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**THE INTERJURISDICTIONAL MIGRATION  
OF EUROPEAN AUTHORS OF LIBERTY, 1660 – 1961:  
A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

Hume, Montesquieu and Kant were the first to suggest that the rise of liberty in Europe and the West has been due to political fragmentation and competition among rulers because the creative elites had the option of leaving the country in response to political repression. In this paper we estimate the extent to which emigrating authors of liberty actually reacted to such political and economic factors. We distinguish four types of repressive political events: restoration of an authoritarian monarchy, suppression of liberal protests, takeover by a totalitarian regime and occupation by a foreign repressive power. We test for additional explanations of emigration. Our sample of well-known authors of liberty includes 401 persons from twenty European countries in 1660 to 1961. Our logistic regressions yield the following main results. The repressive events did have significant and large effects on emigration with lags of up to five years. Emigration was also influenced by the author's occupation and interjurisdictional income differentials. The probability of emigration was larger if the author was of middle age and lived in a small country but these effects were numerically small. The decision to emigrate was not affected by the author's education.

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## 1. Introduction

Why did freedom rise in Europe and the West rather than in China, India or the Ottoman Empire, which around 1500 had still been at a comparable level of development? David Hume (1742), Charles Montesquieu (1748) and Immanuel Kant (1784) were the first to suggest that freedom required political fragmentation and competition and could not flourish in empires. "A number of neighbouring and independent states, connected together by commerce and policy [gives the stop] both to power and authority" (Hume). "In Europe, the natural divisions form many medium-sized states... That is what has formed a genius for liberty" (Montesquieu). The European states are "involved in such close relations with each other that... civil liberty cannot now be easily assailed without inflicting such damage as will be felt in all trades and industries and especially in commerce" (Kant).

The Hume-Montesquieu-Kant (HMK) hypothesis has been further developed by classical writers such as Edward Gibbon (1787), Lord Acton (1877) and Max Weber (1923) and by modern writers such as Baechler (1975), Wesson (1978), most notably Jones (1981), North (1981, 1995, 1998), McNeill (1982), Hall (1985), Chirot (1986), Rosenberg and Birdzell (1986), Kennedy (1987), Engerman (1988), Mokyr (1990, 2007), Landes (1998), Karayalçin (2008) and Ferguson (2011). It has also been applied to interjurisdictional competition in federal states, e.g., by Tiebout (1956), Stigler (1957) and Brennan and Buchanan (1980).

The main mechanism by which political fragmentation gives rise to liberalization is through "exit" (Hirschman 1971), i.e., movements of labor and capital<sup>1</sup>. "If dissenters can go abroad, it is difficult to repress dissent ... Hence rulers must act with restraint" (Robert Wesson 1978: 85). The princes in Europe could not afford to suppress the creative elites as ruthlessly as the

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<sup>1</sup> There are two additional mechanisms: "yardstick competition" (Salmon 1987) and "military competition" (Tilly 1990). Yardstick competition describes the fact that, in a decentralized political order, the citizens of different states can and do compare the performance of the various governments and raise their "voice" (Hirschman 1971) against poor governance. The idea goes back to David Hume (1742/1985: 119f.), Adam Ferguson (1767/1966: 271f.) and Lord Acton (1877/1985: 21). In the context of European history, this mechanism has been emphasized by Jones (1981: 123) and North (1995, 1998). Military rivalries favored freedom because the rulers had to raise the morale of their troops by granting liberties.

Chinese emperors, the Indian Moghuls and the Ottoman sultans did.<sup>2</sup> In the words of Eric Jones (1981: 119), “Europe offered a series of refuges to the oppressed and its history might be written as a saga of the escape of refugees from wars, invasions and religious persecutions”. As early as 1778, Turgot recognized that American independence would reinforce the liberating effect of mobility:

"The asylum which (the American people) opens to the oppressed of all nations must console the earth. The ease with which it will now be possible to take advantage of this situation, and thus to escape from the consequences of a bad government, will oblige the European governments to be just and enlightened" (p. 389).

The HMK-hypothesis emphasizes the exit option, i.e., potential emigration and interjurisdictional competition among rulers. However, the only way of testing for potential emigration is analyzing and explaining actual emigration. Using recent data, Docquier et al. (2011) show that migration tends to increase freedom and democracy in present-day developing countries. But the HMK-hypothesis relates to liberalization in Europe in the last 500 years and the migration of creative elites. For this period, comprehensive data on emigration from, and freedom in, the various countries does not exist. Yet, a crucial assumption of the HMK-hypothesis can be tested – that emigration was largely due to political repression. To what extent did emigrants react to political repression? If it turned out in a multivariate analysis that repression did not cause emigration – or hardly so –, the HMK-hypothesis would have to be rejected as well. In the context of the HMK-hypothesis, we empirically investigate the emigration decisions of an elite which is particularly likely to respond to political repression: the spokesmen of liberty.<sup>3</sup> In economic terminology, when the demand for liberal ideas declined in a country, suppliers of these ideas moved to other

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<sup>2</sup> For the comparison with Asia see Hume (1742), Montesquieu (1748), Baechler (1975), Jones (1981) and notably Bernholz, Vaubel (2004).

<sup>3</sup> We do not deal with the economics of migration generally (see, e.g. Borjas 1994).

countries. Our analysis covers the period from the restoration in England (1660) to the building of the wall in Berlin (1961).<sup>4</sup>

We have compiled a dataset including 401 well-known authors of liberty from twenty European countries. We test several explanations of migration. The results confirm that all four types of repressive political events (restoration of an authoritarian monarchy, suppression of liberal protests, takeover by a totalitarian regime and occupation by a foreign repressive power) had significant and large effects on emigration with lags of up to five years. Differences in per capita GDP, the age and occupation of the author and the size of the author's country of residence also played a role. But the decision to emigrate did not depend on a university education.

Section 2 describes our data, presents our hypotheses and reports the descriptive statistics and correlations. Section 3 contains our econometric model and results. Section 4 concludes.

## 2. The variables

### 2.1 The dependent variable

We have collected a sample of 401 well-known authors of liberty from twenty European countries. Ideally, we would have liked to take our data from an encyclopedia of liberal authors but a suitable source does not seem to exist.<sup>5</sup> Thus, we asked a panel of forty experts from the various European countries to name authors of liberty.<sup>6</sup> We define an author of

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<sup>4</sup> Our analysis is related to empirical studies investigating migration of creative elites in times of war. Borowiecki (2012, 2013) and Borowiecki and O'Hagan (2013) show, for example, that classical composers born after 1800 have been more likely to emigrate in times of war. Moreover, using data over the period 1820 to 2007, Hellmanzik (2013) shows that democracy increased the density of superstar painters and artistic human capital in a country.

<sup>5</sup> We consulted "wikiliberal" but the sample is far too small.

<sup>6</sup> Our panel of experts includes 40 persons (in alphabetical order): Rudolf Adam (Germany, Italy), André Azevedo Alves (Portugal), Joerg Baumberger (Switzerland), Niclas Berggren (Sweden), Peter Bernholz (Germany, UK), Galina Boeva (Bulgaria), Dietrich Buff (Germany), Francesco Cabrillo (Spain), Enrico Colombatto (Italy), Domenico da Empoli (Italy), Justina Fischer (Italy), Nicola Iannello (Italy, Belgium), Anthony de Jasay (Hungary), Anders Johnson (Sweden), Eric Jones (UK), Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard (Denmark), Elena Leontjeva (Baltic States, Poland), Kurt R. Leube (Austria), Klaus-Jürgen Matz, Karl M. Meessen (Germany), Gerrit Meijer (Netherlands, Belgium etc.), Joze Mencinger (Yugoslavia), Robert Nef (Switzerland), Johan Norberg (Sweden), Lars Peder Nordbakken (Norway), Svante Nordin (Sweden), Katarina Ott (Yugoslavia), Svetozar Pejovich (Yugoslavia), Angelo Petroni (Italy), Miroslav Prokopijevic (Yugoslavia), Rolf W. Puster (Italy), Jean-Jacques Rosa (France), Pierre Salmon (France), Pedro Schwartz (Spain), Jiri Schwarz (Czechoslovakia), Ljubo Sirc, Janez Sustersic (Yugoslavia), Frank Vibert (UK), Carl

liberty as a person who has published texts advocating a liberal order. Table A1 in the appendix lists the authors' names and the relevant biographical data. All emigrating authors chose to emigrate. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that in most cases their emigration caused a loss of talent and reputation to their rulers. 197 authors chose to emigrate because of political repression at least once in their life, 41 emigrated for other reasons only and 163 did not emigrate at all. Since nineteen authors emigrated twice and one other (Mazzini) five times because of repression, we have 220 cases of emigration due to political repression. The time dimension is 302 years (1660-1961). To focus on politically motivated emigration, we exclude the first 18 years of the author's life. Since we use annual data, we account only for stays of at least one year. Our classification is explained in more detail in the notes to Table A1.

One author of liberty – Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) – deserves special mention. He is the prime example of a European liberal who had to migrate from country to country all his life.<sup>7</sup> We use his example as an illustration. Mazzini was the son of a university professor in Genoa. He studied law and literature and began to write essays in favor of liberty. To liberate, liberalize and unify Italy he advocated persuasion and education but also insurrections. However, he was opposed to assassination and terrorism. In 1827, shortly before he left university, he joined “Carbonari”, a secret revolutionary society which was devoted to the creation of a liberal, unified Italy. From 1828, Mazzini wrote for two newspapers which were successively closed down by the authorities. In 1831, an uprising staged by Carbonari was suppressed by Austrian troops. After several months in prison, Mazzini fled to Geneva and further on to Lyon and Marseille. There he founded a new society called “Giovine Italia”

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Johan Westholm (Sweden) and Joachim Zweynert (Russia). The countries in parentheses are the states, as they existed in 1660-1961, on which our panelists provided information. Most panelists are members of the Mont Pélerin Society, a network of classical liberals, or were suggested by them. They were asked to provide a list of authors of liberty from their country including those who emigrated.

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent biography see Mack Smith (1996). We also thank Giuliana Limiti of “Casa Mazziniana” for her critical advice. Mazzini is generally considered a liberal. Garibaldi called him “the representative of the liberal opinions in Italy” (Mack Smith 1996: 134). But Mazzini was not a classical liberal. He proposed to raise most government revenue from income and property taxes, he favored compulsory insurance for sickness and old age, and he welcomed the formation of trade unions (Mack Smith 1996: 88, 197f.).

(Young Italy) and published a periodical of the same name. He received a meagre income from his parents. In 1833, a military tribunal in Piedmont sentenced him to death in absentia. When the French authorities, pressed by the Piedmont government in Turin, wanted to get rid of him, he withdrew again to Geneva. When Geneva came under pressure from Austria, Piedmont and France, he tried to hide in other Swiss cantons (Vaude, Bern and Solothurn). In Grenchen (Solothurn), the citizens voted to give him honorary citizen status because he had collected folk songs from the region. However, when in 1836 the Swiss confederation asked him to leave the country, the government of Solothurn overruled the decision of Grenchen. He kept hiding in Switzerland for half a year but then left for Paris. There, he was arrested and imprisoned. After being released, he settled in London. For some time, his private letters were regularly opened by the home secretary, Sir James Graham, who communicated the contents to the Austrian and Neapolitan governments. Count Metternich's police in Vienna always found out where he was. When the revolution of 1848 broke out, he travelled to Milan whose population had rebelled against the Austrian garrison and had established a provisional government. In 1849, he moved on to Rome to serve as the leading triumvir of the new Roman republic. But French troops called by the Pope defeated the Republicans, and Mazzini withdrew again to Switzerland. A few weeks later, the Swiss authorities arrested a Piedmontese spy who confessed that he had orders to kidnap Mazzini and bring him to justice in Turin. Once more the confederation tried to expel him but he was protected by the cantonal authorities in Geneva, Vaude and Ticino. In 1851 he returned to London but he continued to travel to Switzerland and Italy. Again the Swiss authorities issued expulsion orders in 1853 and 1869. In 1858, the high court in Genoa sentenced him to death in absentia. In 1870, he was arrested in Palermo but, after two months in prison, released under a general amnesty. In 1871, he left London forever and returned to Italy. When he died the following year, his funeral in Genoa was attended by 100,000 people.

As we confine our analysis to authors of liberty we did not include persons who emigrated for purely religious reasons (such as the Jews, the Quakers and the Huguenots) or exclusively because they were fighting for the independence of their country (e.g., Hungary, Ireland, Poland and Scotland) but who did not advocate a liberal order.

To obtain a sufficient number of observations, we defined liberty broadly so as to include both freedom from state interference (classical liberalism) and the right to political participation (liberal democracy). The common link is the right of self-determination. To be an author, it was not necessary to be a scholar, poet or journalist. We also included well-known politicians, civil servants and officers if they wrote in defense of liberty.

Which authors are well known? We screened the liberal authors named by our panel of experts according to whether an account of their life is provided in Encyclopaedia Britannica, Wikipedia or comparable sources.<sup>8</sup> If so, they qualify as "well-known".

Writers may be well known because they emigrated but they may also be well known because they stayed and became martyrs. Thus, the criterion of being well-known is not an obvious source of selection bias. Anyhow, we do not recommend to generalize our results to those who are not well known.

## **2.2. The explanatory variables**

We consider three personal characteristics of the authors: their occupation, their age at the time of emigration and their education. We distinguish between eleven occupations: philosopher, political scientist, economist, jurist/lawyer, historian, philologist, writer/poet/play-writer, theologian/preacher, journalist/publisher, political writer, and politician. All other occupations, which are rare in our sample (e.g., diplomat, officer, psychologist, teacher, geographer, orientalist, natural scientist) are grouped together in one category. The data are taken from Encyclopedia Britannica and Wikipedia.

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<sup>8</sup> As it turned out all our authors are mentioned in these sources.

- insert Table 1 here -

Table 1 shows the frequencies among all authors of liberty and in three subsamples. 25 percent of all authors of liberty are economists followed by the politicians (20 percent), the writers etc. (11 percent) and the jurists/lawyers (10 percent). The fraction of those who emigrated is highest among the political writers (90 percent), the journalists/publishers (86 percent) and the theologians/publishers etc. (80 percent). It is lowest among the economists (43 percent). However, among those who emigrated, politicians (44), economists (43) and journalists/publishers (30) are the largest groups.

The average age at the time of emigration was 40.8 years. We expect that the young are more likely to emigrate because they are less assimilated and have not yet settled down.

For 242 authors in our sample we have information on whether they have studied at a university: 211 had a university education, 31 did not. 96 academics emigrated within five years after a repressive event, 25 at other times and 90 did not emigrate at all.

We identify four types of repressive events:

- the restoration of an authoritarian monarchy,
- the suppression of liberal protests,
- the takeover by a totalitarian regime,
- the occupation by a foreign repressive power.

- insert Table 2 here -

Table 2 reports the main repressive events in our twenty European countries from 1660 to 1961.<sup>9</sup> Occupations by foreign repressive powers are included only if the whole

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<sup>9</sup> We do not consider threats of revolutions such as riots in the context of the Great Reform Act in Great Britain



country has been occupied for at least one year. Not all events listed in Table 2 are relevant to our analysis. Some did not occur in the lifetime (from the 19<sup>th</sup> year) of our authors of liberty. The data reveal that 60 of the 218 cases of emigration following repression occurred after the restoration of an authoritarian monarchy. 23 followed the suppression of political protests. In 47 cases, a domestic totalitarian government had taken over – for example, by banning all (other) parties. In 30 cases, the country was occupied by a foreign repressive power. The remaining cases of emigration following political repression constitute the reference group.

In Table A.1 in the appendix, those who emigrated within five years after a repressive event are marked with two stars.<sup>10</sup> As our econometric analysis will show, there are no significant lags beyond five years. However, we start with a baseline equation without lags and then add a number of lags in the extension.

We do not account for racial persecution because there is too little information about whose spouse or other family member was threatened by persecution on grounds of race. However, at least ten of our 197 authors of liberty emigrating because of political repression are known to have been of Jewish origin.

The coefficient of correlation with the dummy for emigration following repression in period  $t$  is 0.11 for the restoration of an authoritarian monarchy dummy, 0.07 for the suppression of liberal protests dummy, 0.10 for the takeover by a totalitarian regime dummy, and 0.07 for the occupation by a foreign repressive power dummy.

Among those emigrating within five years after a repressive event fifty left for the United States. The US is the main country of destination (as in Page 1911: 682) followed by the United Kingdom (42), France (37) and Switzerland (33).

The probability of emigration does not only depend on the political regime but also on the cost of exit. Most obviously, the potential emigrant compares the cost of staying (i.e.,

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1832 (see, for example, Aidt and Franck 2013 and 2015).

<sup>10</sup> We admit one exception to this five-year rule: Ljubo Sirc who emigrated from Yugoslavia in 1955. The totalitarian takeover was in 1944 but Sirc was in prison from 1947 to 1954. If there are other authors of liberty in our sample who were prevented from emigrating, this would strengthen our result that the authors wished to emigrate in response to political repression.

repression) with the cost of leaving. The higher the cost of leaving, the lower its probability. Furthermore, authors of liberty were probably more outspoken if, in the event of repression, they could leave easily. Thus, easy exit raises the probability of emigration. Both hypotheses imply a negative correlation between the cost and probability of leaving. Note that high natural barriers to exit may induce the ruler to be more repressive, thereby raising emigration. This effect is captured by our dummies for repression.

Our proxy for the cost of exit is the area of the jurisdiction. We account for most changes of area over time but it is, of course, not possible to trace all minor shifts of territory. In the case of Germany until 1867, the jurisdictions are the principalities, in the case of Switzerland before 1798 and in 1814-1848 the cantons. The data are taken from the “World Data” of the World Bank, the international Historical Geographical Information System (HISGIS) and various internet sources. In the year of emigration, the area of the country of residence applies. Foreign area is the area of the country to which the author emigrated. For authors who never migrated, this variable is an average of the area of all other countries in our sample.

Instead of responding to political events, our authors may have left their country of residence in order to raise their income. Indeed, Page (1911: 678) claims that “strong, however, as was the influence of religious and political discontent, a much greater importance attaches to the economic motives for European emigration” (to the US)<sup>11</sup>. To account for this possibility we include the logarithms of domestic and foreign per capita GDP as separate explanatory variables in the econometric model. Domestic per capita GDP is the per capita GDP of the country in which the author lived. For authors who never migrated, this variable always refers to the same country. For an author who, for example, migrated once from Germany to France, the domestic per capita GDP variable reflects German per capita GDP up

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<sup>11</sup> Grubel and Scott (1964: 373), too, show that the nations with the lowest per capita incomes rank fairly highly in terms of their annual outflows of scientists and engineers to the US. However, Abramitzky et al. (2012: 1842) find that in 1900 the mean earnings, weighted by the occupations of men migrating from Norway to the US in 1850-1913, were higher in Norway than in the US.

to and including the year of emigration and French per capita GDP thereafter. Foreign per capita GDP is the per capita GDP of the country to which the author emigrated. For authors who never migrated, this variable is an average of per capita GDP of all other countries in our sample plus the US. Once an author has emigrated, domestic per capita GDP refers to the country of immigration, and the foreign per capita GDP variable measures the average per capita GDP elsewhere. The GDP data are taken from Maddison (2006) and, wherever possible, from Broadberry et al. (2011, Table 24)<sup>12</sup>.

Table 3 reports the descriptive statistics of all variables included.

- insert Table 3 here -

### 3. Empirical model and results

#### 3.1. Econometric model

We estimate a logistic regression model of the following form:

$$\text{Emigration}_{it} = \sum_j \delta_j \text{Political Event}_{ijt} + \sum_l \zeta_k x_{ilt} + u_{it}$$

$$\text{with } i = 1, \dots, 401; j=1, \dots, 4; l=1, \dots, 16; \quad (1)$$

The dependent variable is a dummy which assumes the value 1 if, in year  $t$ , author of liberty  $i$  chose to emigrate because of political repression or any other reason. The dummy is zero in all years in which the author did not emigrate. We consider all years between the 19<sup>th</sup> year of an author's life and the year of death.  $\sum_j \delta_j \text{Political Event}_{ijt}$  describes one of the four political event dummies.  $\sum_l \zeta_k x_{ilt}$  are the sixteen control variables. We include eleven occupational dummies (economists constitute the reference group), age, domestic and foreign area (both in

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<sup>12</sup> Where necessary, we have interpolated between the data points. For all countries, we have a series based on Maddison. For Britain, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden, we use the data from Broadberry et al. prior to 1820. Where possible, the two series are linked in 1820, otherwise in 1700.

logarithms), and domestic and foreign per capita income (both in logarithms). Owing to data restrictions, we do not account for education in our baseline model but the dummy for university education will enter one of our robustness tests. We estimate the baseline model with robust standard errors. Alternatively, we estimate the model with classical standard errors (King and Roberts 2012), and with robust standard errors clustered by authors. We also discuss results including fixed author effects.

We interpret the influence of the political events on the authors' migration decisions as causal. We do not think that our estimates are subject to reverse causation. While it is true that the HMK-hypothesis assumes a positive effect of large-scale emigration on freedom in general, our unit of analysis is the individual emigrant. Those familiar with the historical events covered by this analysis will agree that they were not caused or prevented by the specific cases of emigration we account for. Our event variables are exogenous, and the same is true for the other explanatory variables (see also Borowiecki 2012, 2013). As for common-cause interdependence, both emigration and political repression may be caused by economic shocks but these are captured by our GDP per capita variable.

### **3.2. Basic results**

Table 4 presents the marginal effects of the baseline results. Column (1) focuses on the political event variables. Column (2) is confined to the occupation variables. Column (3) contains the age of the authors and the logarithm of the area of the jurisdiction. In column (4), we have included the per capita GDP variables. Column (5) combines all explanatory variables.

- insert Table 4 here -

In column 1, all marginal effects of the political event variables are statistically significant at the one percent level. They have a positive sign, i.e., repressive political events

raised the probability of emigration. We elaborate on the numerical meaning of the political event dummy variables below. Among the occupation variables in column 2, the marginal effects of the dummies for writers and journalists are significant at the one percent level, for political writers and for politicians at the five percent level. The numerical meaning of the effects is that writers were about 2 percentage points, journalists about 3.5 percentage points, political writers about 2.8 percentage points, and politicians about 1 percentage points more likely to emigrate than economists (reference category). Economists may have taken a less normative and more scientific position so that they had less reason to be dissatisfied or fear persecution. The negative marginal effects of the age variable does not turn out to be statistically significant. As expected the marginal effects of domestic and foreign log area are negative. Both are statistically significant at the one percent level in column (3). Authors living in small jurisdictions were more likely to emigrate. Authors were also more likely to emigrate to small jurisdictions. The significantly negative effect of domestic area is in line with the fact that the largest group of emigrants came from small German principalities. The probability of emigration decreased by about 0.0018 percentage point higher when the area of the domestic country was one percent smaller, and about 0.0095 percentage point higher when the area of the foreign country was one percent smaller. Thus, the effects of area are statistically significant but small. The per capita GDP variables in column (4) show that the probability of emigration was smaller when domestic per capita GDP was high and larger when foreign per capita GDP was high. Both marginal effects are statistically significant at the one percent level. The probability of emigration decreased by about 0.0212 percentage points when domestic per capita GDP rose by one percent and increased by about 0.0199 percentage points when foreign per capita GDP grew by one percent.

Column (5) comprises all explanatory variables. The marginal effects of the political event variables, domestic and foreign area and per capita GDP remain statistically significant at the one percent level. The marginal effects of the dummies for writers and journalists are

statistically significant at the five and one percent level in column (5). The other occupation dummies do not turn out to be statistically significant. The explanatory power of the complete regression, as measured by the pseudo-R2, is satisfactory for a model employing micro data. The variation of the dependent variable is mainly explained by the political event variables as the pseudo-R2 of column 1 indicates.

The marginal effects of the political event dummies in column (5) show that the political events had a numerically large influence on whether an author of liberty emigrated. The numerical meaning of the effects as reported in column 5 is that the probability of emigration increased by about 12.5 percentage points when an authoritarian monarchy was restored, by about 6.4 percentage points when liberal protests were suppressed, by about 13.3 percentage points when a totalitarian regime took over, and by about 7.7 percentage points when the country was occupied by a foreign repressive power. It is interesting that the coefficients for the restoration of an authoritarian monarchy or the takeover by a totalitarian regime are significantly larger than the coefficients for the repression of liberal protests or the occupation by a foreign repressive power in columns 1 and 4 to 6. Apparently, the former events were expected to be more permanent than the latter. To summarize, all results of our benchmark model are consistent with our expectations.

The results in column (6) show that classical standard errors hardly differ from robust standard errors (column 5). We thus conclude that our model is well specified (King and Roberts 2012). Column (7) shows results with standard errors clustered by authors: inferences do not change.

### **3.3. Extensions**

We have extended our analysis in several ways. We have included decadal fixed effects. We do not include fixed year effects because our panel is extremely unbalanced. Including fixed time effects reduces the sample to some 11.000 observations because in many years no author

emigrated. The decadal dummy variables are jointly statistically significant. Including the decadal dummy variables also somewhat reduces the sample because no author emigrated in the first decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The results in column (1) in Table 5 show that the marginal effects of the political event dummies for the restoration of an authoritarian monarchy, takeover by a totalitarian regime and occupation by a foreign repressive power remain statistically significant at the one percent level. The marginal effect of the dummy for suppression of liberal protests is statistically significant at the five percent level. The numerical meaning of the effects decreases, however: the probability of emigration increased by about 7.3 percentage points when an authoritarian monarchy was restored, by about 2.5 percentage points when liberal protests were suppressed, by about 10.4 percentage points when a totalitarian regime took over, and by about 5.7 percentage points when the country was occupied by a foreign repressive power.

We have also included the authors' age squared (column 2 in Table 5). The results show that age does not seem to have a linear influence on emigration decisions: the age variable has a positive, and the age squared variable has a negative but small influence. The influence of age on emigration thus follows an inverted U-shape pattern: the middle-aged are least likely to emigrate – probably because they have to give up their job and find new employment in a foreign country. Including age squared does however not change the inferences regarding the political event dummies as compared to our baseline model in Table 1.

- insert Table 5 here -

We have added a dummy for university education. Inclusion of this variable reduces the sample to 242 authors (Table 5, column 3). Its marginal effect does not turn out to be statistically significant. The marginal effects of the political event dummies remain

statistically significant at the one percent level, the numerical meaning of the effects is however smaller as compared to our baseline model. To be sure, we have checked that the difference in the sample size is driving the results by running the baseline model in the subsample for which the education variable is available.

We have also estimated a logit panel data model including fixed author effects. This model includes 10417 observations because all authors who never migrated are excluded. The coefficients of all four political event variables remain however statistically significant at the 1% level; the magnitudes of the coefficients do not change significantly as compared to the baseline model.

Following Aidt and Jensen (2009, 2014) we have also estimated a logistic regression model with rare events (King and Zeng 2001).<sup>13</sup> Inferences do not change.

We have added country dummies for the country of residence, the country of origin and the country of destination of the author – either all together or by type of country dummy. The coefficients of the political event variables remain statistically significant at the one percent level in all these specifications. If only the country of destination dummy for the United States is included, its coefficient has a positive sign and is statistically significant at the one percent level. Thus, the probability of emigration to the US is statistically significant. Inferences regarding the political event dummies do not change.

We have introduced lags of the political event dummies. In our baseline model we tested only for responses within the same year. As Table A1 shows, however, a considerable number of authors emigrated with a delay of several years. Almost all political emigrants left within five years.<sup>14</sup> Thus, we have added five lagged political event dummies to our baseline model (t-1, t-2, t-3, t-4, t-5). Many marginal effects of the lagged coefficients are significant.

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<sup>13</sup> The logit model with rare events by King and Zeng (2001) takes into account that the common logit model may underestimate the probability of rare events.

<sup>14</sup> There are only three exceptions. Ernst Moritz Arndt emigrated from Germany to Russia in 1812 because of the French occupation in 1806. Czeslaw Milosz emigrated from Poland to France in 1951 because the Soviet Union had occupied Poland in 1944. Svetozar Pejovich emigrated from Yugoslavia to the United States in 1957 because of Tito's totalitarian takeover in 1944.



But each of the lagged effects is smaller than the contemporaneous effect, i.e., the main response occurred within the same year. Adding more lags (t-6, t-7, t-8) does not yield event coefficients that are significant at conventional levels.

- insert Table 6 here -

Overall, there are more significant lagged responses to totalitarian takeovers and foreign occupations than to restoration and suppression of protests. Why did liberals react with a longer delay to totalitarian takeovers and foreign occupations? The communist and fascist takeovers and the occupations by Napoleonic troops and Hitler Germany may have seemed less likely to be final than the restoration of authoritarian monarchies and the suppression of liberal protests.

#### **4. Conclusions**

Inspired by the Hume-Montesquieu-Kant hypothesis that the rise of freedom in the West was due to the relatively low cost of escaping from repressive regimes, we have investigated the emigration decisions of well-known authors of liberty from the restoration in England (1660) to the building of the wall in Berlin (1961). Our self-compiled dataset includes 401 well-known authors of liberty from twenty European countries. The results show that repressive political events had significant and large effects on emigration with lags of up to five years. The probability of emigration increased by more than 10 percentage points when an authoritarian monarchy was restored or when a totalitarian regime took over or when the country was occupied by a foreign repressive power. Moreover, emigration was significantly and strongly influenced by the author's occupation. The probability of emigration was significantly larger when domestic per capita income was low and when foreign per capita income was high. The probability of emigration was significantly smaller if the author lived in

a large country and was of middle age, but these effects were numerically small. The decision to emigrate was not affected by the author's education.

Our results support a necessary assumption of the HMK view, namely, that political repression led to a drain of talent. As we show it was mainly the young who left and mainly the rulers of the small states who had to fear the exodus.

Further quantitative research ought to focus on the interjurisdictional migration of merchants and inventors<sup>15</sup>. Their departure was probably more detrimental to the rulers than the emigration of highly respected but somewhat unruly social thinkers. We hope that our study can serve as a model for that research. Yet it is much more difficult to obtain comprehensive data on the movements of merchants and inventors than on the migration of well-known authors of liberty.

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<sup>15</sup> The interjurisdictional migration of the merchants has been emphasized by Adam Smith (1776/1976, Vol. 2: 375f.), Max Weber (1923: 249), Jones (1981: 233) McNeill (1982: 114), Hall (1985: 102), Rosenberg, Birdzell (1986: 136f.) and Kennedy (1987: 19f.).

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**Table 1: Authors of liberty: Breakdown by occupation**

	emigrating		not emigrating		total	
philosophers	17	(47 %)	19	(53 %)	36	(9 %)
political scientists	8	(67 %)	4	(33 %)	12	(3 %)
economists	43	(43 %)	58	(57 %)	101	(25 %)
jurists/lawyers	23	(58 %)	17	(43 %)	40	(10 %)
historians	10	(58 %)	7	(42 %)	17	(4 %)
philologists	5	(71 %)	2	(29 %)	7	(2 %)
writers/poets	33	(75 %)	11	(25 %)	44	(11 %)
theologians/preachers	4	(80 %)	1	(20 %)	5	(1%)
journalists/publishers	30	(86 %)	5	(14 %)	35	(9 %)
political writers	9	(90%)	1	(10%)	10	(3%)
politicians	44	(56 %)	34	(44 %)	78	(20 %)
others	12	(75 %)	4	(25 %)	16	(4 %)
total	238	(49 %)	163	(41 %)	401	(100 %)

Table 2: **Repressive events, 1660-1961**

Country	Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy	Suppression of liberal protests	Takeover by a totalitarian regime	Occupation by a foreign repressive power
Austria	1848 (1)		1934 (18)	1938 (19)
Belgium				1914 (1) 1940 (1)
Britain	1660 (14)			
Bulgaria			1934 (2)	1944 (3)
Czechoslovakia				1939 (1) 1945 (1)
Denmark				1940 (0)
France	1815 (6) 1851 (4)		1792 (10)	1940 (5)
Germany	1815 (18) 1849 (55)	1830 (44) 1832 (47) 1837 (50)	1933 (34)	1806 (16)
Hungary		1948 (8) 1956 (8)		1944 (6)
Italy		1831 (4) 1849 (4)	1926 (15)	1943 (11)
Lithuania			1926 (1)	1795 (0) 1939 (1) 1941 (1) 1944 (1)
Netherlands	1787 (11)			1795 (9) 1940 (8)
Norway				1940 (3)
Poland				1795 (0) 1806 (0) 1815 (0) 1939 (3) 1944 (3)
Portugal	1828 (2)	1927 (0)	1926 (0)	1807 (0)
Russia		1825 (6)	1918 (8)	
Spain	1814 (9) 1823 (10) 1874 (0)		1923 (9) 1936 (10)	1808 (8)
Sweden				
Switzerland		1734 (1) (Geneva)		1798 (6)
Yugoslavia	1929 (3)		1944 (9)	1941 (9)



Note: The numbers in parantheses indicate how many of our (adult) authors of liberty experienced the event in their country.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics

	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Dev.</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Emigration	18394	0.023	0.149	0	1
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy	18394	0.007	0.083	0	1
Suppression of liberal protests	18394	0.009	0.094	0	1
Takeover by a totalitarian regime	18394	0.006	0.078	0	1
Occupation by a foreign repressive power	18394	0.006	0.079	0	1
Philosopher	18394	0.095	0.294	0	1
Political scientist	18394	0.027	0.163	0	1
Economist	18394	0.252	0.434	0	1
Jurist/Lawyer	18394	0.106	0.308	0	1
Historian	18394	0.043	0.203	0	1
Philologist	18394	0.019	0.136	0	1
Writer etc.	18394	0.103	0.304	0	1
Theologian/Preacher	18394	0.014	0.117	0	1
Journalist/Publisher	18394	0.082	0.274	0	1
Political writer	18394	0.026	0.159	0	1
Politician	18394	0.193	0.394	0	1
Other occupation	18394	0.040	0.195	0	1
Age	18394	44.19	16.33	19	94
Domestic per capita GDP	18385	2749.343	2331.28	657.454	13098.69
Foreign per capita GDP	18386	2371.685	1663.403	2.166	12333.45
Domestic Area	18394	1866743	3995747	21640	1.64E+07
Foreign Area	18394	2029411	2060266	21640	1.64E+07
University education	11425	0.873	0.332	0	1

Table 4: Regression Results. Marginal effects (evaluated at means) referring to a logit model with different types of standard errors.

**Dependent variable: dummy for emigration**

Economists are the reference group of the occupation variables.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Robust standard errors	Robust standard errors	Robust standard errors	Robust standard errors	Robust standard errors	Classical standard errors	Robust standard errors clustered by authors
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy	0.2075*** (0.0368)				0.1245*** (0.0286)	0.1245*** (0.0278)	0.1245*** (0.0297)
Suppression of liberal protests	0.1093***				0.0637***	0.0637***	0.0637***

	(0.0261)		(0.0195)	(0.0184)	(0.0194)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime	0.1931***		0.1334***	0.1334***	0.1334***
	(0.0391)		(0.0368)	(0.0330)	(0.0356)
Occupation by a foreign repressive power	0.1462***		0.0765***	0.0765***	0.0765***
	(0.0355)		(0.0240)	(0.0235)	(0.0259)
Philosopher		0.0063	0.0027	0.0027	0.0027
		(0.0054)	(0.0035)	(0.0035)	(0.0040)
Political scientist		0.0091	0.0117	0.0117	0.0117*
		(0.0095)	(0.0084)	(0.0084)	(0.0069)
Jurist/Lawyer		0.0008	-0.0015	-0.0015	-0.0015
		(0.0047)	(0.0029)	(0.0029)	(0.0036)
Historian		0.0032	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002
		(0.0070)	(0.0044)	(0.0043)	(0.0046)
Philologist		0.0144	0.0056	0.0056	0.0056
		(0.0122)	(0.0070)	(0.0072)	(0.0050)
Writer etc.		0.0197***	0.0105**	0.0105**	0.0105**
		(0.0064)	(0.0043)	(0.0043)	(0.0043)
Theologian/Preacher		0.0165	0.0033	0.0033	0.0033
		(0.0145)	(0.0075)	(0.0073)	(0.0037)
Journalist/Publisher		0.0346***	0.0248***	0.0248***	0.0248***
		(0.0083)	(0.0064)	(0.0063)	(0.0078)
Political writer		0.0276**	0.0139	0.0139*	0.0139
		(0.0124)	(0.0085)	(0.0080)	(0.0129)
Politician		0.0100**	0.0015	0.0015	0.0015
		(0.0044)	(0.0026)	(0.0026)	(0.0033)
Other occupation		0.0090	-0.0008	-0.0008	-0.0008
		(0.0080)	(0.0039)	(0.0039)	(0.0039)
Age			-0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
			(0.0001)	(0.0000)	(0.0001)
log Domestic Area			-0.0018***	-0.0022***	-0.0022***
			(0.0006)	(0.0006)	(0.0005)
log Foreign Area				0.0065***	

			-0.0095*** (0.0006)		-0.0065*** (0.0007)	(0.0005)	-0.0065*** (0.0007)
log Domestic per capita GDP				-	0.0212*** (0.0020)	-0.0083*** (0.0022)	0.0083*** (0.0019)
log Foreign per capita GDP					0.0199*** (0.0020)	0.0095*** (0.0021)	0.0095*** (0.0017)
N	18394	18394	18394	18380	18380	18380	18380
Pseudo R2	0.0622	0.0123	0.0680	0.0266	0.1405	0.1405	0.1405

Notes: standard errors in parentheses; \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%

Table 5: Regression Results. Robustness tests. Subsamples.

Marginal effects (evaluated at means) referring to a logit model with robust standard errors.

**Dependent variable: dummy for emigration**

Economists are the reference group of the occupation variables.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Decadal dummy variables included	Age squared included	Study variable included (much smaller sample)
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy	0.0728*** (0.0203)	0.1111*** (0.0263)	0.0816*** (0.0298)
Suppression of liberal protests	0.0253** (0.0115)	0.0571*** (0.0177)	0.0598*** (0.0211)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime	0.1044*** (0.0336)	0.1175*** (0.0336)	0.1350*** (0.0489)
Occupation by a foreign repressive power	0.0567*** (0.0192)	0.0719*** (0.0217)	0.0965** (0.0413)
Philosopher	0.0005 (0.0024)	0.0023 (0.0032)	0.0062 (0.0045)
Political scientist	0.0065 (0.0057)	0.0107 (0.0077)	0.0148 (0.0096)
Jurist/Lawyer	-0.0008 (0.0023)	-0.0013 (0.0028)	0.0023 (0.0040)
Historian	0.0001 (0.0033)	0.0006 (0.0042)	-0.0003 (0.0048)
Philologist	0.0007 (0.0041)	0.0051 (0.0065)	0.0089 (0.0092)
Writer etc.	0.0052* (0.0029)	0.0100** (0.0041)	0.0161** (0.0066)
Theologian/Preacher	-0.0025 (0.0035)	0.0022 (0.0067)	0.0067 (0.0107)
Journalist/Publisher	0.0123***	0.0239***	0.0362***

	(0.0041)	(0.0061)	(0.0112)
Political writer	0.0040	0.0150*	0.0306**
	(0.0046)	(0.0085)	(0.0143)
Politician	-0.0007	0.0015	-0.0012
	(0.0018)	(0.0024)	(0.0031)
Other occupation	0.0006	-0.0013	-0.0004
	(0.0033)	(0.0036)	(0.0060)
Age	0.0000	0.0016***	-0.0000
	(0.0000)	(0.0003)	(0.0001)
Age squared		-0.0000***	
		(0.0000)	
University education			0.0014
			(0.0029)
log Domestic Area	-0.0013***	-0.0022***	-0.0022**
	(0.0005)	(0.0005)	(0.0009)
Log Foreign Area	-0.0041***	-0.0058***	-0.0053***
	(0.0006)	(0.0007)	(0.0008)
log Domestic per capita GDP	-0.0030	-0.0087***	-0.0095***
	(0.0019)	(0.0020)	(0.0031)
log Foreign per capita GDP	0.0237***	0.0097***	0.0133***
	(0.0036)	(0.0020)	(0.0028)
N	18318	18380	11425
Pseudo R2	0.1851	0.1491	0.1561

Notes: standard errors in parentheses; \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%

Table 6: Regression Results. Robustness tests. Lagged political events.  
 Marginal effects (evaluated at means) referring to a logit model with robust standard errors.

**Dependent variable: dummy for emigration**

Economists are the reference group of the occupation variables.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Baseline model	Decadal dummy variables included	Age squared included	Study variable included (much smaller sample)
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy	0.1567*** (0.0343)	0.1013*** (0.0275)	0.1423*** (0.0320)	0.0932*** (0.0335)
Suppression of liberal protests	0.0684*** (0.0238)	0.0348** (0.0155)	0.0627*** (0.0217)	0.0624** (0.0260)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime	0.1679*** (0.0430)	0.1674*** (0.0500)	0.1483*** (0.0395)	0.1537*** (0.0532)
Occupation by a foreign repressive power	0.0647*** (0.0186)	0.0546*** (0.0175)	0.0604*** (0.0173)	0.0693** (0.0305)
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy (t-1)	0.0934*** (0.0274)	0.0646*** (0.0207)	0.0851*** (0.0253)	0.0656** (0.0294)
Suppression of liberal protests (t-1)	0.0200* (0.0115)	0.0056 (0.0063)	0.0177* (0.0105)	0.0219* (0.0127)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime (t-1)	0.0515** (0.0227)	0.0495** (0.0238)	0.0448** (0.0204)	0.0391 (0.0254)
Occupation by a foreign repressive power (t-1)	0.0105 (0.0106)	0.0126 (0.0107)	0.0098 (0.0098)	-0.0007 (0.0099)
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy (t-2)	0.0138 (0.0126)	0.0089 (0.0089)	0.0126 (0.0115)	0.0071 (0.0120)
Suppression of liberal protests (t-2)	0.0031 (0.0063)	-0.0004 (0.0036)	0.0028 (0.0058)	-0.0020 (0.0051)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime (t-2)	0.0501** (0.0243)	0.0430* (0.0228)	0.0431** (0.0216)	0.0665** (0.0327)

Occupation by a foreign repressive power (t-2)	0.0445** (0.0193)	0.0524** (0.0230)	0.0414** (0.0181)	0.0224 (0.0222)
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy (t-3)	0.0223 (0.0160)	0.0179 (0.0130)	0.0205 (0.0148)	-0.0006 (0.0109)
Suppression of liberal protests (t-3)	0.0064 (0.0074)	0.0026 (0.0048)	0.0056 (0.0067)	0.0077 (0.0079)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime (t-3)	0.0162 (0.0153)	0.0124 (0.0123)	0.0130 (0.0133)	-0.0013 (0.0101)
Occupation by a foreign repressive power (t-3)	-0.0074* (0.0043)	-0.0049 (0.0046)	-0.0065 (0.0044)	-0.0049 (0.0085)
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy (t-4)	0.0213 (0.0151)	0.0179 (0.0128)	0.0196 (0.0139)	0.0212 (0.0195)
Suppression of liberal protests (t-4)	0.0393*** (0.0150)	0.0172* (0.0089)	0.0347** (0.0136)	0.0349** (0.0162)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime (t-4)	0.0687*** (0.0237)	0.0430** (0.0199)	0.0572*** (0.0206)	0.0338* (0.0192)
Occupation by a foreign repressive power (t-4)	0.0134 (0.0106)	0.0162 (0.0120)	0.0136 (0.0100)	0.0177 (0.0158)
Restoration of an authoritarian monarchy (t-5)	0.0057 (0.0105)	0.0027 (0.0071)	0.0048 (0.0096)	0.0086 (0.0147)
Suppression of liberal protests (t-5)	0.0021 (0.0051)	-0.0014 (0.0038)	0.0015 (0.0048)	0.0053 (0.0048)
Takeover by a totalitarian regime (t-5)	0.0094 (0.0131)	0.0048 (0.0089)	0.0070 (0.0113)	0.0151 (0.0183)
Occupation by a foreign repressive power (t-5)	0.0085 (0.0111)	0.0088 (0.0109)	0.0082 (0.0104)	0.0254 (0.0222)
Philosopher	0.0020 (0.0030)	0.0003 (0.0022)	0.0018 (0.0028)	0.0051 (0.0040)
Political scientist	0.0088 (0.0065)	0.0055 (0.0048)	0.0083 (0.0062)	0.0126 (0.0081)
Jurist/Lawyer	-0.0016 (0.0025)	-0.0016 (0.0020)	-0.0013 (0.0024)	0.0014 (0.0035)
Historian	-0.0018 (0.0032)	-0.0012 (0.0026)	-0.0013 (0.0031)	-0.0016 (0.0037)



Philologist	0.0014 (0.0048)	-0.0002 (0.0033)	0.0012 (0.0046)	0.0041 (0.0064)
Writer etc.	0.0083** (0.0037)	0.0047* (0.0026)	0.0080** (0.0035)	0.0136** (0.0059)
Theologian/Preacher	0.0001 (0.0053)	-0.0033 (0.0026)	-0.0004 (0.0049)	0.0019 (0.0071)
Journalist/Publisher	0.0186*** (0.0053)	0.0100*** (0.0035)	0.0183*** (0.0051)	0.0289*** (0.0097)
Political writer	0.0100 (0.0069)	0.0029 (0.0039)	0.0110 (0.0069)	0.0240** (0.0121)
Politician	0.0001 (0.0022)	-0.0013 (0.0016)	0.0003 (0.0021)	-0.0017 (0.0027)
Other occupation	-0.0014 (0.0032)	-0.0002 (0.0028)	-0.0018 (0.0030)	-0.0004 (0.0054)
Age	0.0000 (0.0000)	0.0000 (0.0000)	0.0013*** (0.0002)	-0.0000 (0.0001)
Age squared			-0.0000*** (0.0000)	
Studied at a university				0.0012 (0.0027)
log Domestic Area	-0.0020*** (0.0005)	-0.0012*** (0.0004)	-0.0020*** (0.0005)	-0.0020*** (0.0008)
log Foreign Area	-0.0053*** (0.0006)	-0.0037*** (0.0005)	-0.0049*** (0.0006)	-0.0046*** (0.0007)
log Domestic per capita GDP	-0.0063*** (0.0019)	-0.0018 (0.0017)	-0.0066*** (0.0018)	-0.0080*** (0.0027)
log Foreign per capita GDP	0.0077*** (0.0019)	0.0209*** (0.0032)	0.0078*** (0.0018)	0.0115*** (0.0026)
N	18300	18238	18300	11400
Pseudo R2	0.1742	0.2122	0.1807	0.1866

Notes: standard errors in parentheses; \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1 %



Appendix (to be published online)  
Table A.1.

**Well-known authors of liberty in Europe, 1660 – 1961  
all emigrations**

\* emigrant

\*\* chose to emigrate within five years after a repressive event

Legend for political events: restoration of an authoritarian monarchy (RES), suppression of liberal protests (PRO), takeover by a totalitarian regime (TOT), occupation by a foreign repressive power (OCC).

name <sup>a</sup>	life	year of emigration <sup>b</sup>	age	country of destination	event <sup>c</sup>	occupation <sup>d</sup>
<u>Austria</u> Andreas von Riedel**	1748-1837	1809**	61	France	-	jurist
Hans Kudlich**	1823-1917	1849** 1854	26 31	Switzerland US	RES -	politician
Friedrich Hassaurek**	1831-1885	1849	18	US	RES	journalist
Carl Menger	1840-1921	-	-	-	-	economist
Eugen Böhm-Bawerk	1851-1914	-	-	-	-	economist
Friedrich von Wieser	1851-1926	-	-	-	-	economist
Ludwig von Mises**	1881-1973	1934** 1940	53 59	Switzerland US	TOT -	economist
Stefan Zweig**	1881-1942	1934	53	Brazil	TOT	poet
Gustav Stolper*	1888-1945	1933	45	US	-	economist
Friedrich Engel-Janosi**	1893-1978	1939** 1959	46 66	US Austria	OCC -	historian
Felix Kaufmann**	1895-1949	1938	43	US	OCC	philosopher
Hersch Lauterpacht*	1897-1960	1931	34	UK	-	jurist
Alfred Schuetz**	1899-1959	1938	39	US	OCC	philosopher
Joseph Herbert von Furth**	1899-1995	1938	39	US	OCC	economist
Friedrich A. von Hayek*	1899-1992	1931 1950 1962	32 51 63	UK US Germany	- - -	economist
Gottfried Haberler*	1900-1995	1931	31	US	-	economist
Eric Voegelin**	1901-1985	1938** 1958 1969	37 57 68	US Germany US	OCC - -	political scientist
Fritz Machlup**	1902-1983	1936	34	US	TOT	economist
Oskar Morgenstern**	1902-1977	1938	36	US	OCC	economist
Karl Popper**	1902-1994	1937** 1944	35 42	New Zealand UK	TOT -	philosopher
Paul N. Rosenstein-Rodan*	1902-1985	1930	28	US	-	economist
Alexander Gerschenkron**	1904-1978	1938	34	US	OCC	economist
Ilse Schueller-Mintz**	1904-1978	1938	34	US	OCC	economist

Ernst Gombrich**	1909-2001	1936	27	UK	TOT	historian
Paul Watzlawick*	1921-2007	1957	36	US	-	psychologist
Egon Sohmen*	1930-1977	1955	25	US	-	economist

<u>Belgium</u>						
Gustave de Molinari**	1819-1912	1841* (Belgium) 1851** (France) 1867* (Belgium)	22 32 48	France Belgium France	- RES -	economist
Louis J.P. Baudin*	1887-1964	1922	35	France	-	economist

<u>Britain and Ireland</u>						
Oliver St. John**	1598-1673	1662	64	Germany	RES	politician
Cornelius Holland**	1599-1671	1661	62	Switzerland	RES	politician
William Cawley**	1602-1667	1660	58	Switzerland	RES	politician
Andrew Broughton**	1602/3-1687	1661	59	Switzerland	RES	politician
Daniel Blagrove**	1603-1668	1660	57	Germany	RES	politician
William Say**	1604-1666	1661	57	Switzerland	RES	politician
Nicolas Love**	1608-1682	1660	52	Switzerland	RES	politician
John Milton	1608-1674	-	-	-	-	poet
John Lisle**	1610-1664	1661	51	Switzerland	RES	lawyer
Edmund Ludlow**	1617-1692	1661	44	Switzerland	RES	politician
Marchamont Needham**	1620-1678	1661	41	Netherlands	RES	journalist
Anthony Ashley (1 <sup>st</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury)**	1621-1683	1682	61	Netherlands	-	politician
Algernon Sidney**	1623-1683	1660** 1663 1677	37 40 54	Italy France UK	RES - -	politician
John Locke**	1632-1704	1675** 1679 1683** 1688	43 47 51 56	France England Netherlands England	- - - -	philosopher
Francis Hutcheson	1694-1746	-	-	-	-	philosopher
David Hume	1711-1776	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Adam Ferguson	1723-1816	-	-	-	-	economist
Adam Smith	1723-1790	-	-	-	-	economist
John Wilkes**	1727-1797	1763** 1768	36 41	France UK	- -	politician
Thomas Paine*	1736-1809	1792	56	France	-	officer
Jeremy Bentham	1748-1832	-	-	-	-	philosopher
William Cobbett**	1763-1835	1792 1800 1817** 1819	29 37 54 56	US UK US UK	- - - -	journalist
David Ricardo	1772-1823	-	-	-	-	economist
James Mill	1773-1836	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Richard Cobden	1804-1865	-	-	-	-	politician
John Stuart Mill	1806-1873	-	-	-	-	economist
John Bright	1811-1889	-	-	-	-	politician
George Eliot	1819-1880	-	-	-	-	writer/poet
Herbert Spencer	1820-1903	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Walter Bagehot	1826-1877	-	-	-	-	economist
Lord Acton	1834-1902	-	-	-	-	historian
Auberon Herbert	1838-1906	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Edwin Cannan	1861-1935	-	-	-	-	economist

Lionel Robbins	1898-1984	-	-	-	-	economist
William H. Hutt*	1899-1988	1928	29	S.Africa	-	economist
John Jewkes	1902-1988	-	-	-	-	economist
Isaiah Berlin	1909-1997	-	-	-	-	philosopher
John Plamenatz	1912-1975	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Jack Wiseman	1919-1991	-	-	-	-	economist
Alan T. Peacock	1922-	-	-	-	-	economist

<u>Bulgaria</u>						
Danail Kraptshew	1880-1944	-	-	-	-	journalist
Hristo Ognianov**	1911-1997	1944	33	Austria	OCC	poet
Stefan Gruev**	1922-2006	1945	23	Switzerland	OCC	political writer
Tsvetan Marangosov**	1933-	1960	27	Germany	-	writer

<u>Czechoslovakia</u>						
Karel Havlíček Borovský	1821-1856	-	-	-	-	journalist
Vojta Náprstek**	1826-1894	1848 (Austria)	22	US	RES	political writer
Karel Engliš	1880-1961	-	-	-	-	economist

<u>Denmark</u>						
Peter Andreas Heiberg*	1758-1841	1800	42	France	-	writer/poet
Peter Collett	1767-1823	-	-	-	-	writer
Malte Conrad Bruun*	1775-1826	1799	24	France	-	geographer
Christian Gandil	1865-1915	-	-	-	-	economist

<u>France</u>						
Pierre Bayle**	1647-1706	1670** 1674	23 27	Switzerland France	- -	philosopher
François Fénelon	1651-1715	-	-	-	-	writer
Montesquieu	1689-1755	-	-	-	-	philosopher
François Quesnay	1694-1774	-	-	-	-	economist
Voltaire*	1694-1778	1726 1750 1755	32 56 61	UK Prussia Switzerland	- - -	philosopher
Vincent Gournay	1712-1759	-	-	-	-	economist
Guillaume-Thomas Raynal**	1713-1796	1779** 1780 1784	66 67 71	Russia Switzerland France	- - -	historian
Bonnot de Condillac*	1714-1780	1757 1768	43 54	Italy France	-	philosopher
Victor Mirabeau	1715-1789	-	-	-	-	economist
Malesherbes	1721-1794	-	-	-	-	jurist
Paul H.T. d'Holbach	1723-1789	-	-	-	-	philosopher
A.R.J. Turgot	1727-1781	-	-	-	-	economist
Condorcet	1743-1794	-	-	-	-	economist
Honoré Mirabeau*	1749-1791	1775 1777 1790	26 28 41	Switzerland Prussia France	- - -	economist
F. R. G. Le Chapelier**	1754-1794	1791	37	UK	-	politician
Destutt de Tracy	1754-1836	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Paul de Barras**	1755-1829	1800	45	Italy	-	politician
Marie-Joseph Motier	1757-1834	1792	35	Germany	TOT	general

Marquis de La Fayette**						politician
S. Clermont-Tonnère	1757-1792	-	-	-	-	politician
Germaine de Staël**	1766-1817	1812	46	Sweden	-	writer/poet
Jean-Baptiste Say	1767-1832	-	-	-	-	economist
James Fazy**	1794-1878	1833	39	Switzerland	-	journalist
Frédéric Bastiat	1801-1850	-	-	-	-	economist
Victor Hugo**	1802-1885	1851** 1871	49 69	UK France	RES -	poet
Alexis de Tocqueville	1805-1859	-	-	-	-	political scientist
Hyppolyte Castille	1820-1886	-	-	-	-	writer
Léon Walras*	1834-1910	1870	36	Switzerland	-	economist
Jacques Rueff	1896-1978	-	-	-	-	economist
Bertrand de Jouvenel	1903-1987	-	-	-	-	economist
Raymond Aron**	1905-1983	1940** 1944	35 39	UK France	OCC -	journalist
Daniel Villey	1910-1968	-	-	-	-	economist
Maurice Allais	1911-2010	-	-	-	-	economist

<u>Germany</u>						
Samuel Pufendorf**	1632-1694	1658 (Saxony) 1660 1661 1668** 1688	26 28 29 36 56	Denmark Netherlands Pfalz Sweden Brandenburg	- - - - -	jurist
Christian Thomasius**	1655-1728	1690 (Saxony)	35	Brandenburg	-	jurist
Immanuel Kant	1724-1804	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock*	1724-1803	1750 1759 1762	26 35 38	Denmark Braunschweig Denmark	- - -	poet
Friedrich Nicolai	1733-1811	-	-	-	-	bookseller
Christian F.D. Schubart**	1739-1791	1774** (Wuerttemberg)	35	Augsburg	-	poet
Joachim Heinrich Campe	1746-1818	1775** 1777	29 31	Ulm Wuerttemberg	-	publisher
Adam Weishaupt**	1748-1830	1785 (Bavaria)	37	Sachsen-Gotha	-	jurist
Heinrich Freiherr vom Stein**	1757-1831	1808	51	Austria	OCC	politician
Friedrich Schiller**	1759-1805	1782 (Wuerttemberg)	23	Pfalz	-	writer/poet
Carl G. D. Clauer**	1763-1794	1791	28	France	-	lawyer
Wilhelm von Humboldt	1767-1835	-	-	-	-	philologist
Ernst Moritz Arndt**	1769-1860	1806** 1809 1812** 1813	37 40 43 44	Sweden Prussia Russia Pommern	OCC - - -	poet
Joseph Görres**	1776-1848	1819** 1827	43 51	France Germany	RES -	poet
Heinrich Zschokke**	1771-1848	1796* 1798 (Graubünden)**	25 27	Switzerland Luzern	- -	writer
Heinrich Theodor von Schön	1773-1856	-	-	-	-	politician
Carl von Rotteck	1775-1840	-	-	-	-	politician

Christoph Friedrich Dahlmann**	1785-1860	1837 (Hanover)	52	Sachsen-Weimar	PRO	historian
Jacob Grimm**	1785-1863	1837** (Hanover) 1841	52 56	Hessen Prussia	PRO -	philologist
Ludwig Snell**	1785-1854	1824** 1827 1831 1834 1836 **	39 42 46 49 51	UK Basel Zurich Bern Luzern	- - -	theologian
Ludwig Börne**	1786-1837	1830	44	France	PRO	journalist
Wilhelm Grimm**	1786-1859	1837** (Hanover) 1841	51 55	Hessen Prussia	PRO -	philologist
Ludwig Uhland	1787-1862	-	-	-	-	poet
Friedrich List**	1789-1846	1822** 1824 1825 1832	33 35 36 43	France Germany US Germany	- - - -	economist
Philipp J. Siebenpfeiffer**	1789-1845	1833	44	Switzerland	PRO	political writer
Wilhelm Snell**	1789-1851	1821**  1833 1834 1845** 1846	32  44 45 56 57	Switzerland (Basel) Zürich Bern Basel Bern	- - - - -	politician
August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben*	1798-1874	1843 (Prussia) 1849	45 51	Mecklenburg Rhineland	- -	poet
Carl Theodor Welcker	1790-1869	-	-	-	-	politician
Friedrich Schüler**	1791-1873	1832** 1848 1849**	41 57 58	France Pfalz France	PRO - RES	politician
Sylvester Jordan	1792-1861	-	-	-	-	jurist
Heinrich Heine**	1797-1856	1825 (Frankfurt) 1828 1830 1831**	28 31 33 34	Hamburg Bayern Hamburg France	- - - -	poet
Wilhelm Schulz**	1797-1860	1834** 1836 1848 1849**	37 39 51 52	France Switzerland Germany Switzerland	PRO - - RES	journalist
Johann G.A. Wirth**	1798-1848	1836** 1839 1847	38 41 49	France Switzerland Germany	PRO - -	journalist
Paul Follen**	1799-1844	1834	35	US	PRO	lawyer
Heinrich von Gagern	1799-1880	-	-	-	-	politician
Wilhelm Eduard Albrecht**	1800-1876	1837 (Hanover)	37	Saxony	PRO	jurist
Ferdinand Lindheimer**	1801-1879	1834	33	US	PRO	philologist
Paul A. Pfizer	1801-1867	-	-	-	-	politician
Theodor Olshausen**	1802-1869	1856** 1865	54 63	US Germany	- -	publisher
Joseph Savoye**	1802-1869	1832**	30	France	PRO	politician

		1851**	49	UK	RES	
Heinrich Ewald**	1803-1875	1837** (Hanover) 1867	34 64	Wuerttemberg Hanover	PRO -	philologist
Georg Fein**	1803-1869	1833** 1836 1837 1846 1848 1849**	30 33 34 43 45 46	Switzerland France Norway US Germany Switzerland	PRO - - - - RES	journalist
Georg Gottfried Gervinus**	1805-1871	1837 (Hanover)	32	Baden	PRO	historian
Ludwig August Wollenweber**	1807-1888	1832	25	US	PRO	journalist
Heinrich Ahrens**	1808-1874	1831** 1834 1848 1850	23 26 40 42	France Belgium Germany Austria	PRO - - -	philosopher
Theodor Engelmann**	1808-1889	1833	25	US	PRO	jurist
Joseph Fickler**	1808-1865	1849** 1855 1864	41 47 56	Switzerland US Germany	RES - -	journalist
Gustav Körner**	1809-1896	1833	24	US	PRO	lawyer
Niklas Müller**	1809-1875	1853	44	US	RES	poet
John Prince-Smith	1809-1874	-	-	-	-	economist
Friedrich Daniel Bassermann	1811-1855	-	-	-	-	politician
Karl Biedermann**	1812-1901	1853 (Saxony)** 1863	41 51	Weimar Saxony	RES -	philosopher
Bruno Hildebrand**	1812-1878	1851** 1861	39 49	Switzerland Germany	RES -	economist
Lorenz Brentano**	1813-1891	1850	37	US	RES	politician
Karl Georg Büchner**	1813-1837	1835** 1836	22 23	France Switzerland	- -	poet
Eduard Fein	1813-1858	-	-	-	-	jurist
Gustav Blöde**	1814-1888	1850	36	US	RES	journalist
Wilhelm Loewe-Kalbe**	1814-1886	1852** 1861	38 47	US Germany	RES -	politician
Gottfried Kinkel**	1815-1882	1850** 1866	35 51	UK Switzerland	RES -	theologian
Carl Beyschlag**	1816-1880	1850	34	US	RES	journalist
Ferdinand von Loehr**	1817-1877	1852	35	US	RES	journalist
Otto Rupprius**	1819-1864	1849** 1862	30 43	US Germany	RES -	journalist
Carl Daenzer**	1820-1906	1850** 1899	30 79	US Germany	RES	journalist
Armand Goegg**	1820-1897	1849** 1854** 1857 1861 1865	29 34 37 41 45	Switzerland UK Switzerland Germany Switzerland	RES - - - -	politician
Rudolf Doehn**	1821-1894	1854** 1865	33 44	US Germany	- -	philosopher
Daniel Hertle**	1821-1875	1850	29	US	RES	journalist
Eduard Dorsch**	1822-1887	1849	27	US	RES	poet



Ludwig Bamberger**	1823-1899	1849** 1850 1851 1853 1866	26 27 28 30 43	UK Belgium Netherlands France Germany	RES - - - -	journalist
George Schneider**	1823-1905	1849	26	US	RES	journalist
Caspar Butz**	1825-1885	1849	24	US	RES	political writer
Franz Umbscheiden**	1825-1874	1850	25	US	RES	journalist
Bernard Domschke**	1827-1869	1850	23	US	RES	journalist
Anton Eickhoff**	1827-1901	1847	20	US	-	political writer
Edward Salomon**	1828-1909	1849	21	US	RES	political writer
Carl Schurz**	1829-1906	1849** 1850 1852	20 21 23	Switzerland France US	RES - -	journalist
Otto von Gierke	1841-1921	-	-	-	-	jurist
Lujo Brentano	1844-1931	-	-	-	-	economist
Ludwig Quidde**	1858-1941	1933	75	Switzerland	TOT	politician
Friedrich Meinecke	1862-1954	-	-	-	-	historian
Max Weber	1864-1920	-	-	-	-	political scientist
Martin Wolff**	1872-1953	1938	66	UK	-	jurist
Ernst Cassirer**	1874-1945	1933** 1935	59 61	UK Sweden	TOT -	philosopher
Ernst Jäckh**	1875-1959	1933** 1940	58 65	UK US	TOT -	political scientist
Erich Koch-Weser**	1875-1944	1933	58	Brazil	TOT	politician
Adolf Weber	1876-1963	-	-	-	-	economist
Erich Eyck**	1878-1964	1937	59	UK	TOT	lawyer
Fritz Schulz**	1879-1957	1939	60	UK	-	jurist
Karl Jaspers*	1883-1969	1948	65	Switzerland	-	philosopher
Theodor Heuss	1884-1963	-	-	-	-	politician
Alexander Rüstow**	1885-1963	1933** 1949	48 64	Turkey Germany	TOT -	economist
Gerhard Ritter	1888-1967	-	-	-	-	historian
Goetz Briefs**	1889-1974	1934	45	US	TOT	political scientist
Erwin von Beckerath	1889-1964	-	-	-	-	economist
Walter Eucken	1891-1950	-	-	-	-	economist
Constantin von Dietze	1891-1973	-	-	-	-	economist
Ernst Fraenkel**	1891-1971	1939	48	UK	TOT	historian
Karl Loewenstein**	1891-1973	1934	43	US	TOT	jurist
Reinhold Maier	1889-1971	-	-	-	-	politician
Hans Großmann-Doerth	1894-1944	-	-	-	-	jurist
Franz Böhm	1895-1977	-	-	-	-	jurist
Ludwig Erhard	1897-1977	-	-	-	-	economist
Adolf Lampe	1897-1948	-	-	-	-	economist
Karl Brandt**	1899-1975	1933	34	US	TOT	economist
Wilhelm Röpke**	1899-1966	1933** 1937	34 38	Turkey Switzerland	TOT -	economist
Carl Joachim Friedrich*	1901-1984	1926	25	US	-	political scientist

Friedrich A. Lutz**	1901-1975	1938	37	US	-	economist
Alfred Müller-Armack	1901-1978	-	-	-	-	economist
Hans Morgenthau**	1904-1980	1933	29	US	TOT	political scientist
Hannah Ahrendt**	1906-1975	1933	27	US	TOT	political scientist
Ferdinand A. Hermens**	1906-1998	1934** 1935	28 29	UK US	TOT -	political scientist
Wolfgang Friedman**	1907-1972	1934** 1947 1951 1955	27 40 44 48	UK Australia Canada US	TOT - - -	jurist
Golo Mann**	1909-1994	1933** 1960 1965	24 51 55	US Germany Switzerland	TOT - -	historian

<u>Hungary</u>						
István Szechenyi	1791-1860	-	-	-	-	politician
Ferenc Deák	1803-1876	-	-	-	-	politician
Kalman Tisza	1830-1902	-	-	-	-	politician
Josef Eötvös**	1831-1871	1848** 1851	17 20	Germany Hungary	RES -	poet
Sandor Wekerle	1848-1921	-	-	-	-	politician
Michael Polanyi**	1891-1976	1920 1934**	29 43	Germany UK	- TOT	natural scientist
Melchior Palyi**	1892-1970	1920?*	28?	Germany	-	economist
Sandor Marai**	1900-1989	1933 **	41	US	TOT	
		1948** 1957 1967 1980	48 57 67 80	Italy US Italy US	OCC - - -	poet
William J. Fellner*	1905-1983	1938	33	US	-	economist
Peter Thomas Bauer*	1915-2002	1934	19	UK	-	economist
Anthony de Jasay**	1925-	1948** 1950 1955 1962	23 25 30 37	Austria Australia UK France	OCC - - -	journalist
Béla Balassa**	1928-1991	1956	28	US	PRO	economist
Laszlo Peter**	1929-2008	1956	27	UK	PRO	historian

<u>Italy</u>						
Antonio Genovesi	1712-1769	-	-	-	-	economist
Ferdinando Galiani	1728-1787	-	-	-	-	economist
Cesare Beccaria	1738-1794	-	-	-	-	jurist
Alessandro Manzoni	1785-1873	-	-	-	-	political writer
Pelegriano Rossi**	1787-1848	1816**(Milan) 1833**(Geneva)	29 46	Switzerland France	- -	economist
Giuseppe Mazzini**	1805-1872	1831**(Genoa) 1832** 1834 1836** 1848 1849** 1868 1869**	26 27 29 31 43 44 63 64	France Geneva Solothurn UK Austria UK Switzerland UK	PRO - - - - - PRO	political writer

		1871	66	Italy	-	
Francesco Ferrara**	1810-1900	1848 (Palermo)	38	Torino	-	economist
Carlo Luigi Farini*	1812-1866	1849 (Russi)	37	Piemont	-	politician
Giovanni Giolitti	1842-1928	-	-	-	-	politician
Vilfredo Pareto*	1848-1923	1894	46	Switzerland	-	economist
Matheo Pantaleoni	1857-1924	-	-	-	-	economist
Benedetto Croce	1866-1951	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Guglielmo Ferrero**	1871-1942	1928	57	France	TOT	historian
Luigi Einaudi**	1874-1961	1943** 1945	69 71	Switzerland Italy	TOT -	politician
Giovanni Amendola**	1882-1926	1926	44	France	TOT	politician
Marcello Soleri	1882-1945	-	-	-	-	politician
Costantino Bresciani-Turroni	1882-1963	-	-	-	-	economist
Gustavo del Vecchio**	1883-1972	1943** 1945	60 62	Switzerland Italy	OCC -	economist
Luigi Salvatorelli	1886-1974	-	-	-	-	journalist
Adolfo Omodeo	1889-1946	-	-	-	-	historian
Carlo Antoni	1896-1959	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Adolfo Tino**	1900-1978	1943** 1945	43 45	Switzerland Italy	OCC -	politician
Piero Gobetti**	1901-1926	1926	25	France	TOT	journalist
Bruno Leoni	1913-1967	-	-	-	-	philosopher

<u>Lithuania</u>						
Antanas Maceina**	1908-1987	1940 (Poland)	32	Germany	OCC	philosopher

<u>Netherlands</u>						
Pieter de la Court**	1618-1685	1672	54	Antwerp (Spanish)	-	economist
Bernard de Mandeville*	1670-1733	1693	23	UK	-	physician
Isaac de Pinto	1717-1787	-	-	-	-	economist
Joan van der Capellen tot den Pol	1741-1784	-	-	-	-	politician
Nicolas van Staphorst**	1742-1801	1794	52	Germany	-	politician
Wybo Fijnje**	1750-1809	1787	37	France	RES	preacher
Gerrit Paape**	1752-1803	1787	35	France	RES	journalist
Francis Adrian Vanderkamp**	1752-1829	1787	35	US	RES	preacher
Court Lambertus van Beyma**	1753-1820	1787	34	France	RES	politician
Quint Ondaatje**	1758-1818	1787	29	France	RES	publisher
Johan Valckenaer**	1759-1821	1787	28	France	RES	diplomat
H. W. Daendels**	1762-1818	1793	31	France	-	politician
Izaak J. A. Gogel	1765-1821	-	-	-	-	politician
Johan R. Thorbecke	1798-1872	-	-	-	-	politician
Nikolaas G. Pierson	1839-1909	-	-	-	-	politician
Dammes P. D. Fabius	1851-1931	-	-	-	-	jurist
Coenraad A. Verrijn Stuart	1865-1948	-	-	-	-	economist
P. J. Oud	1886-1968	-	-	-	-	politician
A. C. Josephus Jitta	1887-1958	-	-	-	-	jurist
Jakob L. Mey	1900-1966	-	-	-	-	economist

Johan G. Koopmans	1900-1958	-	-	-	-	economist
Marius W. Holtrop	1902-1988	-	-	-	-	economist
Benjamin M. Telders	1903-1945	-	-	-	-	jurist
Pieter Hennipman	1911-1994	-	-	-	-	economist

<u>Norway</u>						
Ludvig Holberg	1684-1754				-	poet
Christian Colbjørnsen*	1749-1814	1772	23	Denmark	-	jurist
Jacob Aall	1773-1844	-	-	-	-	politician
Henrik Wergeland	1808-1845	-	-	-	-	writer/poet
Anton Martin Schweigaard	1808-1870	-	-	-	-	politician
Fredrik Stang	1808-1884	-	-	-	-	politician
Søren Jaabaek	1814-1894	-	-	-	-	politician
Johan Sverdrup	1816-1892	-	-	-	-	politician
Torkel H. Aschehoug	1822-1909	-	-	-	-	economist
Henrik Ibsen*	1828-1906	1864 1868 1891	36 40 63	Italy Germany Norway	- - -	writer/poet
Gunnar Knudsen*	1848-1928	1867 1870 1871	19 22 23	Sweden UK Norway	- - -	politician
Einar Sundt*	1854-1917	1876 1878 1882 1889	22 24 28 35	UK Norway UK Norway	- - - -	journalist
Oskar Jaeger	1863-1933	-	-	-	-	economist
Wilhelm Keilhau**	1888-1954	1940** 1945	52 57	UK Norway	OCC -	economist
Trygve J.B. Hoff**	1895-1982	1919 1922 1923 1940** 1945	24 27 28 45 50	US France Norway US Norway	- - - OCC -	journalist
John Lyng**	1905-1978	1944** 1945	39 40	UK Norway	OCC -	politician

<u>Poland</u>						
Antoni Slonimski**	1895-1976	1939** 1940**	44 45	France UK	OCC OCC	poet
Czesław Miłosz**	1911-2004	1951	40	France	-	poet
Andrzej Bobkowski*	1913-1961	1938	25	France	-	writer

<u>Portugal</u>						
Almeida Garrett**	1799-1854	1823	24	UK	-	poet
Alexandre Herculano**	1810-1877	1831** 1832	21 22	France Portugal	RES -	poet

<u>Russia</u>						
Nicolaj S. Mordvinov	1754-1845	-	-	-	-	economist
Heinrich von Storch	1766-1835	-	-	-	-	economist
Michael M. Speranskij	1772-1839	-	-	-	-	politician
Nicolaj I.	1789-1871	1824	35	France	-	political

Turgenev**						writer
Pavel I. Pestel	1793-1826	-	-	-	-	officer
Adomas Mickevičius**	1798-1855	1829	31	France	-	poet
Ivan Y. Gorlov	1814-1890	-	-	-	-	economist
Ivan V. Vernadskij	1821-1884	-	-	-	-	economist
Ivan K. Babst	1824-1881	-	-	-	-	economist
Boris Chicherin	1828-1904	-	-	-	-	jurist
Pavel N. Miljukov**	1859-1943	1918** 1920 1922	59 61 63	UK France Czechoslovakia	TOT	politician
Georgy Y. Lvov**	1861-1925	1919	58	France	TOT	politician
Alexander A. Kizevetter	1866-1933	-	-	-	-	politician
Mykola Wassylenko	1866-1935	-	-	-	-	politician
Petr B. Struve**	1870-1944	1902 1905 1920** 1928 1943**	32 35 50 58 73	Germany Russia France Yugoslavia France	- TOT - -	economist
Boris D. Brutzkus**	1874-1938	1922** 1933** 1935	48 59 61	Germany UK Israel	TOT TOT	economist
Nicolaj W. Nekrassov	1879-1940	-	-	-	-	politician
Ivan A. Iljin**	1883-1954	1922** 1938**	39 55	Germany Switzerland	TOT -	philosopher
Ayn Rand**	1905-1982	1925	20	US	-	writer

<u>Spain</u>						
Francisco Martinez Marina	1754-1833	-	-	-	-	jurist
Juan Antonio Llorente**	1756-1823**	1813** 1820	57 64	France Spain	- -	politician
Alvaro Flórez de Estrada**	1769-1853	1814** 1820 1823** 1830 1834	45 51 54 61 65	UK Spain UK France Spain	RES - - - -	economist
José Canga-Argüelles**	1770-1842	1824	54	UK	RES	economist
José Maria Blanco-White**	1775-1841	1810	35	UK	OCC	writer
Bartholomé José Gallardo**	1776-1852	1814** 1820	38 44	UK Spain	RES -	writer
José Joaquín de Mora**	1783-1864	1824** 1826 1828 1831** 1834 1837 1843	41 43 45 48 51 54 60	UK Argentina Chile Peru Bolivia UK Spain	RES - - - - - -	writer
José María Queipo de Llano**	1786-1843	1814** 1816 1820 1822 1833 1836**	28 30 34 36 47 50	UK France Spain France Spain UK	RES - - - - -	politician

		1837	51	Spain	-	
		1839	53	France	-	
Antonio Alcalá Galiano**	1789-1865	1823**	34	UK	RES	politician
		1834	45	Spain	-	
Pablo Pebrer**	1800-1846	1824	24	UK	RES	economist
José Castillejo Duarte**	1877-1945	1937**	60	Switzerland	TOT	pedagogue
		1939	62	UK	-	
Alberto Jiménez Fraud**	1883-1964	1936**	53	UK	TOT	pedagogue
		1963	80	Switzerland	-	
José Ortega y Gasset**	1883-1955	1938	55	Argentina	TOT	philosopher
Americo Castro**	1885-1972	1936**	51	US	TOT	diplomat
		1970	85	Spain	-	
Salvador de Madariaga**	1886-1978	1936**	50	UK	TOT	diplomat
		1972	86	Switzerland	-	
Gregorio Maranon**	1887-1960	1936**	49	France	TOT	physician
		1943	56	Spain	-	
Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz**	1893-1984	1936**	43	France	TOT	diplomat
		1940**	47	Argentina	OCC	
		1976	83	Spain	-	
José Gaos**	1900-1969	1939	39	Mexico	TOT	philosopher
Antonio Sacristán Colás**	1902-1986	1939	37	Mexico	TOT	economist
Pere Grases**	1909-2004	1936**	27	France	TOT	philologist
		1937	28	Venezuela	-	

<u>Sweden</u>						
Anders Chydenius	1729-1803	-	-	-	-	preacher
Peter Forsskål	1732-1763	-	-	-	-	orientalist
Johan Henric Kellgren	1751-1795	-	-	-	-	poet
Erik Gustav Geijer	1783-1847	-	-	-	-	historian
Carl Jonas Love Almqvist*	1793-1866	1851	58	US	-	writer
Fredrika Bremer	1801-1865	-	-	-	-	writer
Lars Johan Hierta	1801-1872	-	-	-	-	journalist
Johan August Gripenstedt	1818-1874	-	-	-	-	politician
Knut Wicksell	1851-1926	-	-	-	-	economist
David Davidson	1854-1942	-	-	-	-	economist
Gustav Cassel	1866-1945	-	-	-	-	economist
Torgny Segerstedt	1876-1945	-	-	-	-	journalist
Eli Heckscher	1879-1952	-	-	-	-	economist
Herbert Tingsten	1896-1973	-	-	-	-	political scientist
Vilhelm Moberg*	1898-1973	1948	50	US	-	writer
Bertil Ohlin*	1899-1979	1925	26	Denmark	-	economist
Torgny T. Segerstedt	1908-1999	-	-	-	-	political scientist
Gunnar Heckscher	1909-1987	-	-	-	-	politician
Ingrid Segerstedt	1911-2010	-	-	-	-	politician

<u>Switzerland</u>						
Jean Barbeyrac*	1674-1744	1717	43	Netherlands	-	jurist
Micheli du Crest**	1690-1766	1734** (Geneva)	44	France	PRO	politician
		1744	54	Switzerland	-	
Jean-Jacques	1694-1748	-	-	-	-	jurist

Burlamaqui						
Emer de Vattel*	1714-1767	1760	46	Saxony	-	jurist
Isaak Iselin	1728-1782	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Etienne Claviere**	1735-1793	1782	47	UK	-	politician
Jean Lui De Lolme**	1741-1804	1770 (Geneva)** 1775	29 34	UK Geneva	- -	jurist
Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi	1746-1827	-	-	-	-	teacher
Etienne Pierre Dumont**	1759-1829	1783 (Geneva)** 1786 1815	24 27 56	Russia UK Geneva	- - -	politician
Albert Gallatin*	1761-1849	1780	19	US	-	politician
Benjamin Constant**	1767-1830	1788 1795 1815** 1817	21 28 48 50	Braunschweig France Switzerland France	- - RES -	philosopher
Ignaz Paul Troxler	1780-1866	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Johann Caspar Bluntschli*	1808-1881	1848 1861	40 53	Bavaria Baden	- -	jurist
Jacob Burckhardt	1818-1897	-	-	-	-	historian
Gottfried Keller	1819-1890	-	-	-	-	poet
Carl Hilty	1833-1909	-	-	-	-	jurist
Eugen Huber*	1849-1923	1888	39	Germany	-	jurist
Fritz Fleiner	1867-1937	-	-	-	-	jurist
William E. Rappard	1883-1958	-	-	-	-	economist
Zaccaria Giacometti	1893-1970	-	-	-	-	jurist
Adolf Gasser	1903-1985	-	-	-	-	jurist
Hans Barth	1904-1965	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Denis de Rougemont	1906-1985	-	-	-	-	philosopher
Karl Schmid	1907-1974	-	-	-	-	philologist
Michael A. Heilperin	1909-	-	-	-	-	economist
Karl Brunner*	1916-1989	1943	27	US	-	economist
Herbert Lüthy	1918-2002	-	-	-	-	historian

<u>Yugoslavia</u> Slobodan Jovanovic**	1869-1958	1941	72	UK	OCC	jurist
Velimir Bajkic**	1875-1952	1945	70	Argentina	OCC	economist
Bogdan Radica**	1904-1993	1945	41	Italy	OCC	historian
Viktor Vida**	1913-1960	1943	30	Italy	OCC	writer
Ciril Zebot**	1914-1989	1943	29	Italy	OCC	political scientist
Ljubo Sirc**	1920-	1941** 1944 1955**	21 24 35	Switzerland Yugoslavia UK	OCC - TOT	economist
Desimir Tosic*	1920-2008	1943 (deported) 1945 1958 1990	23 25 38 70	Germany France UK Yugoslavia	- - - -	politician
Dusan Plenicar**	1921-1992	1948	27	UK	TOT	political writer
Adil Zulfikarpasic**	1921-2008	1946** 1955	25 34	Austria Switzerland	TOT -	politician
Svetozar Pejovich**	1931-	1957	26	US	-	economist

## Explanatory notes:

- <sup>a</sup> - The authors are assigned to the country in which they lived with their parents when finishing school.
- <sup>b</sup> - The table does not include the following cases:
1. the author was deported against his will,
  2. the author emigrated with his parents when he or she was still a child,
  3. the author stayed less than a year in the country,
  4. the author went abroad temporarily as a student or visitor,
  5. the author left for a colony of his or her country.
  6. The author migrated between jurisdictions within Germany or within Switzerland for reasons other than political repression (even though these migrations are taken into account in the quantitative analysis until 1867 or 1870 in Germany and until 1797 and in 1804-1848 in Switzerland).
- <sup>c</sup> - We distinguish between the following types of event;  
OCC: occupation by a foreign repressive power,  
PRO: suppression of liberal protests,  
RES: restoration of an authoritarian monarchy,  
TOT: takeover by a totalitarian regime.
- <sup>d</sup> - For emigrants, this is the occupation at the time of emigration. For non-emigrants, it is the main occupation.