

Review

 Vilfredo Pareto's Life:
 Economics and Sociology:
 A Review Essay

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INTRODUCTION

If the name Vilfredo Pareto is remembered at all today, it is probably because of his theory of economic equilibrium. However, there are some scholars today who have sought to show that Pareto offered more to economics than his theory of equilibrium while there are others who have argued that Pareto should be listed as one of the founding fathers of sociology. Then, there are still others who maintain that Pareto was not just an economist and a sociologist, but that he was a significant political liberal. Although most people may not have heard much about Pareto, there are those who would find this last claim to be highly implausible. After all, Mussolini supposedly embraced many of Pareto's ideas in his ideology of fascism. The purpose of this review essay is to examine some of the evidence that shows Pareto was convinced of the importance of economic liberalism yet recognized the value of political power. Both economics and politics contribute to his sociology. The evidence for his economic liberalism, his political ideals, and his sociological reflections are discussed in varying degrees in the recently completed three-volume work on Pareto's life by Fiorenzo Mornati: *Vilfredo Pareto: An Intellectual Biography*.

Mornati's three volumes correspond with the three periods of Pareto's life: Volume I for the period 1848-1891; that is, from his birth through his early years and then to the period when he was an engineer. Volume II is for the short period 1891-1898 when Pareto was teaching at Lausanne. And, Volume III for his years in "retirement": 1898 until his death in 1923. The subtitles of Volumes I and III indicate a journey from science to liberty and from liberty back to science. The question then is: how much did Vilfredo Pareto believe in the concepts of liberty and freedom and how much did he embrace the ideas of order and power?

PARETO I

Vilfredo Pareto was born in Paris on July 15, 1848 to a French mother and an Italian father. Raffe Pareto had fled Italy after an uprising; while he appeared not to have been personally involved, his family was suspected of sympathizing with the rebels. During his twenty-year exile, he met his future wife and had two daughters prior to Vilfredo. Raffe Pareto moved his family back to Italy in 1854 where he was either employed as an engineer or he was teaching. Mornati maintains that Raffe played a fundamental role in Vilfredo's education and certainly instilled in his son "the passion for mathematical and engineering studies"

(Mornati 2018a, p. 24). Vilfredo Pareto was educated in Turin and concentrated on mathematics and engineering. It was during his university studies (1864-1865 and 1868-1869) that he adopted an anti-metaphysical conception of mathematics and an appreciation for the empirical applications of theories.

Upon graduating from the Polytechnic Institute in Turin in 1869, Vilfredo Pareto began to look for work and by the following summer he was employed in the Roman Railways Company. Although he had no particular fondness for locomotion, he applied himself to improving fuel consumption and bettering repair work. Unfortunately, he believed that less qualified workers were being promoted over him so he resigned in 1872 (Mornati 2018a, pp. 52-53). This gesture foreshadows his tendency to engage in quarrels and to complain that incompetent people were often involved in making crucial decisions. This is what happened at Pareto's next job with the Iron Industry Company (Mornati 2018a, pp. 53, 56, 59). Mornati argued that Pareto dedicated himself to improving the workers' conditions but that he did not tolerate any threats to discipline. He also worked with the government and insurance companies in order to improve worker safety. Mornati offers a mixed evaluation of Pareto's twenty years in industrial management; but Pareto himself felt that his failings were often the result of other, less competent managers (Mornati 2018a, pp. 68, 75). Mornati argued that Pareto was often successful in getting tariffs reduced and he worked hard to make Italy competitive. He maintained that Italy's protectionist turn of 1887 "constitutes the most evident link between his managerial experience and his subsequent intellectual development." He does not elaborate on that claim other than to suggest that Pareto's anti-protectionist beliefs were becoming a threat to his employment and that he would not have had a problem in being dismissed because he had no family to support (Mornati 2018a, pp. 97, 103).

The same sort of tension between Pareto's concern for the welfare of the workers and his demand for worker discipline is manifested between his promotion of liberty and his advocacy for proportional representation. He claimed to follow the liberal ideas of John Stuart Mill but he warned against giving everyone the right to vote. The masses would be numerically superior; however, the quantity of their votes could not guarantee the quality of those votes. Hence, he believed the well-educated (but not necessarily the well-off) should have a greater say in political decisions (Mornati 2018a, pp. 127, 131-132). If Pareto was not a firm proponent of general voting rights, he was certainly in favor of giving the women the right to vote. Mornati noted that Pareto rejected Alexandre Dumas' claim in his novel *L'homme femme* that women were inferior and should serve men in favor of Mill's defense of women in his *Subjection of Women* (Mornati 2018a, p. 136). In terms of economics, Pareto was firmly on the side of economic liberalism. He objected to socialism because people were given money rather than earning it. Mornati pointed out that Pareto believed that the good society could be developed by liberal thinking and by coercion (Mornati 2018a, p. 139).

In this chapter, Mornati focuses more on Pareto's economic liberalism than on his political liberalism. Pareto considered there to be two kinds: one intended to take people back to a state of nature by destroying all institutions, like Bakunin; and one designed to use liberty to defend democracy, like de Tocqueville (Ibid.). Mornati argues that Pareto was focused on the second one and suggests that Pareto's beliefs were drawn from his long-term and intensive study of John Stuart Mill's work in general and his *Logic* in particular. Mornati maintained that, like Mill, Pareto acknowledged that social life in general was complex; nevertheless, he agreed with Mill that study reveals certain patterns which, while not universal like the laws of nature, are sufficiently observable to offer predictive value. As a result, Pareto was convinced that he could provide the principles of a science of economics (Mornati 2018, pp. 141, 148).

Chapter 5 was devoted to Pareto's economic liberalism and Chapter 6 is a discussion of Pareto's early political liberalism. Mornati stressed that Pareto's own political defeat helped color his dislike of politicians. Pareto was a candidate in the general elections of 1882. Pareto did not actively pursue the position—he gave only two speeches but was viciously attacked in an anonymous pamphlet. The author accused Pareto of incompetence in managing iron ore and even maintained that he was ultimately responsible for a colleague's suicide. Besides maintaining that Pareto was an unprincipled opportunist, he was also accused of tearing a husband away from his wife and leaving a widow and her two innocent orphans. Mornati explains that Pareto's electoral defeat was not so much caused by his own unsuccessful candidacy as it was by

the “merciless propaganda” from others (Mornati 2018a, pp. 166-168). While he lost that vote, he was appointed to the committee on public works. But even here he ran into opposition because of his promotion of industrialism and free trade and because of his denunciation of imperialism and militarism (Mornati 2018a, pp. 174-175). He did not fit with the ruling intelligentsia but he was also not socialist enough for the Italian radicals.

The final chapter in the first volume is devoted to Pareto’s “amateur” writings and are not likely to be of much interest except to scholars of late nineteenth century political and economic issues. However, they do confirm some of Pareto’s views on general issues. He was against the nationalization of the Italian railways in 1875 for many reasons, but especially because he was convinced that the Italian government was a “very bad industrialist”. Companies must focus on profit but the state’s concern is justice (Mornati 2018a, pp. 188-189, 191). Pareto also fought for workers’ rights and argued that reducing hours would make for better working conditions. But he also insisted that the smaller number of hours worked needed to be compensated by a minimum wage (Mornati 2018a, pp. 197-197). He also maintained that taxation needed to be progressive and that it was unfair that the poorer workers were being taxed for such basic necessities as food (Mornati 2018a, pp. 200-201). Pareto also argued for birth control on the grounds that the poor are often forced to live in abject living conditions and that it was wrong to expand the number of the poor (Mornati 2018a, pp. 201-202). As much as Pareto fought for the working class, he was against socialism. In his view, it was another form of protectionism and he was against it, whether the source was the conservatives or the socialists (Mornati 2018a, pp. 210-213). For Pareto, each individual ought to determine his or her own interests (Mornati 2018a, p. 220). The man of science was not destined to be a man of politics.

PARETO II

Volume II has the subtitle *The Illusions and Disillusions of Liberty* which both covers and does not cover what is contained in the volume. Political liberty does not figure greatly in this book but economic liberty does. But the book is more about economics than it is about economic liberty. In fact, only economists trained in mathematics will be able to appreciate much of the book because it is heavily laden with economic formula. The volume contains a number of paradoxes: it covers the shortest period of Pareto’s life (1891-1898) but is the lengthiest of the three volumes. And, while the subtitle speaks of liberty most of the chapter titles suggest economics. Chapter 3 is “Pure Economics”, Chapter 4 is “General Economic Equilibrium”, Chapter 5 is “The Economics of Welfare”, and Chapter 8 is “Other Topics of Applied Economics.” But it would be a mistake to dismiss this volume because of its economic dominance because it does contain crucial information about a transformative part of Pareto’s life.

The volume begins with Pareto’s life after his enforced departure from the ironworks management and his search for new employment and even a new life. The volume covers his time teaching at Lausanne and his various attempts to steer economically driven conversations. It also covers Pareto’s increasing health issues and this time frame ends when he received an inheritance from an uncle which allowed him to retire in order to concentrate on his writing.

In 1891 it had been three years since Pareto had left management and had turned his attention to the study of economics. That study led to a contact with Maffeo Pantaleoni and by extension to the great Léon Walras who was considering resigning his professorship at the university in Lausanne. The question was whether Pareto could be appointed in his place: Walras was for it but Pareto was uncertain. There was the question about him being a foreigner and an even larger one about his lack of professional training. On the other side, it would be a great beginning for Pareto for two reasons: first, he would be succeeding one of the world’s leading economic theorists and two, he would be leaving Italy, where the battle for free trade seemed hopelessly lost, for Switzerland where the fight was still going on (Mornati 2018b, pp. 1-3). Mornati noted that Pareto had never been trained to be a teacher but his considerable experience in public speaking made the transition to professor much easier (Mornati 2018b, p. 17). However, Pareto found that most of the students disliked mathematics: “when they see an equation, they get scared” is what Mornati quotes

from a report that Pareto had given in 1896 (Mornati 2018b, p. 19). In contrast to Walras, Pareto was regarded as an interesting professor and the student numbers increased. Part of the reason was Pareto's endorsement of the idea of free trade—he had gone to Lausanne in order to preach the gospel of “economic liberty”. Pareto was not an “ivory tower” scholar; he was also involved as a critical observer of the railroads in Italy and in Switzerland. He divided politicians into two groups: those whose intentions were good but lacked the knowledge or the power to implement the right decisions and those whose intentions were bad and made decisions that would mostly help themselves. Both were detrimental to the country's well-being, but the latter were far worse because they lied in order to achieve their own goals (Mornati 2018b, p. 47). Pareto also commented on banks and he was critical of central banks because they would choose to print more money rather than to make the appropriate budgetary decisions. And, he condemned military action; not so much out of pacifistic convictions as on economic grounds. Society could be improved only by the reduction in military spending. Mornati emphasized that Pareto believed himself to be a “true democrat” because he wanted to produce the greatest good for the greatest number. But Mornati glosses over Pareto's utilitarianism and emphasizes his concern with the quality of life: he quotes Pareto's “Mantra” that “economic liberty alone can heal the wounds which afflict society” (Mornati 2018b, pp. 56, 58-59).

After many chapters devoted to economic issues, in Chapter 6 Mornati returns to matters that are more politically relevant. Foremost is Pareto's concern with free trade. Pareto was convinced that many of the proponents of protectionism did not do so out of conviction but because protective tariffs helped them economically. In 1894, Pareto understood that the Italian government insisted on protective measures even though they harmed the nation because the ministers and their friends benefitted from them (Mornati 2018b, p. 158). Mornati returns to his economic analysis of Pareto's views and provides another dozen pages of equations. The chapter ends on a political note: tariffs should be lifted so the farmers can sell more to foreign buyers and they can be helped by reducing taxes, because much of that revenue was going for unnecessary and unwise military expenditures (Mornati 2018b, p. 174).

Chapter 7 is on money and again while some of it is set out in equations, Mornati tackles the thorny issue of the nature of money. For Pareto, money is a commodity like all others and given his earlier comments about central banks and his beliefs in free trade it is no surprise that he is convinced that the best monetary policy is the one with the least governmental interference. And, he rejected paper money in favor of currency based upon the use and standard of gold. Rather than being a proponent of bimetallism, he disputed the value of silver and was a gold mono-metallist (Mornati 2018b, pp. 184-185).

Mornati pointed out that it was in line with Pareto's teaching duties that he took up demographics. His main conclusion was that the population changed in part because of economic factors and that reducing infant mortalities would increase Italians' overall life spans. Mornati does not flinch from calling this what it is: Pareto views his compatriots as “human capital.” Pareto's conclusion is that the lack of early childhood medical treatment cost the Italian government and that by rectifying it would end up saving the country millions of Lira. Pareto also pointed out that emigration cost countries massive amounts of losses and he pointed to not just the emigration from Italy but also from Germany. He calculated that the 1880s German migration cost the equivalent of 4.4 billion Swiss Francs while the Italian emigration cost the country close to 3.3 billion Francs (Mornati 2018b, pp. 201-204).

Pareto is well-known for his liberalism and he was also highly critical of taxation. He argued that taxes have three fundamental flaws: 1) they are too high, 2) they hinder wealth, and 3) they disproportionately affect poor people—with the rich being able to avoid paying their fair share (Mornati 2018b, p. 205). In his observations about the cost to states and the problems of taxation, Pareto was being a realist. In the same way, he realistically considered economic crises. While he was fully aware of the huge negative impact they had on people, he not only accepted that they were a fundamental economic trait, but even if they could be stopped, doing so would probably cause significantly more harm (Mornati 2018b, pp. 210-212).

It was Pareto's free trade convictions that prompted the French publisher Guillaumin to ask him to write the preface to their edition of volume one of *Das Kapital*. For Pareto, Marx was not just simply wrong, his errors were being accepted by almost all socialists. Marx's critical error was his claim that value

was determined by labor. Thus, Marx did not understand value and did not understand the strengths or the failings of capitalism (Mornati 2018b, pp. 221-223). But Mornati reminds us that while Pareto found fault in socialism, he was on their side when it came to improving workers' lives. What he really objected to was that their ideology clouded their understanding of economics. State control reduces economic activity but free competition stimulates it (Mornati 2018b, pp. 228-230). Mornati spends the next chapter on the economics of income distribution—which will appeal to the mathematically oriented reader, but not to most. But the final three chapters will appeal to many readers because they are concerned with political and sociological issues—issues which are relevant even today. The problem is their length: Chapter 11 on new sociology is only ten pages and Chapter 12 is also only ten of which five pages are Notes and Bibliography. One wishes Mornati would have written more on Pareto's views concerning private property, social interaction, and politics. This is especially the case because Pareto was convinced that people were social beings by nature and that the chief function of any state was the security of its citizens. In fact, Pareto believed that people were willing to tolerate even the worst state in exchange for promising to guarantee their personal safety. Pareto despised politicians because they robbed their constituents and he thought that they operated from only two points of view: those who sought money and those who sought power. According to Mornati, politicians belonged to the only "sect" that he hated, because nothing good ever came from them (Mornati 2018b, pp. 273-277).

The final chapter of Volume II is devoted to the early reviews of Pareto's work. The international scholarly community reacted to Pareto's first major work with mixed opinions. Some objected to Pareto's use of mathematics in his *Course in Political Economy* while others praised him for his non-dogmatic tone. The French in particular objected to his equations but the English praised him for doing just that. Others took issue with his free trade ideals while still others noted Pareto's concern with the workers' welfare to be close to socialist thinking (Mornati 2018b, pp. 285-298). In other words, Pareto's reviewers saw in his book exactly what they wanted to see. What they evidently could not see was how Pareto was going to develop a new sociology.

PARETO III

If, in Volume I, Pareto was predominantly regarded as an economist and an engineer, and if, in Volume II, he was mostly regarded as an economist and a commentator, in Volume III, he is described primarily as an economist and less so as a sociologist.

The first chapter on economics is indicative of Mornati's emphasis on Pareto's later economic theories. Once again, those who understand formulae will appreciate the amount of work expended on clarifying those ideas. Those who cannot fathom those will want to skip Chapters 1 and even 2. The exception comes late in Chapter 2 where Pareto's views on strikes are briefly discussed. Pareto had initially sided with the workers and promoted their right to strike. He reasoned that if workers were not paid sufficient wages, then they had the right to fight for them, even if it meant striking. However, between 1899 and 1902, Pareto changed his opinion. Largely because of the violence caused by strikers, Pareto came to believe that workers needed to find a more civilized and a less violent means to advance their demands for better wages (Mornati 2020, pp. 68-69).

Chapter 3 is entitled "The Definitive Abandonment of Liberal Political Activism" and Mornati reminds his readers that in Volume II he had traced Pareto's increasing disillusionment with liberal policies. Here, he concentrates on Pareto's increasing commitment to pure science and that implies freedom from political considerations. Mornati suggests that this was a positive change because it freed Pareto from his political illusions and allowed him to regard human beings as objects worthy of scientific investigation (Mornati 2020, pp. 77-79). This did not mean that Pareto had completely abandoned his liberalism—in 1901 he still insisted that liberals had the duty to counter intolerance in every instance. However, he also complained that liberals had a view of the society that they wanted but had no realistic plan for achieving that. In addition, too many liberals were so enamored of their societal ideal that they could not comprehend that poli-

tics was the art of compromise. In addition, liberals believed too much in reason and thought that if they gave the masses good arguments that they would follow the liberal leaders. What the liberals failed to realize was that most people were not motivated by facts and reason but by rhetoric and emotions (Mornati 2020, pp. 80-81).

Chapter 4 continues with an investigation into Pareto's conception of socialism. Although he considered many socialist writers, his main focus was on Marx. He divides Marx's followers into two camps: the scientific Marxists who are after truth and the orthodox Marxists who care only about ideology. Pareto acknowledges the pull of Marxist theory but he complains that his theory never matches the facts. Marx's theory of value and his vision of capitalism have both been disproven by experience. Yet, Pareto complimented Marx on his theory of class struggle for its realism but suggested that even if class distinctions were totally eliminated there would still be struggles between groups, such as between intellectuals and non-intellectuals, between politicians and non-politicians, and between innovators and non-innovators (Mornati 2020, pp. 87-90). This view of struggle is carried over into Pareto's views about nations. During the first decade of the twentieth century Pareto warned about the competition between European countries and he wrote about the war that he was predicting would break out. Besides his own antimilitarism he was convinced that Italy was woefully unprepared for war and would be immediately and painfully defeated (Mornati 2020, pp. 98-100).

Chapter 5 is a real indication of Mornati's concern with economics over sociology. It begins with his observation that Pareto was originally convinced that "economics is simply a branch of sociology" and with his insistence that economics cannot be considered apart from social interactions. While these two observations may seem to promote sociology over economics, they really reveal Pareto's (and Mornati's) conviction that they are necessarily connected. But more indicative of Mornati's preference for economics is the fact that Chapter 5 is fourteen pages of text devoted to Pareto's "New Sociology", meaning the *Treatise on General Sociology*. But the English translation of this work is massive: *Mind and Society* has four large volumes containing over 2,000 pages (Pareto 1935). Fortunately, Mornati's brief discussion contains a number of valuable insights.

First, Mornati reminds us that Pareto believed that his book was an essential compliment to political economy; that is, it was not intended to replace it. Second, Mornati reminds us that as much as the name Pareto is connected to laws, he believed that people were not often motivated to act except by non-logical factors. Third, and related to the second point was that it is feelings which prompt us to do or not do most things. Thus, ascribing reasons is usually only a guise to cover one's own motivation. Fourth, while these feelings cannot be judged according to rationality, their variations can be studied and the results can have some predictive value (Mornati 2020, pp. 111-115). These four points led Pareto to believe that he could construct an explanatory account of social system (Mornati 2020, p. 117).

Chapters 6 and 7 are brief accounts of Pareto's life during and after the war. The war confirmed Pareto's convictions, that the conflict was inevitable and that Italy was unprepared (Mornati 2020, pp. 138-142). The following chapter reveals how important Pareto considered force to be. In his conception there was a continuing struggle between those people who were trying to consolidate power and those who were attempting to disperse it (Mornati 2020, p. 149). Pareto was not just concerned with the theory of power; he was also focused on how power was changing the European balance of power. He was pessimistic for the future because he believed that Germany's defeat and the demand for reparations would lead to another major conflict. He followed the Bolshevik revolution in Russia carefully and did not think its success would lead to a better life for its citizens. He similarly viewed the Italian uprising as doomed and he watched the growing Fascist movement with a combination of fascination and foreboding (Mornati 2020, pp. 153-158).

The final chapter is an overview of some of the reviews of Pareto's final three works. Benedetto Croce praised Pareto for having moved economics from an historically oriented inquiry to a scientific one. But he also complained that Pareto's *Manual of Political Economy* was metaphysical in his claim that human action could be studied in the same manner as natural objects (Mornati 2020, pp. 184-186). His *Socialist Systems* also drew praise, largely because it was regarded as a treatise on power (Mornati 2020, p. 187).

And, his *Treatise on General Sociology* was also considered to be successful because it mostly avoided metaphysics. Yet, there were some critics who complained that Pareto had ignored some of his predecessors. The socialist Franz Weiss argued that Pareto was remiss in not crediting Vico and Hegel with their previous attempts at founding a general sociology (Mornati 2020, pp. 191-192). The lack of predecessors leads to a couple of questions: why are the leading sociologists not discussed—certainly Simmel and Tönnies were well established economicists; how is it that Germans who wrote on economic theory, like Karl Knies, Wilhelm Roscher, and Georg Friedrich Knapp are ignored? The same goes for Austrians, such as Carl Menger, Friedrich von Wieser, and Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk. Menger is mentioned in a quotation along with a handful of others, but otherwise is ignored. Given that Menger had been involved with the “Methodenstreit” of the 1880s, one might think that Pareto would have an opinion about which side he favored—the German Historical group or the Austrian School. Mornati does not claim to offer the definitive biography, but there are some omissions that are troubling.¹ In fact, there really is no conclusion to this three-volume work. There is an epilogue but it is more of a resumé than it is a conclusion. It is as if Vilfredo Pareto never really died, but maybe that is Mornati’s point—that for him, and for us, we need to attempt to understand him and his works, because he is here, still challenging us.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Mornati’s three volumes total just under eight hundred pages so it would seem as if this were a lengthy biography. However, many pages are devoted to notes and each chapter has its own bibliography. In addition, each chapter is divided into separate parts with each with its large subheading. As a consequence, the actual text is sometimes not much larger than the notes and references. For example, Chapter 2 of the first volume has a total of fifteen pages (15-30), but the Notes begin on page 28 and ends on page 30. Add in the five subheadings and there are probably only eight pages of actual text. This is one of two flaws that can be identified in the work; the others are so minor as not to warrant mentioning. The other problem is more subjective: the person wishing to learn about Pareto the economist will find these volumes rewarding; the person wanting to be acquainted with Pareto the sociologist and Pareto the political thinker will likely be somewhat disappointed. For example, Mornati devotes thirty-eight pages in Chapter I to “A New Pure Theory of Economics” while Chapter 3 on Pareto’s abandonment of liberalism and Chapter 6 on the four years of war only warrant five pages of text each. In light of this, one can say that the emphasis in the three books is on science and not so much on liberalism—even the economic type. There is no question that all three of the volumes are of great quality and each of them reflect a genuine concern for increasing the amount of attention to give to a well-deserving scholar and thinker.

It is somewhat difficult to believe that an American physiologist could share the same opinion as a British novelist. However, Lawrence Henderson and Aldous Huxley were convinced of the importance of Pareto and his work: Huxley confessed that he had been a “confirmed admirer of Pareto” for more than a decade and Henderson insisted that “Pareto’s *Treatise* is a work of genius” (Huxley 1935, p. 2; Henderson 1935, p. 59). Mornati’s three volume intellectual biography reveals that Pareto was indeed someone who deserves to be admired and works should be studied. But his biography will appeal primarily to two different groups. The first will be those who are fascinated by Italy’s growth in the nineteenth century and how Pareto sought to improve Italy’s economic situation. The second will be those who believe that economics and social-political issues cannot be separated and they will continue to be fascinated by Pareto’s account of the human condition. He was a nineteenth century economic realist with a few political ideals, yet he was also a cosmopolitan thinker who has much to say to us in the twenty-first century. The opening sentence in George C. Homans and Charles P. Curtis’ classic *An Introduction to Pareto* reads: “There is not one of us today who looks on our human society without bewilderment” (Homans and Curtis 1934, p. 3). That was true in 1934 and it is still accurate almost ninety years later. Perhaps, that simply captures the human condition that Pareto took such pains to investigate. It is to Mornati’s credit that he has written a stimulat-

ing account of this fascinating scholar and to his translator John Paul Wilson for making Mornati's portrait of Pareto into something that non-Italians can readily understand and fully appreciate.

NOTES

- 1 Pareto's love of freedom was connected to his hatred of bullies (Powers 1987, p. 19). And his love of theory was matched by his passion for facts (Henderson 1935, p. 43). Finally, his preoccupation with power was connected to his understanding of knowledge (Samuels 1974, pp. 133-134). These are some of the human traits and ideas which are missing in Mornati's intellectual biography.

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