

The Road Ahead: *Slavery or Liberty?*



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Founded 1964

Celebrating 50 Years

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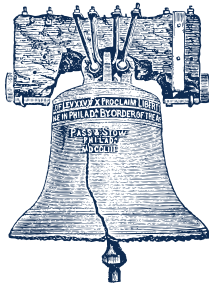
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THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

Founded 1964

50th Anniversary Meeting

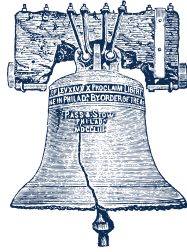
The Road Ahead:

Slavery or Liberty?



COMMEMORATIVE PROGRAM

April 4-6, 2014 • Chicago, Illinois



THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

Founded 1964



Mission Statement

To sponsor the interchange of ideas through discussion and writing, in the interest of deepening the intellectual foundation of a free and ordered society, and of broadening the understanding of its basic principles and traditions. In pursuit of this end we shall examine a wide range of issues: economic, political, cultural, religious, and philosophic. We shall seek understanding, not conformity.



On the Cover

Front Cover: The Choice of Hercules at the crossroads is between the Road to Virtue and the Road to Pleasure. The United States faces a similar choice today. Both are good. The Road to Pleasure is obviously easier, but seductively it can lead to Vice. The path of Virtue, stony and difficult, requires heroic efforts. The road to serfdom is through the welfare state; the road to virtue requires liberty and responsible actions. (Crispin van den Broeck [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons.)

Back Cover: The portrait of F. A. Hayek was painted by Milt Kobayashi for a *Forbes* magazine cover (1979). The painting now hangs at The Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C. (Reproduced with permission.)

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April 4, 2014

Dear Members and Guests,

Welcome!

In April 1964 ninety persons attended meetings in Indianapolis, Philadelphia, and San Francisco for the purpose of forming a society of conservative scholars patterned after Hayek's Mont Pelerin Society. The report of these meetings prepared by The Philadelphia Society's first Secretary, Don Lipsett, is reprinted in this commemorative program.

It was a thrill for me to participate then as the Society's first Treasurer. This weekend, it is even more of a thrill for me to preside over these festivities half a century later. We come together to honor our founders, to commemorate five decades of intellectual engagement, and to renew our commitment to the mission of The Philadelphia Society.

In drafting the statement of purpose for The Philadelphia Society in 1964, Stan Evans stated our shared belief that "America is the inheritor of the Western achievement, the leading principle of which is the liberty of the person under the moral law." It is this shared conviction in the importance of the American experiment in self-government that continues to draw so many members and our guests together for these gatherings.

For fifty years our Society has provided a welcoming and energizing opportunity for all of us who have hope for the future of our free society. We have not been without disagreement and even factionalism in our deliberations. But on the whole, the life of The Philadelphia Society has exemplified the spirit of that great Philadelphian, Benjamin Franklin, who understood that liberty depends on commerce. And that commerce is not only in commodities, but even more importantly in knowledge, ideas, and the spirit of civility and shared adventure to be found on the road to liberty.

As intellectual pilgrims on that road to liberty, let us enjoy the challenges that we discuss and the camaraderie of our Society as we enlarge our shared commitment to liberty.

Let the festivities begin!



Edwin J. Feulner
President



Celebrating the Power of Ideas—

Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

The Heritage Foundation
Joins with America's
Leading Thinkers
and Cultural Institutions
to Celebrate 50 Years of
The Philadelphia Society



Congratulations on 50 years of success in fostering free and open discussion of the foundation of liberty, and supporting the basic principles and habits of a free and ordered society.

NCPA Philadelphia Society members:

John C. Goodman, president and CEO

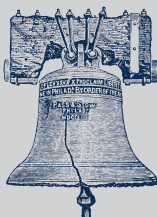
Joe Barnett, director of policy research

A stylized globe with a grid of latitude and longitude lines, rendered in a light gray color, positioned behind the NCPA acronym.

NCPA

NATIONAL CENTER FOR POLICY ANALYSIS





Founded 1964

THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

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50TH GALA ANNIVERSARY MEETING

APRIL 4-6, 2014, RENAISSANCE CHICAGO DOWNTOWN HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Road Ahead: *Serfdom or Liberty?*

FRIDAY

- 4:00 - 6:00 RegistrationGrand Ballroom Foyer
5:30 - 6:00 Fellowship OrientationDearborn
6:00 - 7:00 ReceptionGrand Ballroom Foyer
7:00 - 9:00 **Dinner – Chairman:** Edwin J. Feulner, The Heritage FoundationGrand Ballroom
Passing the Baton from Bill Campbell to Lenore Ealy
Keynote Speaker: Daniel Henninger, *The Wall Street Journal*

SATURDAY

- 8:30 - 9:30 Annual Breakfast Meeting of the Membership (Members only).....Grand Ballroom 4-6

10:00 - 11:30 *The Road Ahead in the World of Economics, Politics and Culture*Grand Ballroom 1-3
Chairman: Robert Koons, University of Texas
Scott Beaulier, Troy University
Patrick Deneen, University of Notre Dame
Robert R. Reilly, Author

LUNCHEON *The Philadelphia Society & Nobel Prize Winners: Friedman, Hayek, & Ronald Coase*.....Grand Ballroom 4-6

- 12:00 - 1:30 **Chairman:** M. Stanton Evans, Author
Luncheon Address: Gary Becker, University of Chicago

2:00 - 3:30 *The Road Ahead in Politics: Goldwater to 2016*Grand Ballroom 1-3
Chairman: Lee Edwards, The Heritage Foundation
Angelo Codevilla, Boston University
Larry P. Arnn, President, Hillsdale College

3:30 - 4:00 Coffee Break

4:00 - 5:30 *Cheerful Conservatives and Joyous Libertarians: The Rhetorical Path to Civility*Grand Ballroom 1-3
Chairman: Linda Bridges, *National Review*
Neal B. Freeman, Chairman, The Blackwell Corporation
Gordon Lloyd, Pepperdine University
Jim DeMint, President, The Heritage Foundation

5:45 - 6:45 Cocktail Reception Sponsored by The Heritage FoundationGrand Ballroom Foyer

SUNDAY BREAKFAST BUFFET - 8:00 - 8:45Grand Ballroom 4-6

- 8:45 - 11:00 Roundtable Discussion: *The Future of The Philadelphia Society in the Light of its Past*
Past Presidents of The Philadelphia Society: Chairman: Edwin J. Feulner, T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr.,
Midge Decter, William C. Dennis, Steven Hayward, John Howard, G. Philip Hughes,
Victoria Hughes, Leonard P. Liggio, Forrest McDonald, Edwin Meese III, George H. Nash,
Daniel Oliver, Roger Ream, Ellis Sandoz, Peter Schramm, John Willson

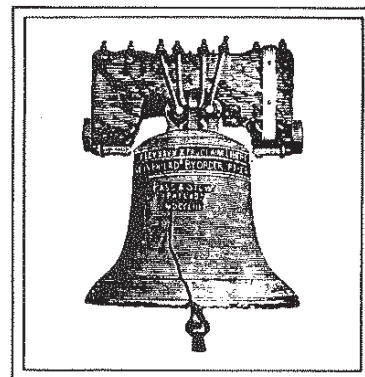


THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

Founded 1964

THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

REPORT ON THE MEETINGS WHICH WERE HELD IN
APRIL 1964, AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE



MEETINGS WERE held April 18 in Indianapolis and April 25 in Philadelphia and San Francisco for the purpose of forming a society of conservative scholars patterned after the Mont Pelerin Society. Approximately one-third of the time at each meeting was devoted to discussion of organizational matters, with the balance devoted to lectures and discussion.

THE SPEAKERS and their topics:

Indianapolis

Milton Friedman: The Mt. Pelerin Society and the Power of Ideas
Stephen J. Tonsor: Politics in a Non-Ideological Era
Russell Kirk: The Future of American Conservatism

Philadelphia

"The Crisis of Western Civilization"

Chairman: Willmoore Kendall
Speakers: Frank S. Meyer, Stanley Parry
Discussants: William J. Fitzpatrick, Thomas Molnar

Patrick M. Boarman: Is Freedom Absolute?

San Francisco

"American Foreign Policy — The Challenge of Crisis"

Opening Remarks: Stefan T. Possony
Discussants: George Crocker, William McDill

"Some New Approaches to Economic Problems"

Opening Remarks: Virgil Salera
Discussants: W. Glenn Campbell, Karl Brandt

"The American Academy — Where is it Headed?"

Discussants: Russell Kirk, Ronald McArthur

NINETY PERSONS attended the meetings, thirty-six at Indianapolis, thirty-one at Philadelphia and twenty-three at San Francisco. Nearly one hundred others expressed an interest in the Society, but were unable to attend one of the meetings.



THE FOLLOWING have agreed to serve as an organization committee:

William H. Book, Consultant, Indianapolis
Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., Editor, National Review
W. Glenn Campbell, Director, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace
Peter L. DeLuca III, Western Director, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists
M. Stanton Evans, Editor, Indianapolis News
Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania
Milton Friedman, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago
Arthur Kemp, Professor of Economics, Claremont Men's College
Don Lipsett, National Field Director, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists
Frank S. Meyer, Senior Editor, National Review
Henry Regnery, President, Henry Regnery Co.
Eliseo Vivas, Professor of Philosophy, Northwestern University

ALTHOUGH NO CONSENSUS on organizational matters was sought at the meetings, there seemed general agreement on the following:

- 1) The Society should be multidisciplinary. There seemed little interest in the Society sponsoring conferences within specific disciplines, although the possibility should not be excluded.
- 2) A fundamental purpose of the Society should be a continuing dialogue between the "traditionalist" and "libertarian" emphases. A slight majority seemed to favor discussions at a philosophical rather than topical level.
- 3) Membership should be oriented to the academy, but not limited to it; others who have a serious interest in the cause of individual liberty should be welcomed.
- 4) The Society should sponsor no resolutions, political statements or corporate programs of action.

THE FOLLOWING DRAFT of a statement of purpose by M. Stanton Evans was discussed at the meetings. Comments and suggestions made at the meetings concerning this statement have been circulated to the organization committee.

The name of this organization shall be The Philadelphia Society. Its purpose will be to sponsor the exchange of ideas through discussion and writing in the interest of a deeper comprehension of the American Experience. The Society holds that America is the inheritor of the Western achievement, the leading principle of which is the liberty of the person under the moral law. Its members seek to explore the implications of that principle in various scholarly disciplines, and in the continuing dialogue about the preconditions and consequences of the free society. The object of such efforts will be to improve the understanding of the members themselves, and to advance the cause of ordered freedom in arena of public discussion.

PREFERENCES REGARDING the dates for national and regional meetings varied widely. There seemed to be a slight majority in favor of one national meeting and two or three regional meetings. The decisions regarding the dates and places for meetings will be made by the organization committee. It is hoped that a national meeting can be held late in 1964 or early in 1965. In the meantime, your comments and suggestions are invited.

Don Lipsett





Back Row: Don Lipsett, David Stuhr, Dan Hales, Bill Campbell, M.E. Bradford, Ernest van den Haag, Bill Dennis, Stephen Tonsor, Ed Feulner; Front Row: Dan Oliver, Russell Kirk, Leonard Liggio, Forrest McDonald, Lowell Smith, John Howard

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

*Glenn Campbell 1965-67	*M. E. Bradford 1984-86	Claes Ryn 2001-2002
*Arthur Kemp 1967-68	William F. Campbell 1986-87	Edwin Meese III 2002-2003
*James W. Wiggins 1968-69	William C. Dennis 1987-88	Lee Edwards 2003-2004
*Stephen J. Tonsor 1969-71	Forrest McDonald 1988-90	Midge Decter 2004-2005
*Henry Regnery 1971-73	Lowell C. Smith 1990-91	Victoria Hughes 2005-2006
David L. Meiselman 1973-75	Daniel Oliver 1991-92	George Nash 2006-2008
*Henry Regnery 1975-77	Leonard P. Liggio 1992-93	Steve Hayward 2008-2009
*John L. Ryan 1977-78	T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr. 1993-94	Roger Ream 2009-2010
*Ernest van den Haag 1978-79	Leonard P. Liggio 1994-95	Peter Schramm 2010-2011
John A. Howard 1979-81	*Margo Carlisle 1995-1996	G. Philip Hughes 2011-2012
Robert L. Bunting 1981-82	M. Stanton Evans 1996-1998	Lenore T. Ealy 2012-2013
Edwin J. Feulner 1982-83	John Willson 1998-2000	Edwin J. Feulner 2013-2014
*Russell Kirk 1983-84	Ellis Sandoz 2000-2001	* Deceased



1944 F.A. Hayek publishes *The Road to Serfdom*

1944 *Human Events* established

1945 Founding of FEE

1947 First Mont Pelerin meeting

1953 Russell Kirk publishes *The Conservative Mind*

1953 ISI Founded

1955 *National Review* established

1962 Milton Friedman publishes *Capitalism & Freedom*

1962 Frank Meyer publishes *In Defense of Freedom*

Spring 1964 / Don Lipsett organizes Philadelphia Society planning meetings in Indianapolis
Philadelphia and San Francisco

A Unique Society

Five Decades of Defending Freedom

Lee Edwards



The Long March Begins

In the waning days of 1964, conservatives had little to be happy about. Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater had offered a conservative choice not a liberal echo and had been buried in an electoral landslide engineered by President Lyndon B. Johnson. The most defiantly conservative candidate of modern times, Goldwater received just 38.5 percent of the popular vote and won only six states, including his home state of Arizona. Walter Lippmann, the leading columnist of the day, wrote that the “Johnson majority is indisputable proof that the voters are in the center.”

No slur about the Goldwater candidacy had been deemed too extreme. Goldwaterism was equated with Stalinism. Goldwater’s political bible, said one prominent Democrat, was *Mein Kampf*. His campaign slogan “In your heart, you know he’s right” was cruelly converted into “In your guts, you know he’s nuts.” By association, so were all his supporters.

Things were no better in the non-political world. The American campus leaned sharply left. A poll of Harvard undergraduates revealed that one-seventh supported “full socialization of all industries,” more than a fifth favored socialization of the medical





Vic Milione, Stan Evans, Charles Heatherly, Robert Reilly,
and Robert Schadler



Don Lipsett

Nov 1964 / Goldwater defeated ✂ Dec 1964 / Buckley & Friedman meet for the first time

profession, nearly a third believed that the federal government should “own and operate all basic industries,” and two thirds supported wage and price controls to check inflation. Liberals dominated the professoriate, the journals of opinion, the mass media, the best-seller lists of the *New York Times*.

And yet, conservatives were more resilient than liberals and perhaps even conservatives themselves realized. They insisted that while a conservative candidate had been rejected, conservative ideas had not been repudiated. Ronald Reagan, a rising star in the West, wrote in *National Review* that “the landslide majority did not vote against the conservative philosophy, they voted against a false image our liberal opponents successfully mounted.” The ever-resilient Frank Meyer pointed out that despite the campaign to make conservatism seem “extremist, radical, nihilist, anarchic,” two-fifths of the voters still voted for the conservative alternative. “In fact,” Meyer insisted, “conservatives stand today nearer to victory than they ever have since Franklin Roosevelt.” Conservatives publicly welcomed Meyer’s sanguine rhetoric while wondering privately how long a march would be necessary to achieve even a limited victory.

Shaping the Battle of Ideas

One long-sighted conservative warned against measuring success or failure at the voting booth. The critical thing, ISI president E. Victor Milione wrote to Notre Dame professor Gerhart Niemeyer, was to continue to assert the importance of education, not politics, “in shaping the course of future events.” And so when Donald Lipsett, ISI’s Midwest director, suggested the formation of an organization that would keep ISI “graduates” involved in the battle of ideas, Milione quickly gave his approval.

In the spring of 1964, Lipsett organized regional meetings of the new organization (already named The Philadelphia Society) in Indianapolis, Philadelphia, and San Francisco for the purpose “of forming a society of conservative scholars patterned after the Mont Pelerin Society.” Ninety persons attended the three sessions which featured remarks by such luminaries as Milton Friedman, Russell Kirk, Willmoore Kendall, Stephen Tonsor, Glenn Campbell (who would become the Society’s first president), Thomas Molnar, Stefan Possony, and Fr. Stanley Parry. An organization committee was formed, and M. Stanton Evans (who else?!) was drafted to compose a statement of purpose for the Society, which began:





William F. Buckley, Jr.



Milton Friedman

Feb 1965 / First national meeting of The Philadelphia Society ∞ 1965 / *The Public Interest* founded

“Its purpose will be to sponsor the exchange of ideas through discussion and writing in the interest of a deeper comprehension of the American Experience. The Society holds that America is the inheritor of the Western achievement, the leading principle of which is the liberty of the person under the moral law.”

Two guidelines emerged from the organizational discussions: “A fundamental purpose of the Society should be a continuing dialogue between the ‘traditionalist’ and ‘libertarian’ emphases” of conservatism. And: “The Society should sponsor no resolutions, political statements or corporate programs of action.” As to the name, the organizers explained that The Philadelphia Society was selected because it was in Philadelphia that the Founding Fathers produced the essential documents of the American Republic—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The American Mont Pelerin

Following the Goldwater debacle in November 1964 and anxious to strengthen the Society, Lipsett proposed a New York City meeting in December of editor-author William F. Buckley Jr., representing the traditionalist wing of the conservative movement, and economist Milton Friedman, representing the libertarians or classical liberals. Also pres-

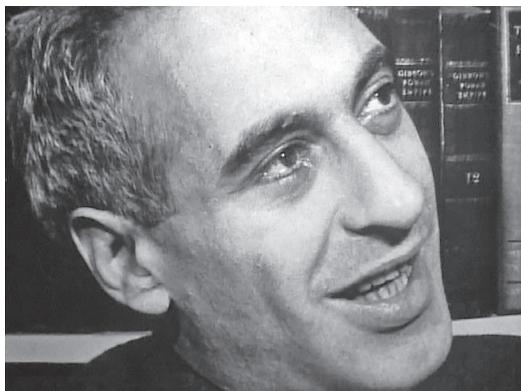
ent at the New York meeting were Frank Meyer of *National Review*, Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., then a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School of Business, and Lipsett. Remarkably, recalled Feulner, “this was the first time that Buckley and Friedman [had] ever met each other.”

The two conservative leaders agreed to lend their names to “an American multi-discipline organization patterned after the Mont Pelerin Society,” which had been started in 1947 by F. A. Hayek, Friedman, and other free-market advocates when socialism seemed to be sweeping across Western Europe and much of the free world. Buckley also put up \$100, Feulner said, “so we could open a bank account.” Lipsett became Secretary and immediately set about organizing the Society’s first national meeting to be held the last weekend of February in the geographically convenient city of Chicago. The theme was “The Future of Freedom: Problems and Prospects.”

The First National Meeting

One hundred and twenty-five conservatives—writers, teachers, economists, historians, philosophers—met, as Guy Davenport wrote in *National Review*, to discuss “the fate of the West, its decline, survival, or metamorphosis.” Following remarks at the Fri-





Frank Meyer



Richard Weaver and Al Campbell

1968-70 / Campus protests of Vietnam War ✂ 1969 / Libertarians split from YAF

day night dinner by Antony Fisher (who would later spawn a global network of free market think tanks) the first panel met that same evening after dinner and took up the “problem” of philosophy.

Milton Friedman, calling himself a classical liberal, discussed freedom in terms of the free market economy based on “cooperation.” He said that classical liberalism represented a “healthy” breaking away from the authoritarianism and traditionalism of the past. For him individual freedom was the central problem in social organization. Father Stanley Parry of Notre Dame quietly disagreed, stating that man must perceive the metaphysical rather than the economic basis for freedom. This being so, Parry said, conservatives “are the heirs of Western civilization.” Fusionist Frank Meyer suggested that American conservatism was a “blending” of traditional values and individual freedom. The *raison d’être* of The Philadelphia Society, he emphasized, should be to abandon “partisan concepts of truth” and exchange ideas “frankly.”

On Saturday, there were three panels—one in the morning and two in the afternoon—that explored the problems of foreign policy, persuasion, and the intellectual task ahead. Robert Strausz-Hupé, director of the University of Pennsylvania’s Foreign Poli-

cy Research Institute, argued that the Kennedy and Johnson administrations’ hope of stopping the proliferation of nuclear power and of cooperation with Communism was hollow and unrealistic. Anticipating the forthright foreign policy of Ronald Reagan, Strausz-Hupé said that “this side of surrender, cooperation with Communism is impossible.” L. Brent Bozell, former senior editor of *National Review* and author of a forthcoming critical analysis of the Supreme Court, *The Warren Revolution*, expressed the fear that the West, as a self-conscious embodiment of Christian truth, had forgotten its identity.

In the third conference session, LeBaron R. Foster of the Opinion Research Corporation quoted extensively from polls to show that the American people, Democrats as well as Republicans, were basically conservative in their views. The conservatives’ task, he asserted, was clarification and persuasion. Economist Warren Nutter of the University of Virginia asserted that persuasion must happen between and not just during campaigns. He called for “a new Federalist Papers” and greater courage in speaking out by informed conservatives.

The concluding panel comprised three intellectual heavyweights of the American conservative movement—philosopher Eliseo Vivas, historian Russell





Glenn Campbell



Ed Feulner, Rose and Milton Friedman, Norman and Don Lipsett

1969 / Emmy awarded to Buckley's *Firing Line* ✂ 1972 / Frank Meyer R.I.P.

Kirk, and economist George Stigler of the University of Chicago, with Wabash College's Benjamin Rogge as chairman. All asked for an end to rallying around the flag as "the primal conservative gesture," and a commitment to the hard work of defining and defending conservative ideas. Stigler noted that conservatives were no longer "an entertaining minority" and could be heard when they questioned the Establishment.

The closing talks and the thoughtful responses from the floor (which lasted until six p.m.) centered on two themes: (1) ideology and fanaticism are always to be feared, and (2) rather than liberal ideology—a reflection of socialist totalitarianism—conservatives must rely on reason. At the very end, there was a standing ovation for Don Lipsett's organizational and programmatic skill and a conviction among the attendees that something important for the conservative movement and for the nation had been started.

The Commodore

For the following three decades until his premature death in 1995, Don and his devoted wife Norma kept the books, looked after the membership, developed the programs, and found the young scholars who attended the national and regional meetings.

Don Lipsett never gave a speech, longtime friend John Von Kannon noted, preferring to sit at the back of the room puffing on his pipe and taking notes that he incorporated into what he called "A Listing of Important Laws." Here are a couple showing Don's contrarian sense of humor:

- John Lathrop Ryan's Law of Public Oratory: "Everybody except me speaks too long."
- William Rusher's Other Law: "When you find a good thing, run it into the ground."
- The Harris Law of Nugatory Achievement: "If a thing isn't worth doing, it isn't worth doing well."
- Mike Mooney's Law: "You can't always count on your friends, but you can always count on your enemies."

Those who drank "from the refreshing waters" of The Philadelphia Society's meetings during the Lipsett years, wrote the *Detroit News*, knew how fortunate they were.

Born in Woodburn, Indiana, in 1930, Don received a B.S. in Business and an M.B.A. from Indiana University. He joined the U.S. Coast Guard attaining the rank of Lieutenant JG. His intense interest in naval history led him to the naval war hero, Commodore Stephen Decatur, and his friends to call



VDARE.com
congratulates The Philadelphia Society
on 50 years of examining the
hard and important questions.

(and also for introducing Peter and Lydia, who just celebrated 7 years married!)



The VDare Foundation's mission is to educate the general public as a media outlet focused primarily on the negative consequences of mass immigration and on the National Question (i.e., whether or not the U.S. can continue as a nation-state, the political expression of a particular people). We do this through the VDARE.com webzine, VDARE Books, and public speaking, conferences, debates and media appearances.



The Russell Kirk Center
for Cultural Renewal

Congratulations to
The Philadelphia Society
... friends for fifty years!

On this momentous occasion, the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal is pleased to announce the launch of the online journal *STUDIES IN BURKE AND HIS TIME*, joining our successful online review, *The University Bookman*. Continuing our mission in a digital generation, our writers assess the era and support the renewal of culture through the prism of the Permanent Things.

The
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Bookman**

STUDIES IN

Burke
AND HIS TIME

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*Front row: Midge Decter, Lee Edwards, Ken Cribb, John Howard, Bill Campbell, Lowell Smith, Victoria Hughes
 Middle row: Ed Meese, Ellis Sandoz, Forrest McDonald, John Willson, Bill Dennis
 Back row: Ed Feulner, George Nash, Claes Ryn, Dan Hales, Leonard Liggio
 (Photo of officers and past presidents taken in 2006 at the Sheraton Society Hill, Philadelphia)*



"It is my conviction that it was freedom that effected the miracle of America – intellectual freedom, religious freedom, political freedom, industrial freedom; freedom to dream, to think, to experiment, to invent, to match wits in friendly competition; freedom to be an individual. That is our great American heritage."

J. Howard Pew speech before the Philadelphia Council of Churches, June 3, 1952

www.faithandfreedom.com





Vic Milione



Ben Rogge

1973 / Irving Kristol embraces “neo-conservative” label ✂ 1970s / Think tank movement takes off

Don “The Commodore.” He founded the Stephen Decatur Society, collected memorabilia about the man who defeated the Barbary Pirates, and created the famous stationery for the society that featured an eagle with arrows in both talons.

His commitment to the conservative movement was total. In the 1950s, he worked for the Foundation for Economic Education and *The Freeman*, *National Review*, and for ISI as its national field director. He later served as a senior staffer of the American Security Council, executive secretary of the American Conservative Union and as director of the Center for Constructive Alternatives at Hillsdale College. For 18 years, he was Counselor to the President of the Heritage Foundation.

As the de facto organizer of every meeting of The Philadelphia Society, he included conservatives of all stripes—traditionalists, libertarians, and neo-conservatives—on the panels, following faithfully the Society’s mission statement that “we shall seek understanding, not conformity.” When pressed, he would confess a personal liking for the individualist views of Albert Jay Nock and the iconoclastic writing of H. L. Mencken.

In his moving tribute to Don Lipsett, his able successor William F. Campbell said that just as the

Jews leave a place at the table for the prophet Elijah, “so too shall we leave a place for Don at the meetings of The Philadelphia Society, the rooms of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, and the Corridors of the Heritage Foundation...He is [always] with us in spirit.”

A Social and Intellectual Hub

Writing about the second national meeting—from the Golliwog Lounge of the Chicago Sheraton Hotel—columnist James J. Kilpatrick acknowledged the thoughtful formal presentations on the theme of “Civil Rights and Individual Responsibilities” but argued that as great value lay in the informal encounters, “the gossip of old combats, the family jokes.” Within the conventional frame of the American convention, Kilpatrick wrote, conservatives “met, and touched hands, and broke lances, and tested improbable schemes.” And so it has been for 50 years.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s when the American campus was riddled with protests, demonstrations and even the bombing of buildings, The Philadelphia Society took the long view as when Walter F. Berns of Colgate—at the 1970 national meeting—scolded his former colleagues at Cornell for





Russell Kirk



Annette Kirk

1974 / Philly Soc 10th Anniversary meeting in Chicago ✧ 1974 / Hayek receives Nobel Prize

wavering in the face of threatened student violence. At the same conference, youthful scholars [David Friedman, John Marlin, Gary North, and Danny Boggs handled such weighty issues as the transfer of government functions into private hands and the theoretical tensions between the traditionalists and the libertarians with impressive aplomb. Although it did not have the funds to print the serious papers read at the meetings, the Society was confident that the ideas expressed would linger long in the minds of the listeners. Today, there is the Internet, ready, willing and able to disseminate anything, including the Society's proceedings.

The Firsts of the First Decade

On the occasion of the Society's 10th national meeting in the spring of 1974 (there had been at least one and often two regional gatherings every year), Ben Rogge offered a tongue-in-cheek history of the first decade that began by explaining why the organization was called The Philadelphia Society—"because its annual meetings are always held in Chicago." Its activities were "the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design." As to membership, it was not required, as rumored

by some, that you had to be a disciple of Milton Friedman. Indeed, nine of the original 12-member organization committee were traditionalists, not libertarians.

Rogge dismissed the story that Vic Milione and Don Lipsett had received instructions to form the Society from "a voice speaking from a burning bush," pointing out that neither Milione nor Lipsett "has ever listened to any voice from any source whatsoever." Apologizing for not being a more "rigorous" historian, Rogge revealed he had discovered several important "firsts" that could be laid at the door of The Philadelphia Society.

It was at a Society meeting that Russell Kirk formally presented to the conservative world his "beauteous" wife Annette, who had missed so many meetings because she was invariably pregnant in the spring. And it was at a Society meeting that former Trotskyite Irving Kristol first gave public notice that "he was no longer one of them, but one of us." Long may the Society and its operations endure, Rogge proclaimed, reassuring its members at least once a year that "there are a number of people of first quality who do indeed stand for the open society and are capable of defending it with vigor, warmth, and eloquence."





Hayek receiving Nobel Prize



Friedman receiving Nobel Prize

1976 / Friedman receives Nobel Prize ∞ 1980 / Ronald Reagan elected

A Broad Spectrum Defense of Liberty

One of those defenders was the new Nobel laureate Friedrich A. Hayek, who said at the 1975 national meeting that interventionism was so built into government that it would be difficult for even a majority of freedom-minded citizens to make the state resist the temptation to meddle. Statism had become so pervasive, Hayek said, that we now spoke “not of preserving but of returning to the free society.” Another defender of the free society was publisher Henry Regnery (one of a long line of distinguished Society presidents), who quoted an Ezra Pound translation of Confucius: “The men of old... wanting good government in their states...first established order in their own families.”

A long-standing topic of the Society—the similarities and differences of (traditional) conservatives and libertarians—was the theme of the 1979 annual meeting, led off by sociologist Robert Nisbet, who said the two groups shared several prejudices: resentment of government intrusions, fondness for economic freedom, distaste for mass democracy. But they did not share a common intellectual framework. Nisbet, wrote Richard Brookhiser in *National Review*, traced modern conservatism to Edmund Burke’s stand against the French Revolution and its crusade against traditional institutions while liber-

tarians appealed instead to John Stuart Mill and the sanctity of the individual. Conservatives such as Walter Berns and libertarians such as Murray Rothbard briskly and sometimes forcefully debated the topic. In a burst of triumphalism, the Cato Institute’s David Theroux referred to “the amazing growth of libertarianism” which offered, he said, “the only guide” for the future of humanity. The debate demonstrated, once again, the Society’s willingness to explore publicly the most fundamental issues and from different perspectives.

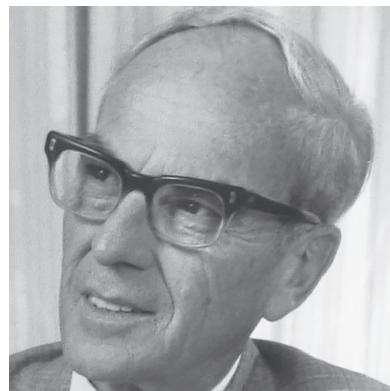
Presidential Characters

One thing the Society does not talk about publicly is how its president is chosen—it is a process as mysterious and Byzantine as the election of the Pope. Indeed when Russell Kirk was installed as president at the 19th annual meeting, he compared his accession to that of Pope Sixtus V in 1585. Three powerful cardinals were deadlocked for the papacy when the assembly turned to the man who would become Sixtus. He was thought to be over ninety, in bad health, perhaps even an idiot; he had lived for years in monastic obscurity. Surely his reign would be brief and uneventful. But once installed Sixtus turned out to be vigorous, twenty years younger





Henry Regnery, Russell Kirk and
Louis Dehmlow



John Howard

1982 / Founding of The Federalist Society ✎ 1984 / 20th anniversary of The Philadelphia Society

than anyone thought, intelligent, and a reformer. “What have we done?” gasped Ed Feulner, the outgoing Society president. There was little cause for alarm: the redoubtable Kirk was all of the above but the very last and supported no reform save beginning the cocktail reception a half hour later.

In addition to Kirk, the Society’s presidents have included such luminous conservatives as the best-selling publisher Henry Regnery, Constitutional historian Forrest McDonald, Hoover Institution director Glenn Campbell, former Attorney General Ed Meese, Heritage Foundation president Ed Feulner, Catholic libertarian Leonard Liggio, author-journalist-raconteur Stan Evans (“Liberals don’t care what people do, as long as it’s compulsory.”), liberal-neoconservative-conservative author Midge Decter, Rockford College president John Howard, polymath professor Ernest van den Haag, long-time ISI president T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr., Southern partisan M. E. Bradford, Voegelin Institute founder Ellis Sandoz and author-historian-Hoover biographer George H. Nash.

Prior to Jimmy Carter’s presidential victory in 1976, President Henry Regnery compared the role of the Society to that of the *samizdat* people in Soviet Russia. “While we don’t run the risk of exile or imprisonment in Siberia,” he said, “our position is very

much against the stream and is certainly not viewed with favor by the ruling liberal establishment. It is exactly this circumstance, however, that makes such an organization as The Philadelphia Society all the more important and a privilege to be associated with.”

Celebrating Twenty

When The Philadelphia Society turned twenty in 1984, it was discovered to have a membership of 321 and a deficit of about the same dollar size. Whereas the first meetings were often devoted to knitting together the disparate strands of the movement—traditionalist, libertarian, and anti-communist—more recent meetings discussed broader matters such as “Do Conservative Ideas Necessarily Have Conservative Consequences?” and “Intellectual Resistance to the Wave of the Future.” But at its core, wrote Timothy J. Wheeler in *National Review*, the Society was little changed, remaining “a society of the like-minded, who convene to cross-pollinate each others’ efforts to restore the moral foundations of liberty.”

At the 20th national meeting’s Saturday lunch, Forrest McDonald related his pilgrimage to Elvis’s birthplace in Tupelo, Mississippi, to obtain a suitable gift for the Society’s first vice president, Stan Evans. One was found: a handsome 1-ELVIS license plate.



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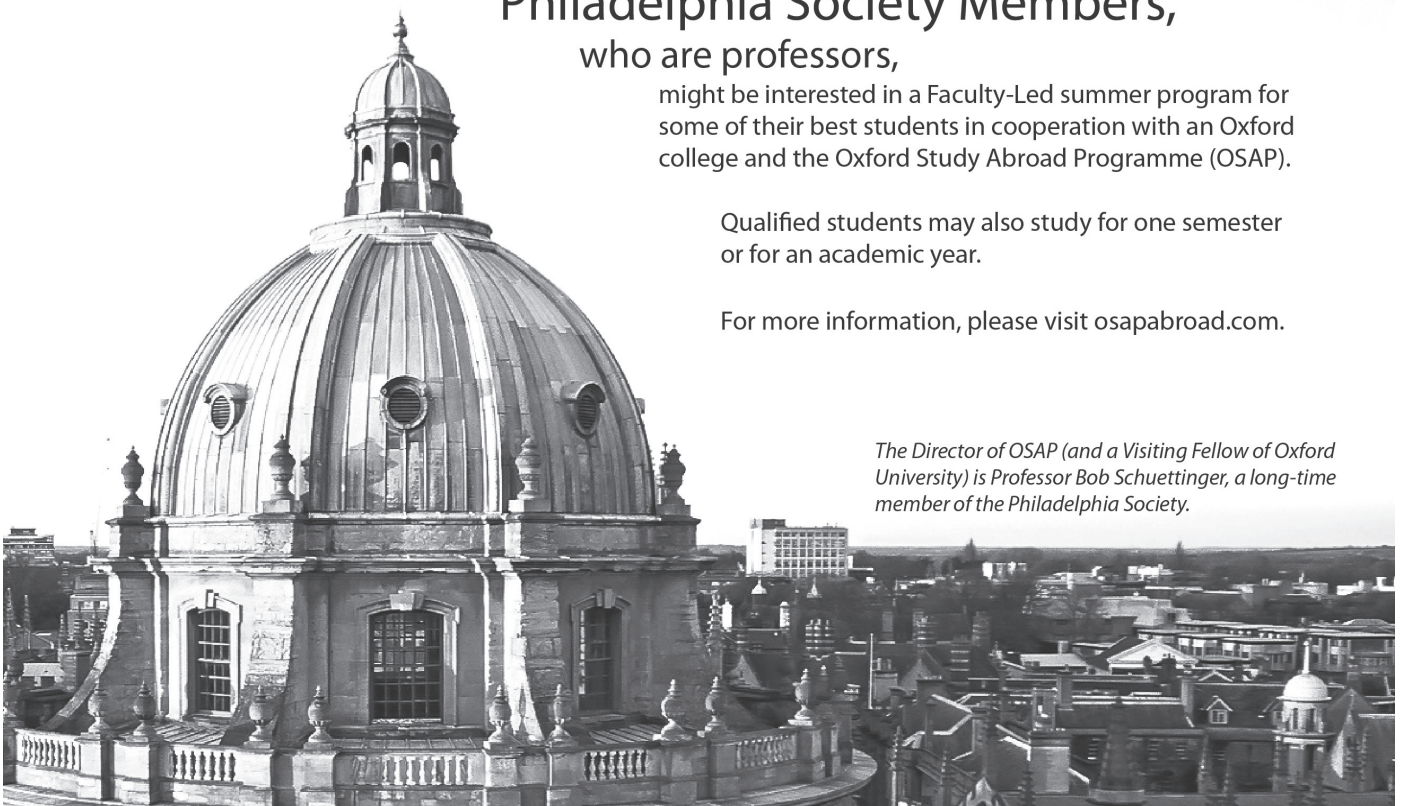
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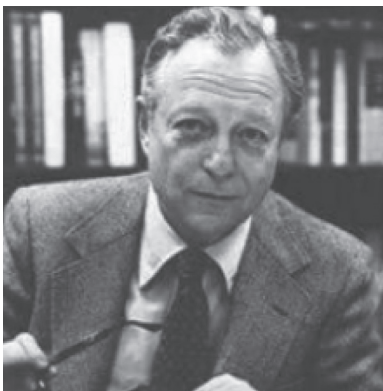
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Irving Kristol



Stephen Tonsor

1987 / Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution ✂ 1989 / Berlin Wall falls

After his acceptance, Evans responded with a few late-breaking news stories that members, cooped up in a hotel, might have missed. It seemed that there had been a startling turnaround by the Rev. Jerry Falwell and New Right guru Paul Weyrich, who now endorsed sex education in the schools—on the grounds that if the schools taught sex the way they taught everything else, soon nobody would know anything about it. And it appeared that the National Council of Churches had denounced Falwell for mixing religion and politics—a charge from which the NCC itself was immune, as it never had anything to do with religion.

The formal luncheon address, traditionally given by the Society's outgoing president, was delivered by Russell Kirk, who argued that because men are moved by visions not sterile self-interest, the true battle of the age was not for any particular political or economic system but for the imagination. Kirk was not referring to the "diabolic imagination" that ruled the world but to a moral and beneficent imagination. Only "the changing of our visions," he said, "can achieve large political changes."

Smoldering Flames Erupt

A long smoldering dispute between conservatives and neoconservatives burst into flame at the 1986 national meeting. The "Big C" conservatives had provided a preview of their case against Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, and others in the spring issue of ISI's *The Individualist Review*, charging that neoconservatives were not religious enough; were thinly disguised "welfare state Democrats;" did not share formative experiences with real conservatives such as in the Goldwater movement; and had been alarmingly successful in getting jobs and establishing priorities within the Reagan administration to the exclusion of conservatives.

In the first panel of the Chicago meeting, historian Stephen Tonsor, a former Philadelphia Society president, explained why he was not a neoconservative and offered one of the more memorable quotations in Society history: "It has always struck me as odd, even perverse, that former Marxists have been permitted, yes invited, to play such a leading role in the Conservative movement of the twentieth century. It is splendid when the town whore gets religion and joins the church. Now and then she makes a





Ron Robinson and Mel Bradford



Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter

1991 / Soviet Union dissolves ✧ 1992 / F. A. Hayek R.I.P.

good choir director, but when she begins to tell the minister what he ought to say in his Sunday sermons, matters have been carried too far.”

While traditionalists applauded loudly, neoconservatives protested just as loudly, unappeased by Tonsor’s qualification that he and other conservatives welcomed “the assistance of neoconservatives...in the work of dismantling the failed political [emphasis added] structures erected by modernity.” During the question period, Arnold Beichman of the Hoover Institution inquired whether Tonsor was rejecting James Burnham, Whittaker Chambers, Frank Meyer, George Orwell, Arthur Koestler, and Paul Johnson. Tonsor riposted, “Would you accept an ex-Nazi?” Beichman later wrote in his newspaper column, “Are the early sins of the Burnham-[Will] Herberg-et al. generation no more to be forgiven than the sins of the younger Kristol-Podhoretz generation?”

In the absence of master fusionist Frank Meyer, it remained for Leslie Lenkowsky of the Institute for Educational Affairs to point out that neoconservatives such as Charles Murray and James Q. Wilson had done much serious analysis of welfare and crime. Stan Evans shifted the discussion from personalities to principles, suggesting that conservatives should welcome the help of the neoconservatives—essentially Aristotelian in their philosophy—

on the “proper affirmative uses of the state” such as internal order, criminal justice, and foreign policy. In his luncheon talk, Society president M. E. Bradford, as staunch a traditionalist as could be found, called for a rhetoric of the Common Good that asserted the larger over lesser goods.

It was one of the most disputatious meetings in the Society’s history, caused in large part by the fact that just twenty years after the Goldwater debacle, conservatism was no longer on the periphery but at the center of national politics because of the Reagan administration. Was this the time, wondered some members, to engage in recriminations or to count blessings? Eugene Meyer, the executive director of the Federalist Society and the younger son of Frank Meyer, suggested that conservatives, while reserving the right to take issue in specific cases, should “welcome the contribution, both prudential and intellectual, of neoconservatives to the defense of Western civilization.” By coincidence, or perhaps not, the next annual meeting was held for the very first time in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love.

Recovering the Constitutional Tradition

And indeed philosophical disputes were set aside for a sober discussion of Constitutional government





Leonard Liggio



Ed Meese

1994 / 30th anniversary of The Philadelphia Society

on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. Judge Robert Bork (before his failed nomination to the Supreme Court) led off with a brilliant analysis that explained the present lamentable state of constitutional law. After World War II, said Bork, “the courts addressed what they regarded as social problems...and often did so without regard to any recognizable theory of constitutional interpretation.” A tradition of looking to original intention was shattered. Academics began constructing theories to justify what was happening—and “so was non-originalism born.” That legal wave has become a tsunami, but “a second wave,” composed of those who believe in first principles, “is rising.” Judge Bork predicted that it might take ten or twenty years “for the second wave to crest, but crest it will” and sweep the “toxic detritus of non-originalism out to sea.”

Bork’s optimism was sparked by the public campaign of Attorney General Edwin Meese III (a future Society president), who declared that the current judicial activism, “which anchors the Constitution only in the consciences of jurists,” was “a chameleon jurisprudence, changing color and form in each era.” Meese’s call for a return to Constitutional “originalism” produced howls of protest from the proponents of a “living constitution,” but it precip-

itated a sea change in American jurisprudence, underscoring the difference that a few good men with the right ideas can make.

Thirty Years and the Power of Ideas

By the time of the 30th national meeting in April 1994, the Society had witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of Soviet communism as well as the acceptance by nearly everyone—except the tenured faculty at Harvard—that capitalism rather than socialism was “the way to go,” as Milton Friedman put it in his telephoned remarks to the Friday dinner session. Friedman quoted from his talk at a 1964 founding meeting in Indianapolis: “There is a tendency to underestimate the power of ideas because of the length of time it takes for them to work.”

In the realm of ideas, insisted the Nobel laureate, “we have won the battle,” but in the realm of practice “we have lost.” America, he said, had gone from a society that was approximately one-third socialist to a society “that is more than half socialist today.” And yet Friedman remained optimistic because “we just simply haven’t waited long enough.” He still believed that the “American people are not going to stand for a conversion of our society into a wholly centralized, socialized, collectivist society.”





Margo Carlisle and Lenore Ealy



Dan Hales, Julie Flick
and Bill Campbell

1994 / Russell Kirk R.I.P. ✂ 1995 / Don Lipsett R.I.P.

Critical to the dissemination of the right ideas, Friedman said, was “some organization of principle that can serve the function that the Socialist party served in the 1920s.” “The Philadelphia Society,” he said, “has done a great deal in playing that role and as a result has had a great deal of influence on the climate of ideas. But we have to keep pecking away,” he added, “to make sure that that change in the intellectual climate is converted into a change in practice.”

Transition of Leadership

Fortunate indeed was the Society in 1995 to find a worthy successor to the redoubtable Don Lipsett in Dr. William F. Campbell, Jr., professor of economics for three decades at Louisiana State University and a charter member of the Society. For the next nineteen years, until 2014 and the occasion of the 50th anniversary, Bill and his wife Helen and the omniscient Julie Flick helped the Society attain new levels of membership and financial stability. Particularly impressive was the outreach to those members of the rising generation who are eager to spend a weekend with some of the best minds of the West. Essential to this outreach was the generous financial support of Earhart Foundation and other

grant-making institutions. Their assistance reflected the wisdom of the great Jewish philosopher Maimonides, who said that the highest form of philanthropy is to help one’s fellow man stand on his own.

Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, Bill Campbell was raised a Hoosier, a Methodist, and an admirer of free markets. His high school graduation present from Pierre Goodrich, the founder of the Liberty Fund and a good friend of his father, was a copy of Ludwig von Mises’ *Human Action*. An important book in the family library was a first edition of Russell Kirk’s *The Conservative Mind*. Voila, a fusionist in the making.

After majoring in philosophy at DePauw University, Bill did graduate work at the University of Minnesota, studied under the classical liberal Bruno Leoni at the University of Pavia, and finally settled down to earn his Ph.D. in economics at the University of Virginia. Learning of an opening in the economics department of Louisiana State University, Bill left blizzard conditions in Virginia to interview at LSU in February 1966. “The flowers were in full bloom,” he later recalled, “the weather was balmy, and the people were pleasant. I accepted a full-time teaching position that lasted for 32 years.”



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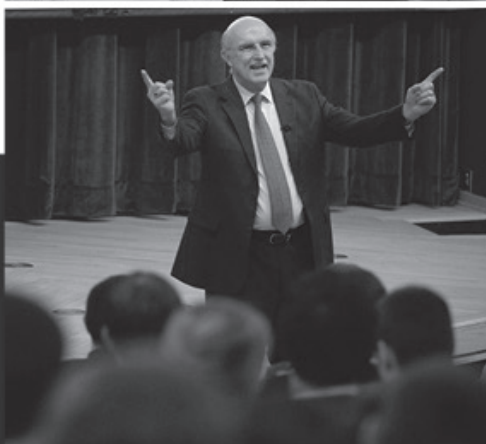


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Ellis Sandoz and
John Willson



Ken Cribb and George Nash

1997 / Society expands attention to “Freedom in the Americas”

A lover of fine food and the Great American Songbook, Bill Campbell is devoutly committed to the mission of The Philadelphia Society—to encourage a dialogue between the traditionalist and libertarian emphases of conservatism to bring about a deeper understanding of the American Experience. He is a conservative because of his free market Christian father, his classical education, his deep reading in the conservative canon, and his friends in his personal and professional life. “The conservative,” he wrote, “is not found in any arid philosophical abstraction or (worse) dogmatic ideology but in particular families, particular communities, particular churches and particular locales.”

The privilege of working with a wide variety of Presidents of The Philadelphia Society, he says, looking back on his nearly two decades as Secretary, “has been something that I would not change for a minute.”

Culture Wars

Through the 1990s and into the 2000s, the Society continued to chip away at the twin pillars of collectivism and cultural nihilism that tower over much

of American society. At national meetings, it has probed the welfare state, the religious roots of liberty, the survival of Western civilization, and American foreign policy. It provided a platform for such distinguished conservatives as Michael Novak, Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddin, Alan Charles Kors, Robert Conquest, Eugene D. Genovese, and Harry V. Jaffa. It mourned the loss of such colleagues, friends, and mentors as Russell Kirk, Mel Bradford, Gerhart Niemeyer, Henry Regnery, Manuel Ayau, and Milton Friedman. It pursued an aggressive recruiting program to bring members of the Fourth Generation of conservatives to its meetings and into membership. For the first time in its history the Society urged members to consider mentioning the organization in their wills. The response was modest but encouraging.

Forty and Counting

From the dark Goldwater days through the upbeat years of Ronald Reagan to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and America’s aggressive response led by President George W. Bush down to Barack Obama’s Machiavellian maneuverings, conservatives were





Manuel Ayau



Bill Buckley and Arnold Beichman

2001 / 9-11 terrorism attacks on the U.S. ∞ 1998 / Society addresses environmentalism

able to draw lessons in ordered liberty and a lifting of the spirit from the 100 meetings, spring and fall, of The Philadelphia Society.

To mark its 40th anniversary in 2004, the Society returned to its birth city of Chicago and assembled an “awesome” roster of conservatives—including Milton Friedman, George Nash, George Gilder, Forrest McDonald, Midge Decter, Roger Scruton, and Leonard Liggio—to discuss the achievements and prospects of the conservative movement. The keynote address was delivered by the renaissance conservative, William F. Buckley Jr., who began by offering a eulogy to Don Lipsett. Don never asked too much, Buckley said, “which is why when he did ask for something, it was granted as the only alternative to lifelong self-hatred.” He noted that the Commodore did not tell his friends that leukemia had been detected. “No one had any advance notice when the news came that he was gone, the most attractive and selfless American to figure prominently in the revival of the conservative spirit.”

Having elicited tears in more than a few Society members, Buckley quickly turned to policy and politics. After admitting his fondness for the arch libertarian Albert Jay Nock, he cautioned against talk of

“eliminating” the state for that would end in “ugly anarchy.” Exercises in the limitation of the state, he said, “have to be done on finer canvases than some, even some members of this Society, have enjoyed drawing on for substitute constitutional blueprints.”

He suggested that the scant popular reaction to taxation and regulation is simply that “people get used to things.” Also, an affluent society like America “can afford extravagances ill-suited to poorer nations.” Nevertheless, he said, conservatives have a duty to be cheerful “because we have no right to be disappointed by failures, knowing as we do the limitations of the state and the weaknesses of human beings.” Such realism, Buckley added, “shone always through the face and the attitude toward life of Don Lipsett.” Manifestly, he insisted, there has been a slowing down of statist impositions, “even if not on the scale The Philadelphia Society seeks.” The work of the Society has made a substantial difference as proven by “our meetings here with one another. My investment of \$100 in our society...has surely yielded a historic harvest. I am in your debt, and so is the Republic.”





Lee Edwards



Roger Ream

2003 / ISI marks 50th anniversary

Toward 50 and the Future

In the decade leading up to the 50th anniversary, the Society examined “Black History and Conservative Principles,” led by Shelby Steele of the Hoover Institution and assisted by black scholars William B. Allen and Walter Williams and black activists Jay Parker and Lee H. Walker. It asked “What Is an American?” and called on Hoover scholar Victor Davis Hanson to lead the discussion. It considered how much liberty and limited government in America were endangered, and received a sober assessment from Boston University professor Angelo Codevilla. It addressed the place of ethics in a digital age and pondered the remarks of James Ceaser of the University of Virginia, George Gilder of the Discovery Institute, AEI’s Stephen Hayward, and Carnes Lord of the U.S. Naval War College. It took up the clear and present danger of progressivism in America as outlined by author Jonah Goldberg, Heritage scholar Matthew Spalding, ISI’s Mark Henrie, and *Claremont Review of Books* editor Charles Kesler.

For the 2000 fall regional meeting in Grand Rapids, the Society went out on a cultural limb and commissioned a musical setting of Psalm 56 for the invocation at the Friday night dinner. The young composer was Monroe; the singers comprised the

Hillsdale College Chamber Choir. It was the first time that The Philadelphia Society had sponsored a new musical piece, and the cultural experiment was warmly received.

All the while, far-sighted members of the Society were taking a hard look at the organization. Fifty is not old for an individual, but it is at least the beginning of old age for a non-profit organization. Had The Philadelphia Society fallen into an intellectual rut of considering the same topics year after year? Was the average age of its members rising faster than unemployment? Was the Society still loyal to its mission of free and open debate between all strains of conservatism? Was the Society doing all it could to reach out to young conservatives as speakers and members? Notwithstanding Bill Buckley’s flattering remarks at the 40th anniversary meeting, did The Philadelphia Society still make a difference in the conservative movement and beyond? The Society went looking for answers.

In 2009 and 2010, Presidents Roger Ream and Steven Hayward challenged members to up their financial contributions to the Society, with Hayward memorably pulling out his checkbook to make a lead gift at the annual membership breakfast.





Steve Hayward, Philip Hughes and Peter Schramm

2004 / 40th anniversary of The Philadelphia Society

In 2011, President Peter Schramm interviewed 28 members of the Society in extenso, most although not all Philly Soc veterans. In his report, he offered several general observations:

“The great vice to which our Society is inclined is splintering or factionalism.” However, the bad effects of splintering and faction can be ameliorated. “A kind of trust has to be re-established between the factions” or, he warned, “our Society will die a natural and well-deserved death.”

Our members are interested in a conversation about a free society that takes place nowhere else—not in universities, in think tanks, in places of commerce, or in the public square. “It would be a shame to see the opportunity for that kind of conversation slip away.”

“The political and moral axiom upon which our conversations build is freedom and its conditions.” We should talk to each other not only with the civility necessary to any community but with charity to those with whom we may disagree.

We need to begin, once again, to talk with one another and not past one another.

Based on his interviews, Schramm suggested what could be done to encourage the right kind of conversation:

- A massive effort should be undertaken and soon to recruit new and younger members, particularly young academics.
- The Society should refrain from drifting too far into policy issues.
- The panels should be less structured and there ought to be fewer of them. More time should be devoted to conversation.

In conclusion, Schramm repeated the opinion of almost everyone he talked with: The Philadelphia Society is a society of friends, not a professional organization. “It is good to get together once a year for stimulating and enlightening conversations among friends.”

President Philip Hughes took up immediately the issue of membership, initiating an aggressive campaign—with tremendous legwork provided by Trustee Jackee Schafer and business manager Julie Flick—that netted 53 new members, a 20 percent increase in the Society. “A few more,” he reported, “are





**Helen Campbell, Bill Campbell
and Ed Feulner**



*What DID Jameson say?!?!
(Campaigne, with Elliott, Cribb and Hales)*

2006 / Milton Friedman R.I.P. ✕ 2008 / William F. Buckley Jr. R.I.P.

waiting in the wings.” It was decided not to cut back to one meeting a year on the grounds that it would limit the Society’s visibility, impact, and fund-raising potential. Nor did the board adopt a “paid speakers” policy, because it was “incompatible” with the Society’s current—and likely future—finances. Among Hughes’ conclusions after his presidential year: The “Society cannot be run on an all-volunteer basis”—thinking otherwise would be a “fatal delusion.”

Following a successful fall meeting in Memphis on “The Restoration of Federalism”—during which the organizers were careful not to schedule any event that conflicted with the twice-daily Parade of the Ducks through the lobby of the Peabody Hotel—President Lenore Ealy led the first-ever planning retreat of the Society. Held in Annapolis, Maryland, on the first weekend of February 2013, the 25 participants, including many former presidents and trustees, set to work to think about Society governance, membership, programs, and resources. At the end of some 36 hours of intense discussion and debate, the group arrived at certain conclusions:

The mission of The Philadelphia Society is still relevant and needed. The Society should continue to strengthen “the intellectual undergirding of the Conservative Movement.” Neither politics nor pol-

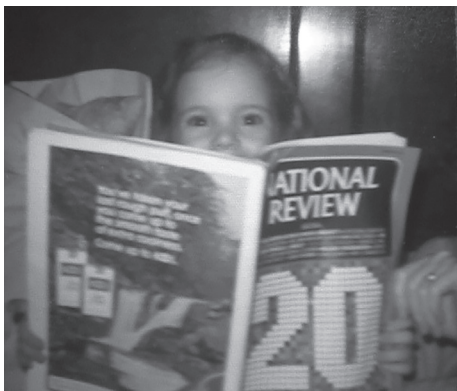
icy is our primary business. Our business is “to refine and spread ideas, so that conservatism will not disappear.” To do this, it was agreed: A return to the fusionist roots of the Society is essential.

We must intentionally focus on the younger generation. We must reclaim the energetic “insurgency” of our founders who were not members of the establishment. Our role, in the every evocative words of Stan Evans, is to “surf the zeitgeist,” to identify and elaborate the principles that should guide politics, but not to get mired in it.

The Philadelphia Society, concluded the retreatants, should be the center of the conservative intellectual discussion, meaning we should continue not only to promote scholarly production but also to inform and educate the leaders of the ever-growing number of conservative think tanks and research centers that were not even in the organizational landscape when the Society was born.

There were also specific recommendations, close to one hundred of them, such as (a) replacing the Secretary’s position with an Executive Director, ideally in a half-time role; (b) implementing a new governance and committee structure to give more program responsibility to the board of trustees; (c) establishing a task force to plan and oversee a rede-





Elizabeth Corey



Steve, Rafe and Lenore Ealy

2009 / Presidential leadership and Trustees begin contemplating future of the Society

sign of the Society's website; (d) continuing to hold two meetings a year but replacing the names "national" and "regional" with "spring" and "fall;" [e] changing the traditional seating of the panelists and the audience to allow "more relaxed conversations;" (f) creating a special level of membership for younger members; and (g) developing a new brochure for membership and fund-raising.

Given this long litany of reformist recommendations, some members recoiled and cited Edmund Burke's reflections on the French Revolution. But far more members recognized that now was the time for prudent change, lest the Society fade away. The process began with the selection of Lenore Ealy as the new executive director, effective with Bill Campbell stepping down as secretary after 50th Anniversary Meeting in Chicago in April 2014.

In a society of esteemed intellectuals, Ealy easily holds her own with a Ph.D. in the history of moral, political and religious thought from Johns Hopkins University, an M.A. in history from University of Alabama (where she studied with Forrest McDonald, who sponsored her first attendance at a Philadelphia Society meeting), and a B.S. with highest honors from Auburn University. She has edited three books, published and presented over 20 papers, and

has led or participated in some 70 conferences, seminars, and colloquia, many of the latter under the sponsorship of the Liberty Fund.

She knows the conservative movement well, having worked in different administrative capacities for the Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation, ISI, and the Heritage Foundation. As president of The Philanthropic Enterprise—which she co-founded with Dick Cornuelle (a speaker at the first national meeting of The Philadelphia Society in 1965)—and editor of the annual journal *Conversations on Philanthropy*, Ealy has become a nationally recognized expert on the role of philanthropy and voluntary action in a free society.

Her professional interests are wide and deep, beginning with helping The Philadelphia Society remain the premier conservative intellectual organization in America. "I was not yet two years old when the Society was founded in 1964," she said in her President's Report in 2013. "I hope and I expect that there is a toddler today who will have the privilege in 50 years of standing where I now stand and who will address a new generation inspired by our conversations to dedicate themselves to keeping and passing on the tablets."



**Ye Fellow Members !
Upon this 50th Anniversary**

**“THE GENERATION
WHICH COMMENCES
A REVOLUTION
RARELY COMPLETES IT!”**

*Thomas Jefferson (1823)
(Of quoted by Al Campbell, Vic Milioni, & Ben Rogge)*

**Bob Russell, Proud to be Among Ye!
The Philadelphia Society
April 2014**

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wishes **THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY** a

Happy 50th Anniversary



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The Philanthropic Enterprise seeks to sustain the legacy of Richard C. Cornuelle, a panelist at the first national meeting of the Philadelphia Society, in promoting research and discussion that deepens the intellectual foundations of a free and ordered society.

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generated by the Philadelphia Society
over the next fifty years.



Lessons from Lipsett's Laws

Feulner's First Law of Filing/Archives: "Never throw a paper away; then when you are looking for something, you will find something else you were looking for last week." (from "A Listing of Important Laws," compiled by Don Lipsett)

Bill Middendorf's Corollary: "Always put the provenance with the painting." (from "Things I Learn from Emails with Ed," under compilation by Lenore Ealy)



2014 Liggio Lecture

Atlas Network Liberty Forum
New York City

November 12-13

The second annual Liggio Lecture will be delivered by John Tomasi, Associate Professor of Social Science and International Affairs at Brown University and author of the book, *Liberalism Beyond Justice: Citizens, Society and the Boundaries of Political Theory*. We hope you will join us for Dr. Tomasi's lecture during the Liggio Luncheon at Atlas Network's Liberty Forum, November 13, 2014 in New York City. Leonard Liggio describes Tomasi as a "major scholar concerning the philosophical analysis of international relations."



Leonard P. Liggio



John Tomasi

“Classical liberalism will be sustained only if each generation develops scholars that make an over-arching case for the philosophy of freedom.”

—Leonard P. Liggio

Learn more about the Liggio Living Legacy Project at LeonardLiggio.org.

Registration for the 2014 Liberty Forum begins in March at AtlasNetwork.org/LibertyForum.



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THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

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Ingrid Gregg and Dave Stuhr



Forrest McDonald

2011 / Philly Soc President Peter Schramm calls for “re-invigorating the intellectual life of the Society”

Renewing the Conversation

At about the same time as the Annapolis retreat, the Society conducted a membership survey, receiving nearly 100 replies, more than one-fourth of the members, an impressive response. Among the things learned: Philadelphia Society members are not as old as they look, with a large plurality of 46 percent between the ages of 36 and 65. They are predominantly male—89 percent. They are highly educated with 41 percent holding Ph.D. degrees. They are members for reasons of prestige and heritage, and most come to meetings to meet leading conservatives. Among the issues they believe the Society must explore in coming years are the meaning of conservatism, the role of religion in America, Islam, fusionism, and whether there still is a conservative movement. They also hope to see the Society invite more young scholars, not shy away from controversial debates, and balance attention to the traditional and the current. In other words, they want to preserve the status quo of The Philadelphia Society as a gathering place where ideas are taken seriously and debated with vigor, but where laughter and intimate conversations among friends can also be found in the halls and hospitality suites.

Reflecting on her year as president and facilitator at the Annapolis retreat and looking forward to her duties as executive director, Ealy was optimistic: she believes that the Society can transcend factionalism and create a place where “conservatives of all stripes can engage in the lively, fresh, and important conversations” we all desire. Setting a splendid example of fusionism, Ealy quoted Hayek and Kirk. When F. A. Hayek warned us about the dangers of the road to serfdom, he was “cautioning us about the dangers of desiring too much security.” To choose liberty, in the words of Russell Kirk, is “to embark on a never-ending quest against `Chaos and old Night.’”

Which brings mind what T. S. Eliot said:

“If we take the widest and wisest view of a Cause, there is no such thing as a Lost Cause, because there is no such thing as a Gained Cause. We fight for lost causes because we know that our defeat and dismay may be the preface to our successors’ victory.”

Passing on the Permanent Things

The Philadelphia Society has ever sought to facilitate the frank and open exchange of views on the



Meeting nationally in 1965 for the first time, The Philadelphia Society at once became a significant forum for divergent elements in the conservative camp. . . . The very fact that such a society flourished indicated that conservatives believed that a working consensus was attainable and a common framework of discourse did exist.

*George H. Nash**

**2014 / Charter member Ed Feulner presides over 50th anniversary
of The Philadelphia Society celebrated in Chicago**

great issues of the day and to contribute to the preservation of the free society.

In the furtherance of these goals, The Philadelphia Society has looked to many for guidance, including Forrest McDonald, a former Society president and Distinguished Member, an award-winning historian and teacher at the University of Alabama, who in his final university lecture in 2002 suggested the following survival kit for his students preparing to enter the “real” world.

One, open your mind and keep it open. We need to distinguish, McDonald said, between what is “absolute”—God alone—and what is “relative.”

Two, strive to resurrect the English language, “now virtually defunct.”

Three, learn anew to think non-scientifically when dealing with non-scientific things. “We must abandon,” McDonald said, “our fragmented problem-solving approach to knowledge and take up a holistic view of human affairs.”

Four, be grateful and take joy in the “very fact of one’s existence” and in the existence of one’s fellow human beings.

That is good advice for people of all ages, including Society members who celebrate in 2014 the Society’s 50th anniversary under the leadership of President Edwin J. Feulner, the sole survivor of the tiny group of five conservatives who met in New York City in the fall of 1964 and decided to start an American version of the Mont Pelerin Society.

The theme for the 50th anniversary meeting is a fitting look at “The Road Ahead: Serfdom or Liberty?” The intentional echo of Hayek’s 1944 book is a sober reminder that the most important questions are perennial and that the debates must be brought to life for each generation. To light a lamp in the darkness was the task undertaken by the founders of The Philadelphia Society in 1964 and carried forward by those who have followed them. Members of The Philadelphia Society understand that the road to liberty is never-ending.

**The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*. ISI Books, 1996; originally published by Basic Books, 1976. (169).



Trustees of The Philadelphia Society

(alphabetical, with dates of service)

William B. Allen	2004-08	Michelle Easton	1999-2002
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John Blundell	2007-10	Richard M. Gamble	2009-12
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*Colin D. Campbell	1968-70	Mark C. Henrie	2005-08
* <i>Glenn Campbell</i>	1966-69, 1973-74	*Will Herberg	1972-75
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*M.D.B. Carlisle	1982-85, 1993-96	G. Philip Hughes	2009-12
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Alejandro Antonio Chafuen	2013-16	*W.H. Hutt	1973-76
*Ronald H. Coase	1973-76	Giancarlo Ibárgüen S.	2009-12
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Beverly Danielson	2000-04	*Hugh Kenner	1966-68
<i>Peter L. De Luca III</i>	1966-67	Charles R. Kesler	1993-96
Midge Decter	2003-06	*Russell Kirk	1976-79, 1981-84
*Louis H.T. Dehmlow	1971-74, 1987-90	Annette Y. Kirk	1996-99
William C. Dennis	1974-77, 1985-88	Stephen M. Klugewicz	2006-09
Donald J. Devine	2011-14	Jo Kwong	2005-08
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Steven D. Ealy	2002-05	Reed E. Larson	1984-87



*Ernest W. Lefever	1984-87	Robert E. Russell, Jr.	1998-01
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*Donald J. Lipsett	1966-69	Claes Ryn	1999-02
Edward Littlejohn	1981-84	Ellis Sandoz	1998-01
Gordon Lloyd	2006-09	Robert A. Schadler	1980-83
*John F. Lulves, Jr.	1968-71	Jacqueline E. Schafer	1989-92, 2010-13
Christopher N. Malagisi	2013-16	*Wilson Schmidt	1970-73
Henry G. Manne	1974-77	William Schneider Jr.	1975-78
*George B. Martin	2000-03	Peter W. Schramm	2008-11
Eduardo Mayora Alvarado	2001-04	Robert L. Schuettinger	1988-91
*John T. McCarty	1979-82	*Otto Scott	1982-85
Wilfred M. McClay	2011-14	Howard Segermark	2011-14
*James McClellan	1986-89, 1995-98	*Frank Shakespeare	1977-80
*Donnelly P. McDonald Jr.	1985-88	Bernard W. Sheehan	2001-04
Ellen McDonald	2000-03	*Arthur Shenfield	1977-80
Forrest McDonald	1983-86, 1988-91, 1994-97	Lowell C. Smith	1988-91, 1993-96
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*Francis A. O'Connell	1980-83	Michael Wallacavage	2002-05
Daniel Oliver	1984-87, 1989-92	Bradley C.S. Watson	2012-15
James R. Otteson	2012-13	*Timothy J. Wheeler	2008
Ramón Parellada	2010-13	*James W. Wiggins	1966-68, 1971-74
J.A. (Jay) Parker	2008-11	John Willson	1998-01
Daniel S. Peters	1995-98	Karl Ziebarth	1975-78, 2007-10
Roger Pilon	1991-94		
*Stefan T. Possony	1968-70, 1974-76	<i>*deceased italics indicate members of the Organization Committee that served 1964-66</i>	
Richard W. Rahn	2008-11		
Roger Ream	2007-10		
*Henry Regnery	1966-67, 1970-73, 1975-78		
Alfred S. Regnery	2011-14		
Robert R. Reilly	1977-80, 2005-08		
Ronald E. Robinson	1995-98		
*Benjamin A. Rogge	1968-70		





Don as Lieutenant JG

Tribute to Don Lipsett

Founder of The Philadelphia Society

William F. Campbell



When Don Lipsett founded The Philadelphia Society in 1964, he was working as the Midwest Director (Indianapolis) for ISI, then still known as the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. I first got to know Don through my father, Al Campbell, who was Pierre Goodrich's law partner in the firm of Goodrich, Campbell and Warren. Dad had met Don in the very early years of Don's ISI work in Indianapolis. As a result, Dad became involved with ISI and became a close friend of Vic Milione as well as Don.

In the early Sixties, Don shared an apartment in Indianapolis with his lifelong friend, Stan Evans. Both unmarried, they were the original Odd Couple. But neither one of them was a Felix; both were Oscars. They seemed to prefer to buy rather than launder shirts.

Don was never one to maintain regular hours. He was a "night person" addicted to post-midnight

telephone conversations with such persons as Frank Meyer. In fact, one of the many organizations which he created was "The Nicodemus Society" named after Nicodemus because he came to Jesus in the dead of night.

What kind of a man was Don? Is there anything about being a Hoosier which would draw together such disparate men as Don and Pierre Goodrich, Indiana businessman and founder of Liberty Fund?

Peter Viereck states in the opening of *The Unadjusted Man: A New Hero for Americans*: "The fight is for the private life; abstract ideologies are Saharas. The Overadjusted Man knows only the public life." Neither Don nor Pierre could be accused of being Overadjusted. They were unadjusted men devoted to the cause of liberty.

They fought this battle together even where their strategies differed. In fact, the famous 1959 or 1960 Brown County meeting of the Indiana Conservative





Tom Curtis Portrait of Don Lipsett

Club had as speakers, Milton Friedman, Frank Meyer, and Richard Weaver. Stan Evans opened up the meeting, according to the schedule, at 9:30 with, "What We hope to accomplish." It is doubtful that the meeting actually started at 9:30. It is legendary that Pierre Goodrich was very upset with Don because the meetings did not start on time.

In 1964, through the contacts that Don had made with such conservative leaders as Milton Friedman, Bill Buckley, Russell Kirk, Frank Meyer, and Wilmoore Kendall, he orchestrated the founding of The Philadelphia Society, which would be the crowning achievement of his career. He served as the "permanent" Secretary of the Society from its founding until his death in 1995.

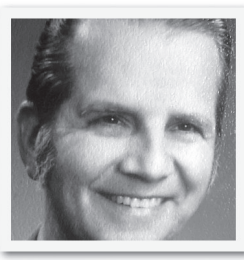
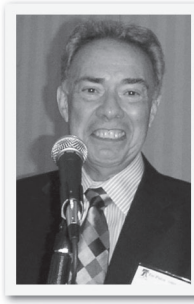
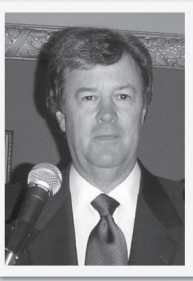
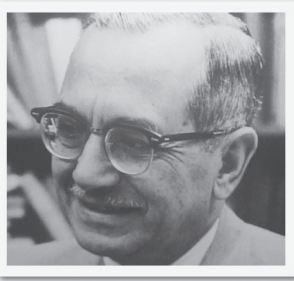
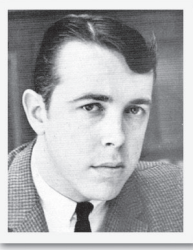
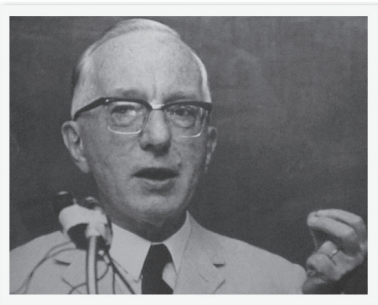
An inveterate "founder," Don also formed the Stephen Decatur Society and the world-famous Decatur Shop of North Adams, Michigan, which produced and promoted the Adam Smith Necktie. Designed by Don's wife Norma, the tie became a universally recognized symbol of free men and free markets. Don accompanied his passion for Adam Smith with another letterhead, The Invisible Hand Society. The stalwarts of the Society were given tongue-in-cheek titles: Tim Wheeler was Founder, Bill Buckley was Managerial Expert, Richard Ware (spelled Eraw to protect his anonymity) was Financial Vice President, Bill Kelly was Advisor on the Extent of National Ruination, and George Stigler was Steward for Invisible Government Consultant on Invisible Conservative Majorities.

The marvelous portrait of Don by Tom Curtis which hangs in the Lipsett room of The Heritage Foundation, where he long served as Counselor to the President, captures Don's love of his pipe and preserves the twinkle in Don's eye whenever he was able to initiate conversation between those he admired and loved.

Don Lipsett died on October 30, 1995, in North Adams, Michigan. On November 4, 1995, the Memorial Service for Don was celebrated in the Woodburn Missionary Church. Just as the Jews leave a place at the table for the Prophet Elijah to return, so too do we leave a place for Don at the meetings of The Philadelphia Society, the rooms of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, and the corridors of The Heritage Foundation. And he is with us in spirit.

*[Editor's Note: *This tribute is excerpted from a longer essay by Bill Campbell which can be read on The Philadelphia Society's website at www.phillysoc.org. It bears noting that there must be something in those Hoosier roots. Bill Campbell, who succeeded Don as Secretary of the Society in 1995 was also born and raised in Indiana, though he spent most of his career in Baton Rouge as professor of economics at LSU. By a strange mystery of providence Lenore Ealy, who will succeed Bill Campbell in 2014, has resided in Indiana since 1995, having been born and raised in Alabama. Time will tell whether the Hoosier Way will persist in the management of the Society or whether a Dixie invasion is in the offing.]*



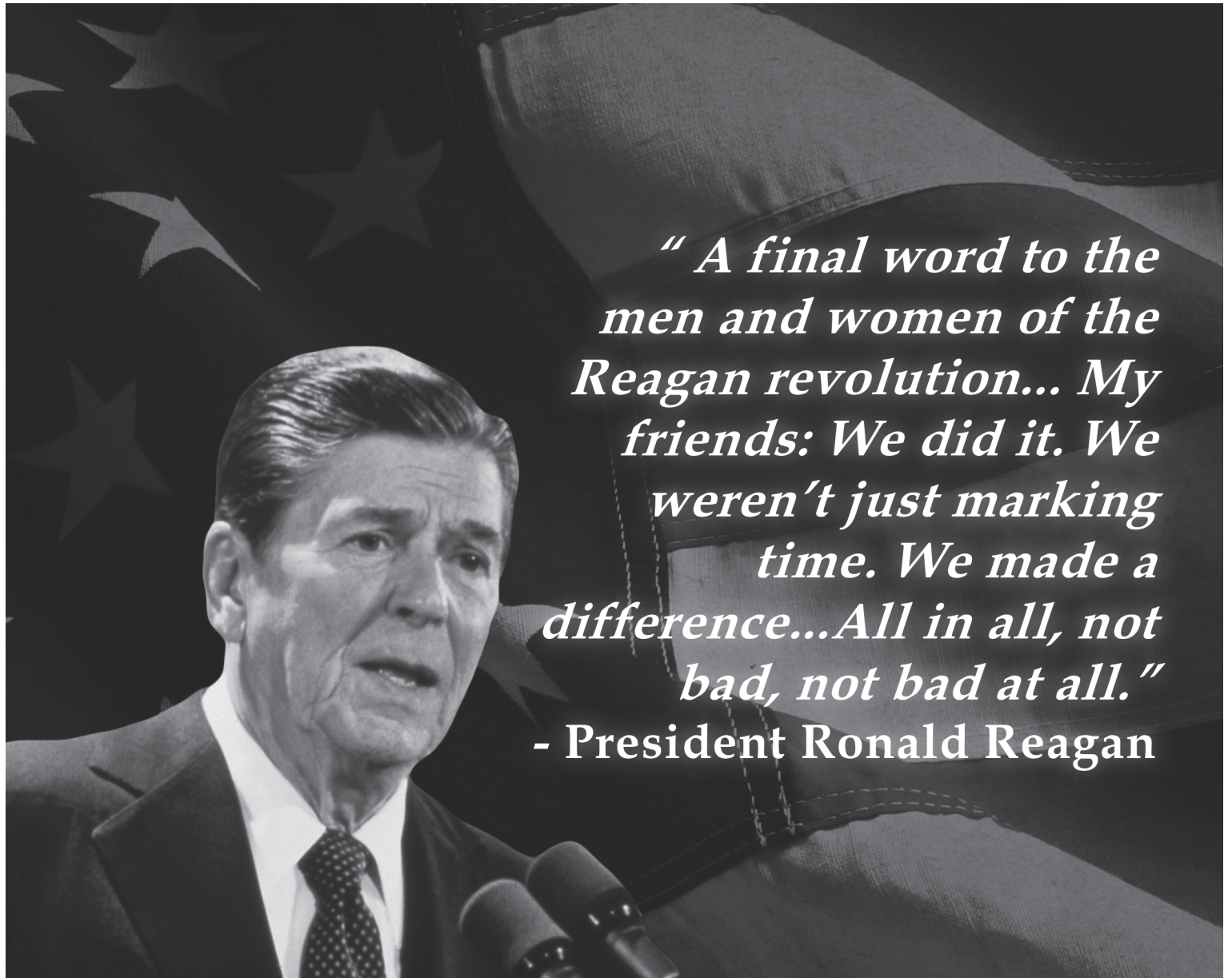




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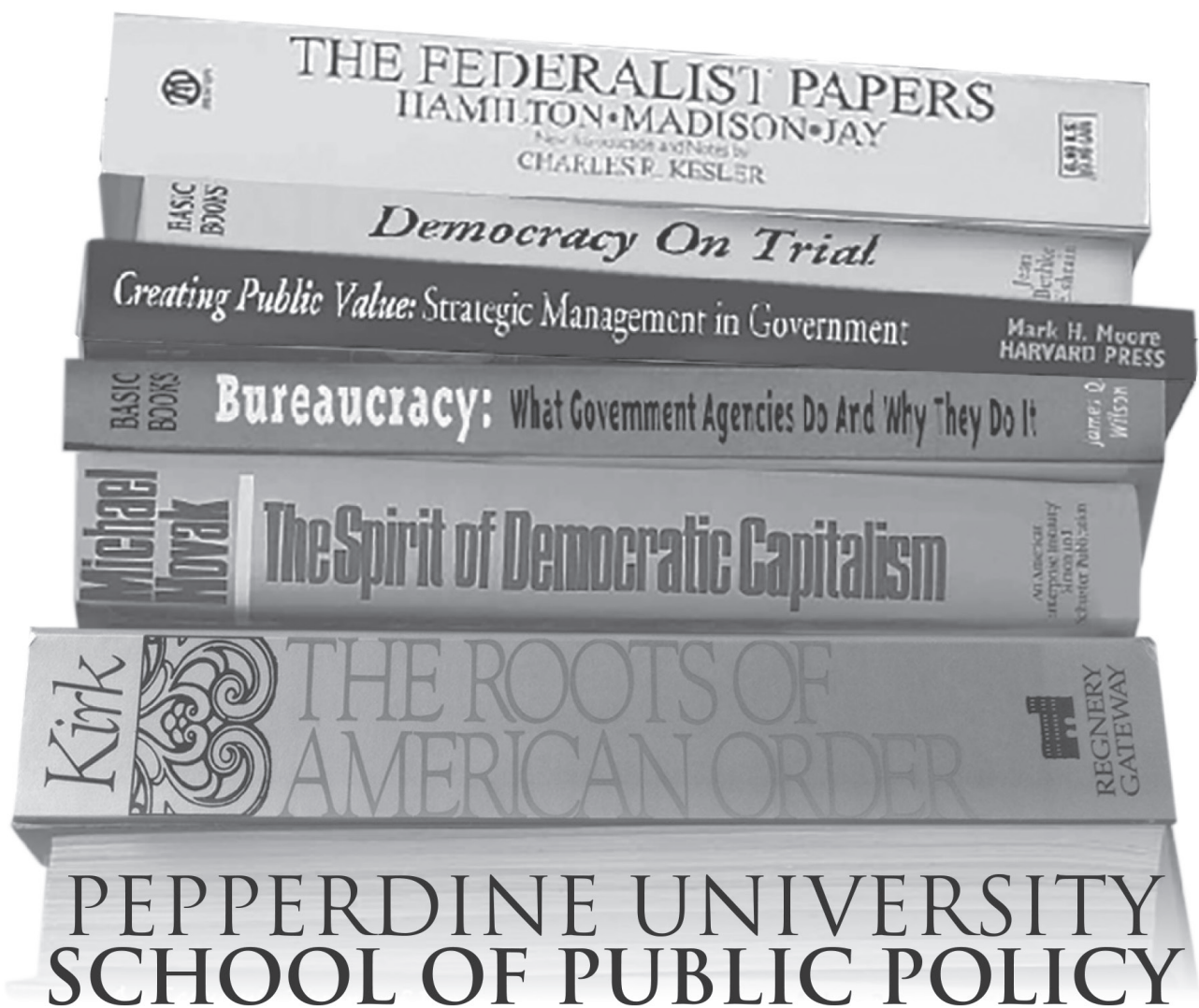
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