

conservatism (one would call it ‘applied conservatism,’ but for the possibility that Bernardi would hijack the term and start a school for it within the University of Notre Dame), his views are not the shrill, revolutionary talk of Bernardi.

Despite referencing Scruton’s book on environmental conservatism, I doubt Bernardi subscribes to Scruton’s thesis and solution. After all, Scruton largely accepts the concept of global warming and proposes a flat-rate carbon tax. Still less would Bernardi embrace Scruton’s suggestion, together with Phillip Bond of the ResPublica think tank, on same-sex marriage (*Marriage: Union for the Future or Contract for the Present*, 2013). Those conservative authors propose two strategies. First, the state should leave traditional marriage alone. Second, churches should recognise the demand for same-sex ‘marriage’ and offer a celebration of civil union ‘as a distinct form of social and theological realisation for gay people that all Christians would want to see.’ Now there’s a marmalade dropper for Bernardi from one of his favoured conservative authors. You see, we conservatives are a broad church. Bernardi says this in his book, but then he paints a very narrow picture of us.

I was expecting the last page of the book to replicate Bernardi’s blog page with boxes labelled ‘DONATE,’ ‘JOIN,’ ‘CONTACT.’ Instead, it ends with a whimper. Bernardi gives a list of practical steps that each of us can take for the conservative revolution. He even advocates joining a political party. Which one? Surely not his Liberal Party, which has supported much ‘progressive’ law reform such as in relation to anti-discrimination and anti-bullying laws? Bernardi ends the book with: ‘The choice is essentially yours to make. So make it well.’

There the book seems to end. But wait, there is more. The last page is headed ‘Our Australia.’ Under this are words with the appearance of a statement, a pledge, a poem or a song. It is hard to say. It does not scan as poetry. Bernardi does not nominate a tune, so I assume we do not sing the words. If it was meant to be a pledge or a momentous statement, then the tone and cadence are wrong. In this brave new world of conservatives as revolutionaries, perhaps

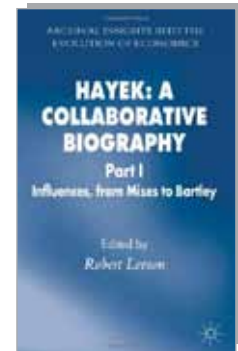
Bernardi has started something new, a post-amble? Whatever it is, the words are trite, the tone pedestrian, and the purpose dubious. In so many ways, the post-amble summarises the book.

Reviewed by
Dayan J. Goodsir Cullen



**Hayek: A Collaborative
Biography: Part 1
Influences from Mises
to Bartley**

Robert Leeson (ed.)
Palgrave MacMillan, 2013
£60.00, 252 pages
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Friedrich Hayek was a key figure in the revival of interest in classical liberalism in the twentieth century, and he is still—and for good reason—widely referred to. His academic interests ranged from psychology, law and economics to the history of ideas, and his work drew on all these different fields—and more—to offer a striking case for classical liberalism. He offered powerful—if not unproblematic—arguments that stand in contrast to both rights-based and rational-choice (and more narrowly economic) cases for liberalism. The distinctive character of Hayek’s intellectual background poses challenges for Hayek’s readers—and in this context, information about his biography and intellectual development is most welcome.

The starting-point for the reader on these topics is Bruce Caldwell’s *Hayek’s Challenge*, supplemented by Caldwell’s editorial introductions to the volumes in Hayek’s *Collected Works* which he has edited, notably *The Road to Serfdom* and *Studies in the Abuse and Decline of Reason*. These can usefully be joined by Alan Ebenstein’s two books, *Hayek: A Biography* and *Hayek’s Journey*. These contain a lot of information but are not as well integrated

and analysed as is Caldwell's work. Robert Leeson's collection, *Hayek: A Collaborative Biography*, is best considered as a supplement to all this with a number of contributions on specialised topics.

The high-point of the collection is the essay by Viktor Vanberg titled 'Hayek in Freiberg.' It conveys in a brief and interesting manner information about Hayek's appointment at Freiberg, intellectual issues there, and his move to Salzburg and subsequent return to Freiberg. This essay is strongly recommended to those with an interest in Hayek's later work and in his inter-relationship with the German school of Ordo-liberalism. Nils Goldschmidt and Jan-Otmar Hesse's 'Eucken, Hayek and *The Road to Serfdom*' is also of interest, but largely because it includes an English translation of a letter from Eucken to Hayek, in which Eucken gives his reactions to Hayek's book. The letter is genuinely informative—the essay does not add much to the letter but indicates important differences in emphasis between Hayek and Eucken. (Rüstow and Röpke were different yet again, favouring intervention in support, particularly, of small farmers.) The work of Eucken and other Ordo-liberals, however, raises important issues for those interested in Hayek's work (see Viktor Vanberg 'Freiberg School of Law and Economics,' in Peter Newman (ed.), *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics and the Law 2* (London: 1998), 172–179).

The volume also contains some solid and informative pieces that don't add much to what is already known. Melissa Lane writes about the *Road to Serfdom* and its background. Douglas French contributes a short piece on Hayek and Mises, and Rafe Champion a piece on Hayek, Popper and Bartley. Also included is a nice review by Selwin Cornish of Nicholas Wapshott's book on Keynes and Hayek—although, as we are *not* told, this review has previously appeared in a journal. Gabriel Söderberg, Avner Offer and Samuel Bjork contribute 'Hayek: Citations and the Nobel Prize.' The information about citations is interesting although Hayek's citation profile was bound to differ from that of most economists (because Hayek's approach to capital theory fell out of fashion, and he worked largely in spheres other than technical economics after *The Pure*

Theory of Capital). However, their underlying assumptions about the importance of citations are problematic, and the essay contains numerous tendentious and unargued claims about the significance or otherwise of aspects of Hayek's work. Of even less value is a short essay by David Laidler consisting of rambling reminiscences largely about himself. There are also two short but slight essays: an interview with Stephen Kresge, who took over from Bill Bartley as the editor of Hayek's *Collected Works*, and a short piece by Werner Erhard, the founder of *est*, about Bill Bartley. Bartley wrote a biography of Erhard. He was also working on a biography of Hayek and editing his *Collected Works* when he died.

Leeson contributes a long piece on Bartley. From the title of the book, one might expect that Bartley is being claimed as an influence on Hayek, but this is not the case. It might be useful to say a little about Bartley's role in relation to Hayek's writings; this is a contentious topic, about which Leeson writes briefly. It might be useful here to supplement his account. Initially Bartley wrote a paper for Hayek—drawing on material that Hayek gave as a public address. He subsequently edited Hayek's *Fatal Conceit*. It has been claimed that Bartley virtually wrote *The Fatal Conceit*. The situation is clear from archive material (on which I here draw). Hayek in his old age wrote on cards, which he then had written up into a manuscript. Hayek's secretary, Charlotte Cubitt, made a number of revisions. As a result of his advanced age and poor health, it was difficult for Hayek to get an overview of the manuscript, at which point Bartley offered to assist. Bartley found numerous gaps and repetitions, and did a lot of work on the manuscript, including suggesting radical changes that it was planned would be discussed with Hayek. Hayek, however, was unable to work on the manuscript because of ill health. After he had recovered sufficiently to read the manuscript, Bartley informed Hayek that it still contained considerable repetition and Hayek gave Bartley the go-ahead to eliminate it—but this necessitated a lot of rewriting. The result was something that Hayek thought conveyed what he wished to say but did not read like his work stylistically. It is, however, worth noting that Hayek's English was regularly edited—including by

Edwin McClellan, Arthur Shenfield, and Arthur Seldon—but their editing seems to have been much more conservative than Bartley’s, although the problems they faced were less radical.

Most of Leeson’s piece is a tour through published and archival sources on Bartley. Leeson picks up on a number of important issues, but as he is not concerned with the substance of Bartley’s intellectual interests—initially, in the philosophy of religion, and then the critical revision of aspects of Karl Popper’s ‘Critical Rationalism’—there is an element of Hamlet without the Prince to the story. To really understand the concerns Bartley brought to the editing of Hayek’s work, one would need to know much more about the development of Bartley’s interests; but to research this would be a difficult task. Without this, the material risks degenerating into gossip—for example, concerning the extent to which text written in the third person in Bartley’s writings is autobiographical, how an ‘involvement’ with Erica Sherover (who later married Herbert Marcuse), the character of which

is unclear, becomes ‘connections with Marcuse’ about which Hayek ‘appeared to be unconcerned’. All told, it is not clear why most of this material on Bartley appears in a collection on Hayek.

Leeson also contributes a long introduction to the volume, drawing heavily on the UCLA Oral History interviews with Hayek and archival material. The introduction contains many interesting points, but Leeson uses the material uncritically—in what R.G. Collingwood called a ‘scissors and paste’ manner.

All told, this volume is interesting, but its value is as a supplement to existing biographical material. It is likely to appeal only to the specialist on Hayek’s work—for whom the Vanberg essay and the translation of the Eucken letter will be of particular value.

**Reviewed by
Jeremy Shearmur**

