

# Why Liberty Flourished in the West

Jim Powell

Almost all the ideas of liberty are Western, but why did liberty originate and develop furthest in the West?

espite the claims of those who say one culture is as good as another, the West is clearly superior in at least one crucial respect: it brought liberty into the modern world, and liberty has made possible many other good things.

In this politically correct era, some intellectuals have been surprised to discover that the West is unique in this. For example, Harvard historical sociologist Orlando Patterson had started out to write a book explaining the origins of slavery, but he quickly realised that slavery was universal throughout the ancient world. The question to ask was why liberty emerged in the West and nowhere else, which became the subject of his National Book Award-winning *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (1991).

Patterson talked about slavery in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. Slavery was commonplace in Africa before Europeans came on the scene, and in China slaves were buried alive. Patterson discussed Cherokee Indians who enslaved the war prisoners they didn't kill. He told of the Tupinamba tribe that, living in South America before the Europeans arrived, actually ate their slaves.

Patterson wanted to know why, 'after taking slavery for granted since the beginning of history, the West, in a remarkably short period of time during the late eighteenth century, redefined slavery as the greatest of evils.' He continued: 'One of the major objectives . . . is to show that freedom was a peculiarly Western value and ideal . . . freedom has been the core value of Western culture throughout its history. . . It is the West that must be scrutinised and explained for its peculiar commitment to this value.'

When researching *The Triumph of Liberty*, I tried to include people from as many different countries as possible. The largest group is Americans, followed by English and French. There are three Austrians, two Dutchmen, two Italians, two Scots, a German, a Hungarian, an Irishman, a Russian, a Spaniard, a Swede, and a Swiss. Women, blacks, and Jews are well represented. I had a couple of good non-Western candidates but wasn't able to get enough biographical material on them, so the more than 60 people I ended up with were all Westerners, and I've often been questioned about this.

Well, aside from some fragmentary thoughts attributed to the Chinese wise man Lab Tzu, almost all the ideas of liberty are Western: individual rights, secure private property, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of religion, freedom of trade, separation of powers, equality before the law, and so on.

Similarly, all the protections for liberty, such as a written constitution, a bill of rights, an independent judiciary, privatisation, and term limits, developed in the West. The West was the first civilisation to abolish slavery. While there have been conquerors in the West, there has also been a distinguished anti-militarist

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tradition, with dissidents courageously speaking out against military conscription and for peace.

Why, then, did liberty originate and develop furthest in the West? Patterson suggested that Greek female slaves were the first to make liberty a value, and during the Persian Wars (492-449 B.C.) Greek men began to fear that they, too, could become slaves if captured, so liberty became a value for them.

Geography probably played a role in the development of liberty. Greece has many harbours that could shelter ships and many islands whose people were most likely to advance themselves through overseas commerce. Europe's irregular coastline, with thousands of harbours, some opening

to major rivers, likewise encouraged commerce. Since commerce means contact with all kinds of people, ideas, and goods, merchants must be tolerant and rational if they are to be successful. 'Coastal peoples', Thomas Sowell observed in *Migrations and Cultures* (1996), 'have tended to be culturally distinctive. In touch with the outside world, they have usually been more knowledgeable and more technologically and socially advanced than interior peoples.'

That there was much political competition in Europe, fragmented into many states, surely helped make

it easier for liberty to arise there. Moreover, the 16th century brought religious competition. Not, it's true, within particular regions where Catholicism (southern and western Europe) or Protestantism (northern Europe) had a monopoly. But there was serious religious rivalry, something not seen in many other parts of the world. Furthermore, Protestantism itself involved competing sects. This meant tragic wars, but it also meant there was no centralised religious state. As Voltaire wrote, 'If there were only one religion in England, there would be danger of tyrrany [sic]; if there were two, they would cut each other's throats; but there are thirty, and they live happily together in peace.'

Although these factors explain why conditions were favourable for liberty in the West, that outcome certainly wasn't inevitable. During some periods, such as the mid-2Oth century, Europe was ruled by murderous dictators. Whatever gave birth to liberty wasn't always enough to preserve it.

# Liberty depends on individuals

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When all is said and done, liberty flourished where enough courageous independent thinkers risked their lives for it. We in the West are the fortunate beneficiaries of the courage of somebody who stuck his neck out first and encouraged another and another until the tradition of liberty became well established.

For example, Marcus Tullius Cicero dared to denounce the tyranny of Julius Caesar, the conqueror who had bragged that he slaughtered a quarter million Germans. After Caesar's assassination, Cicero denounced the tyranny of his successor Mark Antony, for which Antony had him beheaded, but more than a thousand years later Cicero's ideas and deeds continued to inspire

people in the West.

Cicero was cherished by Erasmus, the Dutch-born champion of toleration during the 16th century. Then in 17th-century England, according to one observer, it was 'the common fashion at schools' to use Cicero's De Officiis (On Duties) as a text on ethics. Iohn Philosopher Locke recommended Cicero's works. Cicero's vision of natural law influenced thinkers like Locke, Samuel Pufendort, and Cato's Letters' authors John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, who had the most

direct intellectual impact on the American Revolution. In Germany, Cicero was admired by dramatist Friedrich Schiller. The French Baron de Montesquieu, who urged the importance of a separation of powers, considered Cicero 'one of the greatest spirits.' Voltaire wrote that Cicero 'taught us how to think.' Inspired by Cicero during the French Revolution, journalist Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray boldly attacked Maximilien de Robespierre for promoting the Reign of Terror.

Many of the due process protections we take for granted in criminal justice proceedings go back to the English 'Leveller' John Lilburne, who stuck his neck out for liberty. He wrote pamphlets challenging the brutal religious monopoly of the Church of England. The standard legal practice of the time was to interrogate witnesses until they incriminated themselves, at which point they were off to prison. Lilburne refused to testify against himself. Imprisoned without being formally charged, he demanded that charges be filed so that he would have an opportunity to prove his innocence in a

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jury trial; these habeas corpus rights had often been disregarded. Lilburne demanded the right to be represented by a lawyer. He demanded enough time to prepare a defence. He demanded the right to crossexamine his accusers. For making these demands, he spent most of his adult life in prison, and he faced the death penalty four times.

After Lilburne's death in 1657, others followed his example and made similar demands, but they weren't hit as hard, and gradually there was a remarkable change. Historian G. M. Trevelyan observed: 'The Puritan Revolution had enlarged the liberty of the

accused subject against the prosecuting Government, as the trials of John Lilburne had shown . . . Questions of law as well as of fact were now left to the jury, who were free to acquit without fear of consequences; the witnesses for the prosecution were now always brought into court and made to look on the prisoner as they spoke; witnesses for the defence might at least be summoned to appear; and the accused might no longer be interpellated by the King's Counsel,

entangled in a rigorous inquisition, and forced to give evidence against himself. Slowly, through blood and tears, justice and freedom had been advancing.' Added historian H. N. Brailsford: 'Thanks to the daring of this stripling, English law does not aim from the first to last at the extraction of confessions. To Americans this right appeared so fundamental that they embodied it by the Fifth Amendment the constitution of the United States.'

The ideas of Cicero, Lilburne, and Locke shaped the American political culture through the Founders, especially Thomas Jefferson, whose eloquence on behalf of natural rights, expressed in the Declaration of Independence and other official documents and thousands of letters, had an enormous impact beyond his time. William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass, the greatest leaders of the movement to abolish American slavery, frequently cited the Declaration of Independence and based their case on natural rights.

## Challenging totalitarianism

It's hard to imagine a more hopeless century than the 20th, when governments murdered more than 150 million people in peacetime and tens of millions more

during wars, yet it was during this time that some courageous independent thinkers vastly strengthened the case for a free society. Every one of these thinkers lived in the West, and some were exiles from tyranny.

There was the Austrian Ludwig von Mises, who, as a young economist, identified fatal flaws of socialism even before Vladimir Lenin consolidated his power in the Soviet Union. In 1940, after the fall of France, Mises fled Hitler's Europe for the United States where his books Bureaucracy (1944), Omnipotent Government (1944), and Human Action (1949) explained, with great sophistication, why free market economies

> outperform government-run Mises was right.'

> F. A. Hayek, who had studied with Mises in Vienna, proved to be

every bit as independent minded as Mises. He had emigrated to London in 1931 and maintained that the Great Depression was caused by government intervention in the economy. The English economist John Maynard Keynes, however, prevailed with his view that government intervention was needed to save the economy. Since Keynes told politicians what they wanted to hear, they embraced him, and Hayek became virtually an outcast in the economics profession. During the early 1940s, in a converted barn in Cambridge, England, he wrote The Road to Serfdom (1944), which outraged intellectuals by saying, among other things, that totalitarianism follows from socialism. Typical of the mean-spirited attacks on Hayek was Herman Finer's book The Road to Reaction. Hayek, like Mises, has been vindicated by unfolding events, in particular his insistence that political liberty is impossible without economic liberty.

Milton Friedman didn't have an easy time, either. The son of Russian immigrants, he encountered fierce resistance. His Ph.D. was held up for four years because of his maverick views. He took a lot of flak for saying that the Great Depression was caused by bad monetary policies rather than the private sector, but the massive documentation he gathered with Anna J. Schwartz has

economies. He wrote these books while dozens of countries were adopting Soviet-style five year plans, and prestigious economists ignored or ridiculed his work. Mises was dramatically vindicated by the humiliating collapse of the Soviet Union. As Robert Heilbroner conceded in the New Yorker magazine in 1990, 'It turns out, of course, that

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prevailed among economists. And although Friedman was long ridiculed for advocating the repeal of many popular laws, he went on to win friends for liberty around the world.

If there ever was a bold independent thinker, it was Ayn Rand. She grew up under Soviet communism and resolved to escape, which she did in 1926. She dreamed

of becoming a Hollywood screenwriter, which seemed preposterous. She earned only \$100 in royalties from her first novel, *We the Living* (1936), but she wouldn't give up. She had a very hard time finding a U.S. publisher for her little book *Anthem.* Her third book, *The Fountainhead* (1943), brought only a \$1,000 advance after four years of work, but

still she kept at it. The success of this book and the resulting movie enabled her to spend 14 years working on *Atlas Shrugged*, which together with her other writings, made such a compelling moral case for individualism and liberty.

Over the years, there have been many unsung heroes working behind the scenes. For example, the Greek bookseller Amcus who paid Cicero's bills during his years of exile. Hugo Grotius had been imprisoned for defending free will in Calvinist Holland, but a 20-year-old maid, Elsje van Houwening, helped him escape, and he went on to write his most famous work, *The Law of War and Peace.* The Dutch Quaker merchant Benjamin Furley provided a sanctuary for William Penn, John Locke, and Algernon Sidney when they were exiles. Margaret de Bonneville brought the impoverished and dying Thomas Paine into her New York City home, so

that he could spend his last days in a little comfort. Support from Ellen Winsor, Rebecca Winsor Evans, and Edmund C. Evans made it possible for Albert J. Nock to write some of his best books including *Mr. Jefferson* and *Our Enemy, The State.* Journalist Henry Hazlitt helped land some writing assignments for Ludwig von Mises after he arrived in the United States.

Hazlitt helped Mises' stepdaughter get out of Nazi-controlled Paris and helped persuade Yale University Press to publish Mises's books *Bureaucracy, Omnipotent Government,* and *Human Action.* Harold Luhnow paid Mises's salary at New York University; he paid F. A. Hayek's salary at the University of Chicago; he funded lectures that Milton and Rose Friedman turned

into *Capitalism and Freedom:* and he approved the grant that enabled Murray Rothbard to write *Man, Economy and State.* Inspired by Hayek, Antony Fisher provided the seed money for the Institute of Economic Affairs in London and then helped to establish free market institutes around the globe.

## Conclusion

History shows that when liberty isn't adequately defended, it tends to slip away as intellectuals promote statist ideas, special interests lobby for favours, and politicians gain more power. All of us can play an important role by keeping ourselves informed, educating our children, speaking up at school meetings, telling our friends, using our professional influence, contributing time and money to help keep this glorious civilisation alive.

### ON THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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The United States have adventured upon a great and noble experiment, which is believed to have been hazarded in the absence of all previous precedent—that of total separation of Church and State. No religious establishment by law exists among us. The conscience is left free from all restraint and each is permitted to worship his Maker after his own judgement. The offices of the Government are open alike to all. No tithes are levied to support an established Hierarchy, nor is the fallible judgement of man set up as the sure and infallible creed of faith. The Mahommedan, if he will to come among us would have the privilege guaranteed to him by the Koran; and the East Indian might erect a shrine to Brahma if it so pleased him. Such is the spirit of toleration inculcated by our political Institutions . . . The Hebrew persecuted and down trodden in other regions takes up his abode among us with none to make him afraid . . . and the Aegis of the Government is over him to defend and protect him. Such is the great experiment which we have tried, and such are the happy fruits which have resulted from it; our system of free government would be imperfect without it.

The body may be oppressed and manacled and yet survive; but if the mind of man be fettered, its energies and faculties perish, and what remains is of the earth, earthly. Mind should be free as the light or as the air.

John Tyler, in a letter dated July 10, 1843, giving eloquent and indeed prophetic expression to the principle of religious freedom. Quoted in Bernard Lewis, 'The Roots of Muslim Rage', *The Atlantic Monthly* (September 1990).

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