max Eastman, contains the three volumes of this remarkable book within single covers.

\*\* ULIANOV, V. I. (Lenin): The State and Revolution. There are many textual variations in different editions of this Communist classic, as Lenin is continuously revised to fit exigencies of the party line. I have used the English edition, published by the British Socialist Labour Press in

1919 and the "revised translation" of International Publishers, New York, 1935.

### Chapter X

\*ADAMS, BROOKS: The Law of Civilization and Decay; antedates, and in a measure anticipates, Toynbee but has curiously received less consideration from American readers than either Toynbee or Spengler. The Knopf edition (1943) has introduction by Charles A. Beard.

BEARD, CHARLES A.: The Economic Basis of Politics; lectures originally delivered in 1916; a new chapter is added in the Knopf (1945) edition.

Bowers, Claude G.: The Tragic Era; readable and careful history of the twelve years following the death of Lincoln, when "the Constitution was treated as a doormat." The Blue Ribbon Books edition contains an excellent bibliography.

\*\* Bunyan, John: The Pilgrim's Progress. There are innumerable editions of this immortal allegory. Unfortunately, some lack the author's apology: ". . . nor did I undertake thereby to please my neighbor; no, not I. I did it mine own self to gratify."

\*Hume, David: Essays and Treatise of Human Nature. The Everyman Editions of both are satisfactory.

\*\* Maine, Sir Henry Sumner: Popular Government; including the famous essay on the "Constitution of the United States." The careful student will also familiarize himself with Maine's Ancient Law. The original American editions of these classics are by Henry Holt.

Mayer, J. P. (and collaborators): Political Thought; The European Tradition. The introduction to this pre-war study (Viking Press, 1939) is by R. H. Tawney.