CONTENTS

Acknowledgments · ix

Introduction 1

CHAPTER 1 What Is Libertarianism? 9

CHAPTER 2 Three Eras of Libertarian Thought 34

CHAPTER 3 Land, Labor, and Ownership: The Right of Private Property 68

CHAPTER 4 Demystifying the State: Libertarian Anarchism 109

CHAPTER 5 Big Business and Free Markets 148

CHAPTER 6 Poverty and Spontaneous Order 182

CHAPTER 7 Racial Justice and Individualism 219

CHAPTER 8 Global Justice and Nonintervention 255

Conclusion 292

Notes · 299

Bibliography · 371

Index · 401
Introduction

This book is a history of libertarian thought. But what is libertarianism? It depends on whom you ask.

If you were to ask an academic philosopher to list some well-known libertarians, they would probably begin (and possibly end) with Robert Nozick. Nozick published *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* in 1974, and that book has represented libertarianism in undergraduate philosophy courses ever since.

If you were to ask an economist, the answer might be Milton Friedman. Winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1976, Friedman wrote libertarian classics such as *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) and *Free to Choose* (1980).

If you asked a (philosophically precocious) high school student, you might get a different answer: Ayn Rand. Rand’s *The Fountainhead* (1943) and *Atlas Shrugged* (1957) have sold tens of millions of copies and continue to serve as a gateway to libertarianism for many.

A different name you might encounter, especially from political activists outside the academy, is Murray Rothbard. Author of *For a New Liberty* (1973), Rothbard was such a tireless promoter of libertarian ideas that he was known by many as “Mr. Libertarian.”

Now imagine that we brought together our philosopher, economist, high school student, and general reader to ask them a related question: *What do libertarians believe?*

Our group would probably start with basics, like: “Libertarians don’t like government.” And: “They’re obsessed with private
property.” And: “Libertarians love capitalism and hate socialism.”
If we invited group members to elaborate, and share more detailed
impressions, they might add: “They seem to care more about logic
than about people.” And: “They think every social problem can be
solved by markets.”

Warming to the topic, group members might volunteer: “They
support corporations against workers.” And: “Libertarians are
against social justice.” And: “They are racially insensitive and may
even be racists.” Getting closer to the nub now, group members
might continue: “Libertarians claim to combine the best ideas
from the left and the right, but when it comes down to it, they
most always side with the right.” And: “Basically, libertarians are
Social Darwinists.”

This book tells the story behind those responses: it is an intellec-
tual history of libertarianism. Like every intellectual history, ours
is written from a particular moment in time, and is addressed to a
particular set of priors in the minds of readers of our era. This was
the great challenge in writing this book. For we are in a period—or,
perhaps, are only just beginning to emerge from a period—in which
the mental model that readers bring to our topic is to an unusual
degree already fixed.

Today, a small and relatively homogeneous group of figures,
all writing in the same country and against the same historical
background, effectively defines libertarianism for most readers. To
the list of late twentieth-century figures just mentioned—Nozick,
Friedman, Rand, Rothbard—we might add a few others such as
Ludwig von Mises, F. A. Hayek, and Rose Wilder Lane. But this
canon remains compact. The prominence of this particular group
of libertarians, writing in same country during the same era, threat-
ens to set the parameters within which any intellectual history of
libertarianism must be told.

This book argues that libertarianism has a longer, wider, and
more diverse history than is commonly believed. As our opening list
of names suggests, most contemporary readers will think of liber-
tarianism as a quintessentially American doctrine that emerged in
the twentieth century. In fact, libertarianism was born in the nine-
teenth century, not the twentieth, and was first developed in Britain
and France, only later making its way to the United States.
From the start, libertarians were known for advocating ideas such as private property, free markets, and individualism. Of course, many earlier classical liberals such as John Locke, Adam Smith, and David Hume had endorsed similar ideas. But what sets libertarians apart is the absolutism and systematicity with which they affirm the more gentle and compromising ideas of the classical liberals. For libertarians, a market economy is not merely a useful form of social organization: it is a moral imperative based on a unified philosophy of individual freedom. Property rights are not merely among the basic rights and liberties of free citizens: they are moral absolutes, and in fact be the only kind of right that exists. In the same way, an uncompromising emphasis on the individual was often seen as a defining element of libertarianism, so much so that one of the earliest libertarian movements in Britain was known simply as “Individualism,” while the first libertarians in the United States were referred to as “individualist anarchists.”

As a historical matter, libertarianism’s radicalism was born out of a desire to preserve existing freedoms against a perceived existential threat. In nineteenth-century France and Britain, libertarianism developed largely in response to the threat of socialism. Faced with the danger of socialist revolutions in the middle of the century, and more gradualist state socialist movements toward century’s end, libertarians radicalized the classical liberal principles of property and free trade into nearly absolute imperatives. Not one inch of ground could be ceded to those calling for greater state involvement in the economy, lest society find itself slipping down the road to socialism and collective serfdom.

By contrast, the birth of libertarian thinking in nineteenth-century America was relatively free of that socialist shadow. In the New World, socialist movements were mostly utopian and anarchistic, rather than revolutionary and statist. Partially as a result, the first generation of American libertarians could not merely coexist with socialist thinkers—many early American libertarians enthusiastically identified as socialists. For the first American libertarians, the greatest enemy to liberty was not socialism but slavery. Libertarian thinking in America first emerged not so much as a reaction against socialism but from a passionate commitment to abolitionism. Building on their analysis of the injustice of slavery, they focused on the
property claims of individual workers and insisted that each person had a natural right to the full fruits of their labor: thus condemning not merely slavery but taxation, exploitation, and perhaps even capitalism itself. For many in this first generation of American libertarians, the fight against slavery and the fight for the rights of the laboring classes went hand in hand.

On each continent, then, libertarianism’s radicalism emerged and took shape as a reaction against a different set of threats to freedom. In Europe, along with progressive positions such as opposition to colonialism, this defense meant preserving existing liberties against new challenges. In America, it meant tearing down an existing institution to establish freedom anew. But, in both cases, libertarian principles were dispositionally ill-suited to serve as mere defenses of the status quo. Taken to their logical conclusion, libertarian principles entail that most existing political and economic institutions are deeply unjust. Libertarianism thus counsels not gradualist reform but a sweeping revolution. The system of welfare—whether social or corporate—is to be abolished. Unjustly acquired property is to be returned to its rightful owner. Restrictions on freedoms of movement and labor must be swept away. Militarism, in which states tax citizens to prepare to fight other states, is intolerable.

In terms of its theoretical foundations, libertarianism is uncompromising in its radicalism. In practice, however, not all libertarians were comfortable embracing the wholesale upheaval of existing institutions—and privileges. From its beginning, then, libertarianism has attracted a mix of radical and reactionary elements: those who were eager to follow the dictates of libertarian justice wherever they might lead, and those who saw in libertarianism a rationale for defending the status quo against change. The tension between progressive and reactionary elements, a tension within the very soul of libertarianism, is the major theme of this book.

The difficulty in reconciling these conflicting tendencies would become vivid in the twentieth-century United States, when the rise of international and expansionist socialism led many libertarians to align themselves with conservatives against their common threat. This is the version of libertarianism that we expect will be familiar to contemporary readers. The focus on socialism as a threat to
liberty, notably in the writings of European immigrants such as Ludwig von Mises, F. A. Hayek, and Ayn Rand, led to the development of an American libertarianism starkly different in form from the nineteenth-century individualist anarchism of Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner. That earlier form of libertarianism, born out of opposition to slavery, was radical to its core. Twentieth-century American libertarianism, by contrast, resembled far more the mix of radical and reactionary elements that characterized nineteenth-century French and British libertarianism than it did its own direct U.S. antecedent.

By the mid-twentieth century, the struggle against socialism came to dominate the libertarian worldview. As a result, for many libertarians of the Cold War era, economic liberty came close to representing liberty as such. For example, if facing a choice between supporting civil liberties or economic liberties, economic liberties always trumped—or so most libertarians of that era believed. This emphasis affected which threats to liberty the Cold War era libertarians were quick to spot and which they were slow to see (or, perhaps, could not see at all). This shift in emphasis, as we shall see, significantly shaped the way libertarianism is currently perceived.

A few words about our project. This book is a history of libertarian ideas. It offers neither a history of libertarian politics nor a history of the libertarian movement.¹ It is an intellectual history. Further, this book offers an intellectual history of libertarianism and not a philosophical defense. Our task, as we see it, is to report the ideas and arguments of libertarians just as we find them. Except for a few places where we explicitly say otherwise, we make no sustained attempt to strengthen old arguments or develop new ones.

Moreover, because this is a history of libertarian ideas, our treatment of nonlibertarian ideologies and figures will be brief. This book discusses the ideas of classical liberals like John Locke and Adam Smith insofar as those ideas influenced later libertarian thought. But this book does not intend to provide a thorough overview of those ideas, or of classical liberalism more generally. Similarly, while there are close connections between libertarianism and neoliberalism, as well as between libertarianism and the Austrian, Virginia, and Chicago schools of economics, the primary focus of this book is not the people or ideas associated with those
movements and institutions.\textsuperscript{2} True, this book may well be seen as a complement (or corrective) to the growing body of scholarship in these areas by showing their relationship to libertarianism. But it is libertarianism, and not these other areas, that is our concern.

Although this is a history, we have chosen not to organize the book chronologically. Instead, we have structured the book around a number of topics—poverty, anarchism, race relations, and so on—and devoted a chapter to each. For each topic, we explore how libertarians of different eras (and in different places) took divergent paths from common principles. By focusing on topics instead of chronology, our book seeks to show the history of libertarian thought rather than merely tell it.

Our topical approach will also make vivid the pluralist and idiosyncratic character of libertarian thinking. This will be a constant theme of our book: there is no single libertarianism. As we see it, libertarianism cannot be defined by any one set of necessary and sufficient conditions. Instead, libertarianism is best understood as a cluster concept. We see libertarianism as a distinctive combination of six key commitments: property rights, negative liberty, individualism, free markets, a skepticism of authority, and a belief in the explanatory and normative significance of spontaneous order. Chapter 1 introduces each of these six concepts, shows how libertarians interpret them, and explains how, when brought together into an integrated set, they form a distinct and recognizably libertarian approach.

Understanding libertarianism as an (integrated) cluster of related concepts helps us understand why the view could take such different forms in the hands of its various proponents. This is because, first, each of the concepts within that cluster is subject to a range of plausible interpretations. With respect to private property, for example, libertarians can disagree about what sorts of things a person may legitimately own, what particular rights over things are entailed by owning them, and in what circumstances (if any) property rights must give way to competing claims or interests. Second, libertarians can disagree about how the different elements of the cluster fit together. Are property rights \textit{foundational} to the libertarian worldview? Or are they merely one important idea among many? Different interpretations of the six key concepts,
and different ways of combining those concepts into an integrated whole, lead to divergent yet equally “libertarian” conclusions.

If this analysis is correct, then a common way of thinking about libertarianism is mistaken. It is often claimed that libertarianism is a simple ideology, the dictates of which can be logically deduced from first principles. There can be power in simplicity, and some people find libertarianism attractive precisely for that reason. By contrast, our analysis suggests that libertarianism is an inherently flexible ideology, one that can be developed (or bent) in different ways, depending on the interests, preoccupations, or social context of the theorist. Behind the mask of timeless logic, there is judgment work—with all the variable strengths and flaws that attend the exercise of that human capacity.

Most important, our approach helps explain why libertarianism has always contained a mixture of radical and reactionary elements. An emphasis on private property and skepticism of government power could be, and was, used by radical libertarians to argue that slavery is a uniquely grotesque violation of individual self-ownership, and must be abolished immediately. But those same ideas could also be, and were, used by later libertarians to defend Southern segregation against “tyrannical” attempts by the federal government to dismantle it.  

After introducing libertarianism in chapter 1, we turn to introducing the three major periods or waves of libertarian thought. The first, “primordial” era covers the latter half of the nineteenth century, with special focus on Britain, France, and the United States. The second “Cold War” era runs from the 1930s through the 1980s and mainly centers in the United States. Finally, and more tentatively, we discuss the emerging “Third Wave” of libertarianism.

The narrative arc of our history is easy to trace: emerging in the nineteenth century as an idealistic and progressive radicalization of classical liberalism, libertarianism had by the second half of the twentieth century taken on a more conservative, perhaps even reactionary, status quo–preserving cast. The current “Third Wave” period of libertarianism is marked by a struggle to define the future direction of libertarian thought, with tensions between historical libertarianism’s radical and reactionary tendencies front and center.
The main body of our book, chapters 3–8, has a dual organizational structure. In each chapter, we explore how one of our six libertarian family commitments informs the libertarian response to one of six chosen political topics. For example, chapter 3, on the questions of land and labor, addresses these topics through the lens of the libertarian commitment to property. Chapter 4, on the topic of anarchism, also deals with the libertarian skepticism of authority. Chapter 5, on business, is also about the libertarian commitment to free markets. Chapter 6, on poverty, also discusses spontaneous order. Chapter 7, on race, does so in light of the libertarian commitment to individualism. And chapter 8, on global justice, examines that topic through the libertarian commitment to negative liberty.

Before we begin, we believe we owe our readers a word about the ideological perspective from which this book is written. We both have long identified ourselves as libertarians. Indeed, it was the attraction we feel toward many of the ideas and thinkers discussed in this book that led us to take up this project. We have spent almost a decade in conversation and in the study of these ideas. In some ways, the exploration has deepened our love of them, revealing new insights, fresh perspectives, and forgotten figures. In other ways, our attraction has been challenged, as libertarian arguments and outlooks that once seemed solid now appear weaker: historical study has a way of doing that, and to political ideologies of every hue.

Whether inspiring or disappointing, the history of libertarian ideas has never failed to surprise us. The intellectual tradition we thought we knew is deeper, richer, and more diverse than either of us expected. Exploring that diversity has led us to question many beliefs we once took for granted, and to better understand and appreciate libertarianism for what it is—the parts that are ugly, and the parts that are beautiful too. We hope this book can do the same for you.
abolitionism: American libertarianism and, 3–4, 50, 52, 225–34; anarchism and, 119–20, 122, 228; critiques of, 118–19; liberty as basis of arguments of, 118; natural rights justifications of, 228–30; radical, 225–34; religious justifications of, 225–27; self-ownership and, 52, 71; and violence, 228, 230–31, 233–34

abor preparation, 492
African Americans: freedoms available to, 250–54; and mutual aid societies, 201–2; as victims of state oppression, 219–20. See also race; racial justice; slavery

government authority

American Anti-Slavery Society, 227–28
American Bar Association, 172
American Indians, 68–70
American Letter Mail Company, 111–13
American Revolution, 282–83
Americans for Prosperity, 130
American Anarchism, 109–47: abolitionism and, 119–20, 122, 228; American libertarianism and, 49–52; anti-authoritarianism of, 122–23; critiques of, 114–15, 132–34, 138–39, 142–43, 337n86; Déjacque and, 300n7; and free markets, 137–45; government/the state vs., 115–17, 121–37, 141, 143, 332n29; left-libertarianism and, 66; libertarianism associated with, 3, 5, 10; and marriage, 120–21; and natural law, 141–42; rationale of, 52, 114–20; Rothbard and, 20, 28, 60, 62, 117, 141–42, 149–55, 174, 281, 303n35, 338n114; and self-ownership, 71; skepticism of authority, 25; use of term, 114, 145–47, 332n28. See also individualism; radicalism; state

anarchocapitalism, 62, 140–46, 174, 338n114
anarchocommunism, 10
Ancient Order of Foresters, 199
Andrews, Stephen Pearl, 135
Anti-Corn Law League, 45, 173, 227, 258–60, 264. See also Corn Laws
Anti-Imperialist League, 269–70, 295
Appleton, Henry, 52
Aquin, Thomas, 326n93
Aristotle, 69, 326n93
Arrow (ship), 267
Association for Free Trade, 48
Atkinson, Edward, 269–70
Austrian school of economics, 5–6, 57–58
authority: libertarian skepticism of, 6, 10–11, 23–25, 137; moral, 23–24. See also government authority

Azcualte Navarrus, Martin de, 319n10

Bakunin, Mikhail, 153
Barnett, Randy, 20, 106, 304n40
basic income, 197, 214
Bastiat, Frédéric, 17, 24, 35, 44–48, 51, 60, 139, 161, 163–64, 204, 263, 294, 306n61, 313n52
Bauer, P. T., 191
Beito, Dave, 198, 200–202
Bellomy, David, 183
Belsham, William, 300n1
Bentham, Jeremy, 37–39, 44, 343n47
Berlin, Isaiah, 308n85
Berlin Wall, fall of (1989), 63
Bernstein, David, 247–48, 252
BHL. See Bleeding Heart Libertarianism
big business. See business
Black Freedom Matters, 251–52
Black Lives Matter, 253
Black Nationalism, 220

[ 401 ]
Black Panthers, 295
Blanc, Louis, 46, 47
Blanks, Jonathan, 221, 245–46, 250–51
Bleeding Heart Libertarianism (BHL), 64–66, 210, 214–16, 295–96
Boaz, David, 250
Boétie, Étienne de la, 126–27
Bosanquet, Bernard, 202
Bosanquet, Helen, 202–3
Boston Anarchists, 124
Bourne, Randolph, 2–3, 34, 37–43, 293–94
Bosanquet, Helen, 202–3
Bremen, Lord, 41
Brennan, Jason, 24
Bright, John, 38, 204, 258–60, 262, 264–67
Brill, Peter, 290
Britain: abolition of slavery by, 224–25; and free trade, 258–67; labor in, 176; libertarianism in, 2–3, 34, 37–43, 293–94; opposition to government intervention in, 41–43; poverty in, 202–5; socialism in, 3, 40–41, 43
Brooks, Frank, 207
Brown, John, 231–34, 269
Brown vs. Board of Education, 244
Buchanan, James, 20, 23, 206, 211–13, 309n33
Buchanan, Patrick, 240
Buckley, William F., 278, 280
Burgin, Angus, 18
Burke, Edmund, A Vindication of Natural Society, 116–17, 132
Burlingame Treaty, 288
Burns, Anthony, 227
business: American myth about, 151–52; and crony capitalism, 154; and entrepreneurship, 180; free markets in relation to, 149; libertarian attitudes toward, 149, 163, 166, 172, 174–75, 179–81; neoliberalism and, 175; political expenditures of, 174; political power of, 155–63; Rand and, 148–51; and regulation, 152, 171–72; Rothbard and, 149–51; support for libertarianism from, 172–75. See also capitalism; free markets/trade
Butler, Josephine, 43
Cairnes, John Elliott, 39
Caldwell, Bruce, 58
Calhoun, John, 119
calicos, 155–56
Cannan, Michael F., 253
Cantillon, Richard, 44
Cantwell, Christopher, 290–91, 293
capitalism: anarcho-, 62, 140–46, 174, 338n14; crony, 154–55; Friedman’s advocacy of, 10; grounds for legitimacy of, 80–81; left-libertarian critiques of, 167–68; libertarian advocacy of, 2, 10, 46, 57; libertarian critiques of, 23, 37, 52, 78–83, 215–16; libertarianism associated with, 10; poverty and the poor benefited by, 195; productive character of capital, 342n36; and racism, 236–38; Rand’s advocacy of, 10; Rothbard’s advocacy of, 10; self-ownership and, 76. See also business; free markets/trade
Caplan, Bryan, 291
Carlyle, Thomas, 39, 222–23
Carnegie, Andrew, 269
Carson, Kevin, 167, 179, 215, 216
Cato Institute, 13, 65, 172, 174–75, 211, 244, 250, 253, 314n67
Center for a Stateless Society, 215
Charity Organisation Society (COS), 202–4, 208
Charteris, Francis, 41
Chartier, Gary, 65, 215
Chevalier, Michel, 204
Chicago Boys, 130–31
Chicago school of economics, 5–6
children, 53, 316n79
Childs, Roy, 143, 339n123
Chile, 130–32
Chinese Exclusion Act (United States), 288
Chodorov, Frank, 278, 279–80
Circle Bastiat, 61
civil libertarianism, 11
civil rights, 234–50
Civil Rights Act (1875), 246, 360n101
Civil Rights Act (1964), 234–39, 242, 244, 246–49, 251, 360n101
Civil War, 234, 282–83
Clark, Ed, 175
Clarkson, Thomas, 118

class theory: French origins of, 159–63; left-libertarianism and, 167–69; Marx/ Marxism and, 159, 162–63, 169; public choice economics and, 169–72; radicalization of, 163–67; and the state, 159–72
closed shops, 346n85
Cobden, Richard, 38, 45, 173, 183, 204, 227, 256–67, 270, 272, 364n39
Cobden-Chevalier free trade treaty (1860), 48
coercion: absent from spontaneous orders, 27–28; anarchist debate over, 146–47; capitalists'/landlords' use of, 82; concerning poverty, 188–89; government/state use of, 25, 28, 82, 118–19; in labor-business matters, 177–79; negative freedoms enforced by, 30; property as, 146; socialist use of, 47, 54, 79
Cohen, G. A., 320n15
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 156–57, 341n27
Cold War, 5, 54–63, 280
collectivism: in British thought, 39; opposition to, in American thought, 56; racial justice and, 236; Rand's critique of, 55–56, 236, 284. See also government/state; identity groups
colonialism, 276. See also imperialism
Committee on Social Thought, University of Chicago, 59, 173
communism, 54–55, 258, 278, 280. See also anarcho-communism; socialism
competition, 110–12
complexity. See social complexity
Comstock Laws (United States), 111, 121–22
Comte, Auguste, 36
Comte, Charles, 44, 159, 160, 162–64
conquest theory, 164
consent of the governed, 113–15, 128–29, 331n17
consequentialism. See utilitarianism/consequentialism
conservatism: cultural, 64, 66; libertarianism in relation to, 33, 57, 61, 64, 66, 153, 210, 241–42, 258, 271–73, 278–81, 293–94, 296; Rothbard's opposition to, 61, 281; socialism in relation to, 153
Contagious Diseases Acts (Britain), 42, 43
copyrights, 90
Coquelin, Charles, 139
Cordery, Simon, 198
Cornell University, 239
Corn Laws (Britain), 38, 183, 204, 258–61, 264–65. See also Anti-Corn Law League
corporatism. See crony capitalism
COS. See Charity Organisation Society
cosmopolitanism, 257, 262, 265, 271, 273, 275–76, 278
Covid-19 pandemic, 292
Cowen, Tyler, 216–18
Cox, Michael, 191
Crane, Edward, 174
criminal justice, 252–53
crony capitalism, 154–55
currency, 82

darwin, charles, 193, 218, 350n37. See also evolution
decentralization, 94–96, 273–75
Declaration of Independence (United States), 49, 229
Déjacque, Joseph, 10–11, 300n5, 300n7
De Mille, Cecil B., 54
democracy: consequentialist argument for, 129; critiques of, 127–32; interest groups' power in, 129; libertarian support for, 129–30
Democratic Party, 65, 174, 211, 290
Demsetz, Harold, 94
demystification. See exposure/demystification
Den Uyl, Douglas, 20
DePriest, Oscar, 202
Dewey, John, 16, 36
Dicey, A. V., 39
Dicey, Edward, 40
Dickens, Charles, A Christmas Carol, 255–56
Director's Law, 206, 352n74
discrimination, racial, 234–35, 237, 239–40, 246–48. See also segregation
distribution/redistribution: critiques of redistribution, 40, 47, 80; of property, 23; regressive, 111, 158; of resources, 80; of wealth, 36, 99, 158, 209
Disunionism, 228
Doherty, Brian, 174
dominium (mastery/ownership), 70
Donisthorpe, Wordsworth, 41, 42, 53, 176, 205–6, 320n17, 332n29
Douglass, Frederick, 227, 232–34, 246, 249, 289, 357n35
Du Bois, W.E.B., 202
Dumennhill, Lynn, 200
Dunoyer, Charles, 44, 139, 159, 162–64
Duranty, Walter, 56
Eakins, David, 168
East India Company, 155
egalitarianism, 223–26, 272–73
egoism: American libertarianism and, 49–53; libertarian adherents of, 20; and morality, 29, 52; natural rights vs., 315n75; Nietzschean, 43; Rand and, 20, 29, 52, 315n75; Tucker and, 52–53, 141
Ellickson, Robert, 94
Engels, Friedrich: *The Civil War in France*, 162–63; *Communist Manifesto*, 39
England. See Britain
English Land Restoration League, 85
entrepreneurship, 180
Epstein, Richard, 14, 17, 20
eugenics, 187
evolution, 184–86, 193, 218. See also Social Darwinism; survival of the fittest
expediency: mail delivery and, 111–12; Spencer and, 105, 329n41
experimental communities, 134–37
exposure/demystification, as task of libertarians, 123–27, 166, 283–84, 343n47
fascism, 273
federalism, interstate, 274–75
Federal Reserve, 152
Federal Trade Commission, 152
FEE. See Foundation for Economic Education
Ferguson, Adam, 27
Feser, Edward, 104
Filmer, Robert, 114–15
Fitzhugh, George, 119
Flanigan, Jessica, 251–52
Floyd, George, 253, 369n2
Flynn, John, 271
Fogel, Robert, 191
Forten, James, 225
Foundation for Economic Education (FEE), 12, 56–57, 60, 316n93
France: economic thought in, 44, 48, 155–63; labor in, 176; libertarianism in, 2–3, 34, 44–49, 293–94; poverty in, 204–5; socialism in, 3, 46–47
Frankfurter, Felix, 151
fraternal insurance societies, 200–201
freedom. See liberty/freedom
freedom of speech, 111, 121–22
free love, 119–20, 122, 136
The Freeman (magazine), 12, 57, 278, 279
free markets/trade: American myth about, 151–52; anarchism and, 137–45; big business in relation to, 149; Britain and, 258–67; Chile and, 131; criticisms of, 182, 272; cronv capitalism and, 154; French advocacy of, 45–46; as fundamental concern of libertarians, 3, 6, 12, 25–27, 36, 137–39; global justice and, 257–67; human well-being resulting from, 25–26; libertarian rejection of, 137; moral aspect of, 181; moral basis of, 25; peace facilitated by, 257, 262–66, 285; private property associated with, 25; and racism, 236–38; radicalism about, 26; regulations compatible with libertarian view of, 26–27; scope of, 26; and spontaneous
order, 27–28; the state’s relation to, 18; as substitute for the state, 137–45. See also business; capitalism
free-rider problem, 169–70
Free Soil Party, 269
Friedman, David, 12, 20, 142, 171
Friedman, Milton: *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1; and civil rights, 248; and distribution of wealth, 209; economic views of, 10, 12, 236–38; *Free to Choose*, 1; influence of, 131; on intellectual property, 90; and Israel, 285–86; and justice, 209; and labor, 178; libertarianism of, 1, 10, 18–20, 59, 303n33; and migration, 289–90; moral approach of, 20; neoliberalism of, 12; and the poor, 183, 196–97; presidency of Mont Pelerin Society, 18; and racism, 236–38, 245; “Roofs or Ceilings?,” 60
Fuentes, Nick, 293
fusionism, 278–81, 366n79
Gardner, Lloyd C., 168
Garrett, Garet, 271–72, 279
Gaskell, Mary, *Mary Barton*, 39
Gaus, Gerald, 64
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 18
General Motors, 59
geo-libertarian movement, 87
George, Henry, 83–87, 90, 97, 100, 279, 323n56
George Mason University Mercatus Center, 172
global justice, 255–91; cosmopolitanism and, 257, 262, 265, 271, 273, 275–76, 278; free trade and, 257–67; individualism and, 257; interstate federalism and, 274–75; migration and, 287–91; Mises and, 275–78
God. See religion
Godwin, William, 116, 132–33; *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, 132
Goldberg, Bruce, 61–62
Goldman, Emma, 338n114
Goldwater, Barry, 210, 238, 281
Gompers, Samuel, 269
Gordon, Thomas, *Cato’s Letters*, 49
Gosden, P.H.J.H., 198
government. See state
government authority: Bastiat on, 46–47; consent of the governed as basis for, 113–15, 128–29, 331n17; defenses of, 118–19; democracy and, 127–32; minimal-state view of, 12, 20, 25, 303n34; popular acceptance of, 124–27; skepticism of, 25–25, 124. See also government/the state
government/the state: American critiques of, 51; anarchist opposition to, 115–17, 121–37, 141, 143, 332n29; anti-social nature of, 165; British critiques of, 41–43; business’s influence on, 155–63; class theory and, 159–72; and crony capitalism, 154; distinction of state vs. government, 145–46; economic role of, 18; free markets as substitute for, 137–45; liberal acceptance of interventions of, 13–14, 36–37; libertarian critiques of, 10–11, 23–25, 216–18; monopoly power wielded by, 24–25, 79, 110–13, 166–67, 206–8; neoliberal attitude toward, 18; plunder carried out by, 24, 30, 47, 123–24, 161–62, 164–65, 285; poverty blamed on, 205–7; society contrasted with, 343n43; Spooner’s challenges to, 110–13. See also anarchism; collectivism; government authority; minimal-state libertarianism; moral parity thesis
Great Society programs, 209–10, 212
Green, David, 198
Green, T. H., 16
Greene, William Batchelder, 133
Grimke, Sarah, 233
guaranteed income. See basic income
guerrilla warfare, 282
Guillaumin, Gilbert, 204
Guizot, François, 162
Guyot, Yves, 48–49
Hale, Robert, 36
Hammond, J. H., 118–19
Harcourt, William, 43
Hardin, Garrett, 91
Hodgskin, Thomas, 35, 37, 80, 82, 96, 176, 216, 293, 310n17, 322n46; *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital*, 37, 176, 342n36
Hofstadter, Richard, 183–85
Homesteading, 78
Hoofer, Herbert, 151, 284
Hoppe, Hans-Hermann, 24, 290–91, 292–93, 335n71
House Un-American Activities Committee, 55
Howard, T.R.M., 249
Howell, George, 177, 178
Huemer, Michael, 24, 123, 291
human nature, 133–34, 223–24, 262, 272
Hume, David: as classical liberal, 3, 17; and Darwin, 350n37; influence of, 13; libertarianism of, 91; and natural law, 106; and poverty, 189; and property, 91, 93–106; and trade, 262
Huxley, Thomas Henry, 349n20
identity groups, 220–21, 253. See also collectivism; race; women immigration. See migration/immigration imperialism, 107, 154, 187, 268–69. See also colonialism
imposter terms, 166, 343n47
Incorporation of Car ters, 198
individualism: in Britain, 29, 41–43; as fundamental concern of libertarians, 3, 6, 29–30, 220–21; and group identities, 220–21; and liberty, 30–31; methodological, 29–30; and morality, 29, 75; and nonaggression principle, 74; normative, 29; origin of term, 311n25; and poverty, 203–5; public choice economics and, 169–70; and racial justice, 223–24, 233, 235–39, 249–50; Rand and, 55, 235–36; rights linked to, 29. See also anarchism
Individualists, 29, 41, 311n24, 314n69
Industrialist School (France), 159–62
Industrial Revolution, 35
industry. See business
Ingalls, J. K., 87
Institute for Humane Studies, 172, 210
intellectual property, 87–90

Hardin, Russell, 169
Harman, Lillian, 120–21
Harman, Moses, 120–22, 334n50
Harpers Ferry, John Brown’s raid on armory at, 231–34, 269
Hart, David, 48–49, 133
Hasnas, John, 106
Hayek, Friedrich: and Chile, 130–32; *The Constitution of Liberty*, 131; as contemporary classical liberal, 17; on Darwinism, 350n37; economic views of, 65, 131; on government’s role, 13; influence of, 131; influences on, 58, 95; on intellectual property, 90; and international relations, 273–75; and justice, 209, 211–12; and labor, 178–79; and laissez-faire, 58; and law, 338n119; *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*, 131; libertarianism of, 2, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 57–60, 302n29, 303n33; *The Mirage of Social Justice*, 209, 211; opposition to socialism, 5, 18, 28, 57, 58–59, 273; and the poor, 183, 196–97; and property, 95–96; Rawls’s relation to, 65, 211–14; and regulation, 105; *The Road to Serfdom*, 58–59, 131, 273, 278; skepticism of authority, 23, 28; and social complexity, 188; and spontaneous order, 28; Volker Fund’s support of, 173; and women’s voting rights, 130–31
Hazlitt, Henry, 12, 59, 316n93; *Economics in One Lesson*, 57
Heckscher, Eric, 156
Herbert, Auberon, 21, 24, 37, 41, 71–72, 97, 99, 140, 145–46, 176–77, 294, 306n61, 320n17
Hess, Karl, 154, 281, 338n114
Heywood, Angela, 120, 334n48
Heywood, Ezra, 120, 175, 334n48, 334n50
hippies, 241, 244
history: heterodox libertarianism and, 80–81; justice conceived from perspective of, 80, 97–99, 107, 207, 209, 294; racism committed throughout, 246–47
Hitler, Adolf, 273
Hobhouse, L. T., 16
Hobson, J. A., 260
hockey stick model, 191

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
interest groups: in democracies, 129; French mercantilism and, 157–58; political incentives of, 171; state capture by, 171–72, 206
interest rates, 82, 205–6
International Monetary Fund, 18
intersectionality theory, 253–54
invisible hand, 27, 62, 143, 265
Irish Land Act, 86
isolationism, 240, 270–72, 279–80, 282, 284. See also nonintervention
Israel, 285–87, 368n116
Jefferson, Thomas, 49
Jevons, W. Stanley, 39
Jim Crow era, 237, 239–40, 247, 249
John M. Olin Foundation, 173
Johnson, Charles, 215–16
Johnson, Gary, 292
Johnson, Lyndon, 360n103
Johnson, Samuel, 251
Jorgensen, Jo, 369n2
Journal of Libertarian Studies, 61
Jus: A Weekly Organ of Individualism (magazine), 42
justice: Hayek and, 209, 211–12; libertarian conceptions of, 14, 15, 80, 209; Rawls and, 62, 211, 309n87; utilitarianism in relation to, 22, 305n52. See also global justice; racial justice; social justice
just war theory, 282–83
Kant, Immanuel, 74, 304n40, 319n15
Kauffman, Felix, 58
Kelly, Abby, 227
Kelly, John F., 52
Keynes, John Maynard, 159, 190–91
kidneys, selling of, 26, 107
King, Martin Luther, 220, 253, 358n50
King, Rodney, 242–43, 251
Kingsley, Charles, Alton Locke, 39
Kinsella, Stephan, 90, 300n3
Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 240
Knight, Frank, 18, 59, 303n33
Koch, Charles, 172–74, 180, 244, 252
Koch, David, 172–75
Kolko, Gabriel, 152, 168
Kropotkin, Peter, 300n8
Kukathas, Chandran, 291
labor: American libertarianism and, 4, 49–50; intellectual, 88–89; libertarianism and, 175–79; as one’s property, 4, 22, 72; opposition to, from American business interests, 57; plunder as alternative to, 161; property linked to, 83, 87; rights to fruits of, 4, 50–51, 76–80, 87, 111–12, 176; voluntary use of one’s own, 75, 177–78, 216, 223
labor capitalization, 176
labor cost principle, 52, 135–36
labor-mixing, 37, 77–78, 83, 88, 100, 101
labor theory of entitlement, 81–83
labor theory of value, 49, 52, 81–83
labor unions, 176–78, 346n85
Labrador Peninsula, 94
laissez-faire: Bastiat and, 46; Bentham and, 38, 39; critiques of, 39, 166; Hayek and, 58; liberal advocacy of, 13; neoliberal distancing from, 18; origin of term, 341n27; survival of the fittest linked to, 183–84
land: of American Indians, 68–70; controversies within libertarianism over, 77–78, 86–87, 97–98; moral issues concerning, 23, 38, 83–87, 97–98; natural rights to, 83. See also natural resources; property
landlords, 43, 60, 62, 82–84, 87
Land Restoration League (England), 85, 97
Lane, Rose Wilder, 2, 12, 56, 173, 271, 316n90; The Discovery of Freedom, 56
law: libertarian endorsement of, 30, 142, 338n119; moral authority vs., 24; natural rights basis of, 305n61; prevention of plunder as purpose of, 161; spontaneous order as source of, 192–93; spontaneous order without, 28
League of Nations, 274, 277
Le censeur européen (journal), 162
Leclerc, Louis, 314n63
Left and Right (journal), 61, 154
left-libertarianism, 65–66, 167–69, 179, 296
Leggett, William, 289
Le Libre-Échange (Free Trade) [newsletter], 45
Levy, Jacob, 251–53
Levy, J. H., 43, 72, 323n56
Lewis, John, 253
liberalism: classical, 13–14, 16, 17–18, 19, 22, 191; criticisms of mercantilism, 158–59; economic growth linked to, 191; libertarianism allied with, 65; libertarianism as outgrowth of, 13–14, 17, 152–53, 222; libertarianism contrasted with, 3, 5, 12, 14, 17, 19, 22, 32; and liberty, 31; and peace, 275; progressive, 16, 36, 36–37, 309n3; and property, 22; and socialism, 36–37, 40; terminological considerations for, 16–18
libertarians, 65, 211, 217
Liberator (newspaper), 225, 228, 232
Le Libertaire (newsletter), 10
Libertarian Forum (newsletter), 61
Libertarian Party, 13, 174–75, 292–93
Liberty (journal), 51–53, 89, 141, 207–8
Liberty and Property Defense League (LPDL), 41–43, 53, 86, 173, 177, 202, 293, 324n68, 345n70
liberty/freedom: as anecdote to poverty, 202–8; authoritarian critique of, 222–23; classical liberalism and, 13–14; economic, 5; equal rights to, 223–26; in France, 46; as fundamental concern of libertarians, 9–11, 14, 241; instrumental approach to, 31; maximizing approach to, 30–31; meanings of, 10; Mill and, 14, 39, 223; of movement, 244, 257, 272, 277, 287–91; property linked to, 31, 96; race as factor in, 250–54; rights linked to, 31; slavery as denial of, 3, 4, 7, 50–51, 118; socialism as threat to, 4–5; Spencer and, 30–31, 38; and trade, 26; of the will, 9. See also anarchism; negative liberties
Liberty Movement, 11–13, 17
Liggio, Leonard, 61, 154
Lilburne, John, 183
Lincoln, Abraham, 251
Lindsey, Brink, 65, 211
Loch, C. S., 202–4
Locke, John: as classical liberal, 3, 5, 13, 17, 36; influence of, 5, 12, 13, 37, 49, 72, 77, 102; and labor, 37, 77; and liberty, 309n90; and moral parity, 24; and natural law, 106; and natural rights, 15; and property, 77–78, 80, 81, 83, 90–91, 96–106; Second Treatise, 37, 49, 72; and self-ownership, 37, 72, 77
Lomasky, Loren, 18–20, 64, 257
Long, Roderick, 65, 90, 215
LPDL. See Liberty and Property Defense League
Lucifer the Light-Bearer (newspaper), 120, 122
Ludwig von Mises Institute, 13, 64
Luhnow, Harold, 173
INDEX  [409]

Machan, Tibor, 20
Machlup, Fritz, 58
Mack, Eric, 95, 144
Mackay, Thomas, 41, 202–3
Maddison, Angus, 191
Maddow, Rachel, 234–35, 246
mail delivery, 109–13
Maitland, Frederick William, 301n10
Mallock, W. H., 340n3
Malthus, Thomas, 44, 183, 326n93
Manchester School, 227, 259, 267
Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, 199
Mandeville, Bernard de, 192–94, 350n37, 350n39
marijuana, legalization of, 107
market anarchism, 137–45
market economy. See free markets/trade
Markland, W. G., 121
marriage, 120–21
Marshall, Alfred, 39
Marshall, Thurgood, 202
Marx, Karl, 82, 135, 153, 159, 162, 165; Communist Manifesto, 39; The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, 162
Marxism, 21, 130, 163, 168, 254. See also neo-Marxism
Mason, John, 40
Mason, J. W., 203
Masons, 200
Mayer, Jane, 172
McCloskey, Dierdre, 191
McElroy, Wendy, 51
Medina, Juan de, 318n10
Mencken, H. L., 12, 56, 365n54
mercantilism, 157–59, 194
A Message from the Forties (play), 255–56
Meyer, Frank, 278–81, 366n79
migration/immigration, 244, 257, 272, 277, 287–91, 293
militarism. See war
Mill, James, 38
Mill, John Stuart: as classical liberal, 17, 310n15; and colonialism/imperialism, 187, 276; criticisms of, 309n3, 310n15; on government’s role, 36, 39, 127; and individualism, 39; influences on, 71, 319n11; libertarianism of, 36, 309n3; and liberty, 14, 39, 223; On Liberty, 39; Principles of Political Economy, 39; and property, 322n46; and socialism, 311n15
minimal-state libertarianism, 12, 20, 25, 62, 143–45, 303n34
Mises, Ludwig von: on anarchism, 337n86; and civil rights, 248; and democracy, 132; on economics and sociability, 195; Human Action, 174; influence of, 58, 60, 61, 173; on intellectual property, 90; and international relations, 273, 275–78; Liberalism, 275, 288; libertarianism of, 2, 12, 16, 57–61; and migration, 288–89; on Mill, 310n15; moral approach of, 20; opposition to socialism, 5, 28, 57; and racism, 236, 238; Volker Fund’s support of, 58, 173
Mises Caucus, 292–93, 296, 369n2
Modern Times, Long Island, New York, 134–37
monarchy, 335n71
money. See monopoly: on money/currency; wealth
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Second, Baron de La Brède et de, 10, 181
Mont Pelerin Society, 18, 59, 173, 175
moral hazard, 201
morality: authority grounded in, 23–24; conservatism and, 241, 278–81; egoism and, 29, 52; equality of standing in, 24, 30, 46–47, 306n59; free markets and, 181; heterodox libertarianism and, 83–87; individualism and, 29, 75; of land and property, 23, 38, 83–87, 97–98; liberal approaches to, 3, 13–15; property and, 21–22, 83–87, 102–3; status of American Indians, 68–69; utilitarian/consequentialist approaches to, 15–16, 20

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
moral relativism, 241
Morgenstern, Oskar, 58
multiculturalism, 276
Murray, Charles, 197
Mussolini, Benito, 273
mutual aid, 198–202, 208
mutualism, 51, 87, 216, 294

Nagel, Thomas, 308n81
Narveson, Jan, 20
National Chamber of Commerce (United States), 152
National Origins Quota Act (United States), 288
National Review (magazine), 278, 280
natural law/rights: abolitionism and, 228–30; American libertarianism and, 52; anarchism and, 141–42; decline of, as basis for social action, 16; diversity among adherents of, 304n40; egoism vs., 315n75; Hume and, 106; labor linked to, 4, 87, 111–12; land linked to, 83; law based on, 306n61; libertarianism grounded in, 15, 20; Locke and, 12, 15, 49, 87, 106; Nozick and, 12; property linked to, 82, 100–101, 106, 314n63, 322n46; Spooner and, 228–29, 331n11; U.S. Constitution and, 111–12
natural resources, as property, 23, 77–78. See also land
necessarianism, 9
negative liberties: as fundamental concern of libertarians, 6, 30–31, 257; non-intervention as global application of, 257–58; positive vs., 30
everliberalism: business and, 175; libertarianism in relation to, 5–6, 18–19, 302n33; meanings of, 18, 302n33; and state intervention, 18
neo-Marxism, 168–69. See also Marxism
New England Labor Reform League, 176
New Harmony, Indiana, 134
New Left historical revisionism, 168

New Republic (magazine), 65, 211
New York Times (newspaper), 56, 59, 61, 253
New York University, 58, 173
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 43, 56, 336n72, 365n54
night watchman state, 166, 168
Niskanen Center, 65
Nixon, Richard, 284
Nock, Albert Jay, 12, 56, 87, 159, 164–66, 271–72, 279, 294
nonaggression: libertarian advocacy of, 12, 17, 74; Rothbard and, 14; Spencer and, 186–87
nonintervention: conservative-libertarian alliances and, 271–73, 278–81; models of international relations and, 273–78; as negative liberties on global scale, 257–58; in nineteenth-century Britain, 265–67; Rand and, 284–85; Rothbard and, 281–84. See also isolationism
Nowrasteh, Alex
Nozick, Robert: Anarchy, State, and Utopia, 1, 62, 73–75, 107, 143; and civil rights, 248; criticisms of, 144–45; on government’s role, 20, 25, 62, 107, 128, 129, 143–45; influence of, 62–63; influences on, 37, 62, 102, 143; and justice, 80, 209; on labor-mixing, 77; libertarianism of, 1, 12, 15, 20, 62–63, 145, 308n81; moral approach of, 15, 20; and natural rights, 304n40; political focus of, 62; and property, 72, 102–4; and race, 238; Rawls’s debate with, 62, 210; and self-ownership, 72–76, 319n15
nuclear weapons, 284

Obama, Barack, 346n2
objectivism, 143, 236
occupational licensing, 171–72, 344nn64–65
Odum, Howard, 202
Old Right, 271–72
Olson, Mancur, 169, 170
Oppenheimer, Franz, 164–65
Ostrom, Elinor, 94–95
Overton, Richard, 319n14
Owen, Robert, 134
Page Act (United States), 288
Paine, Thomas, 84, 117, 165, 343n43
paleo-libertarianism, 64, 66, 240–45, 290–91, 296
Palestinians, 286–87
Paley, William, 91
Palmer, Tom, 90, 202, 215
Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount, 259, 266–67
panarchy, 140
Paris School, 204
Passy, Frédéric, 49
patents, 90
Paterson, Isabel, 56, 60, 271; *The God of the Machine*, 56
Paul, Rand, 234–35
Paul, Ron, 234, 358n50
peace, trade as facilitator of, 257, 262–66, 275, 285
Peel, Robert, 264
Perkins, James, 239
Perry, Lewis, 223–26
Personal Rights Association (PRA), 43
Philippines, 268–70
Physiocrats, 44
pin factory, 194
Pinchot, Augusto, 130–31
*A Plea for Liberty* (edited volume), 41
plunder, 161–62, 164–65, 267, 285
Plymouth Colony, America, 92–93
police: brutality exercised by, 219, 242–44; libertarian attitudes toward, 219–20, 243
political economy, 39, 44, 86, 138
pollution, 26, 75–76, 307n68
Poor Law Amendment (Britain), 202
Popper, Karl, 59
positive liberties, 30, 257–58
poverty and the poor: American libertarianism and, 53–54; capitalism as ancien to, 195; deserving vs. undeserving, 187–88, 203; individualistic vs. collective approaches to, 203–5; intractability of, 190–91; libertarian approaches to, 183–98; liberty seen as ancien to, 202–8; mutual aid and, 198–202, 208; political vulnerability associated with, 206; slavery and, 208; Spencer and, 184–90, 347n9, 348n20; state held responsible for, 205–7; Sumner and, 183–89, 349n25
Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr., 202
Powell, Benjamin, 291
Powell, Jim, 224–25
Prince Hall Masonic Order, 202
private property. See property
profit, defense of, 180
Progressive Era, 151–52
progressive liberalism, 16, 36–37
property, 68–108; American Indians and, 68–70; anarchist opposition to, 146; children as, 53; consequentialism and, 100–105; critiques to libertarian view of, 22–23; distribution of, 23; free markets associated with, 25; as fundamental concern of libertarians, 3, 6, 21–23, 106–7; Humean approach to, 91, 93–106; immigration linked to, 290–91; intellectual, 87–90; labor linked to, 4, 22, 72, 83, 87; libertarian critiques of, 10; liberty linked to, 31, 96; Lockean approach to, 77–78, 80, 81, 83, 90–91, 96–106; Molinari and, 314n63; moral issues concerning, 21–22, 83–87, 102–3; natural resources as, 23, 77–78; natural rights basis of, 15, 82, 100–101, 322n46; scope of objects considered as, 21; self-ownership and, 37, 72, 107, 314n63; as social/conventional construct, 91, 93–95, 98–100; Spencer and, 38, 41, 80, 84–88, 97, 99; strict libertarian view of, 21–22, 31, 97–98; tragedy of the commons and, 91–94, 326n93. See also labor-mixing; land
Property and Freedom Society, 290
prostitution: decriminalization of, 26, 107, 241; regulation of, 43
protectionism, 38, 43, 45–46, 155–56
Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 36, 47, 51, 87, 114, 135, 146, 331n20, 338n114
public choice economics, 23, 169–72, 206
Puydt, Paul, Émile de, 140
Quesnay, François, 44

See also racial justice; racism

racial justice, 219–54; and abolition of slavery, 224–34; capitalism and, 236–38; and civil rights, 234–40; and criminal justice reform, 252–53; individual vs. government advocacy for, 249; paleo-libertarianism and, 242–45; and racism, 235–38, 242–54

racism: of American society, 119, 201, 221, 227; Carlyle's, 222; Douglass's experience of, 232, 246; economic solutions proposed for, 236–38, 245–46, 248–49; free and spontaneous occurrence of, 32–33; historical effects of, 246–47; individualism and, 221; libertarian responses to, 2, 32–33, 235–54; Rand on, 235–36; white's as target of, 242. See also discrimination; segregation

radicalism: and class theory, 163–67; conceptual, 15; of libertarianism, 3–4, 7, 13, 14–16, 26, 222; political, 15; of Spooner's challenges to the government, 113. See also anarchism

Radosh, Ronald, 168; A New History of Leviathan, 154

Raico, Ralph, 61

Rand, Ayn: Atlas Shrugged, 1, 55, 150; and business, 148–51, 179; and civil rights, 248; economic views of, 10, 55; ethical egoism of, 20, 29, 52, 315n75; and FEE, 60; The Fountainhead, 1, 55, 56, 150–51; on government's role, 12, 20, 25; and human nature, 272; and individualism, 55, 235–36; influence of, 13, 54; influences on, 56, 365n54; on intellectual property, 90; and Israel, 286; libertarianism of, 1, 10, 12–13, 15, 18–20, 54, 301n18; life of, 54, 56, 316n81; moral approach of, 15; and nonintervention, 284–85; opposition to anarchism, 142–43, 339n123; opposition to collectivism, 55–56, 236, 284; opposition to communism, 54–55; opposition to socialism, 5; and property, 60; and racism, 235–37; Rothbard and, 149–51, 286, 340n6; "Screen Guide for Americans," 55; self-interest in the thought of, 196; "To All Fifth Columnists," 55; We the Living, 55

Rasmussen, Douglas, 20

rationalism: of libertarianism, 2, 7, 14–15; of strict libertarianism, 15–16, 142; of utilitarianism/consequentialism, 16

Rawls, John: Hayek's relation to, 65, 211–14; and justice, 62, 211, 309n87; Nozick's debate with, 62, 210; opposition to utilitarianism, 74; and veil of ignorance, 213

Rawlsianism, 65, 211

reactionary mindset: in British libertarianism, 41–42; libertarianism as expression of, 4, 7

Read, Leonard, 12, 56–57, 60, 192, 294, 301n16

Reader's Digest (magazine), 59

Reagan, Ronald, 210

Reason (magazine), 172

redistribution. See distribution/redistribution

rednecks, 244

Reform Act (Britain), 38

regulation: American myth about, 151–52; business and, 152, 171–72; Colbert's policies for, 155–58; free markets and, 26–27; Hayek on, 105; opposition to, 149. See also protectionism

regulatory capture, 171–72

Reichert, William, 126, 133

Reisman, George, 61, 150

religion: abolitionism and, 225–27; anarchism and freedom of thought concerning, 122–23; human equality grounded in, 224–25; Victorian values and, 260

rent, 52, 60, 78, 82, 84, 87

rent control, 60

rent-seeking, 171

reparations, for slavery, 253

Republican Party, 174, 228, 234–35

Ricardo, David, 38, 44, 81, 261–62

Richman, Sheldon, 248–50
right to work laws, 177–78; freedom linked to, 25, 31; racism justified by respect of, 245–50; strict libertarianism and, 31; voting, 130. See also natural law/rights

Rough justice, 220, 242–44

Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, 199

Russell, Dean, 12

Ryley, Peter, 201

Sally, Razeen, 262–63

Say, Jean-Baptiste, 44–45, 159–61, 163–64

Say’s Law, 159

Schelling, Thomas, 252

Schmidtz, David, 152

Second Amendment, 230

Second Opium War, 267

Seeley, John Robert, 3019

Segregation, racial, 7, 235, 242, 247–48, 252, 360n102. See also discrimination

Self-defense, 47

Self-determination, 276–77

Self-interest: economy based on, 193–94; public safety sacrificed to, 172; Rand and, 196; spontaneous order as outgrowth of, 20, 191–92, 196; traditional economic theory based on, 169; and the tragedy of the commons, 91–92; wealth resulting from, 27, 191

Self-ownership: abolitionism and, 52, 71; alienation of, 75; of American Indians, 69; anarchism and, 71; British radicalism and, 319n14; experimental communities and, 135–37; and external property, 72; as fundamental concept, 31, 51; libertarian concept of, 72–76; Nozick and, 72–76; property linked to, 37, 72, 107, 314n63; slavery challenged by theory of, 107; utilitarianism/consequentialism at odds with, 74

Sepulveda, Juan de, 69

Sidgwick, Henry, 39

Single Tax, 84

1619 Project, 253

Sklar, Martin, 168

Slave revolts, 230–31
slavery: Aristotle’s doctrine of natural, 69; as breach of one’s right to fruits of labor, 50–51; British abolition of, 224–25; defenses of, 118–19; as denial of liberty, 3, 4, 7, 50–51, 118; philosophical issues of, 117–20, 333n39; poverty and, 50; racial and ideological dimensions of, 50, 120; reparations for, 253; self-ownership as argument against, 107; socialism equated with, 76; submission to government rule as, 125–26, 128; in United States, 4, 7, 50–51, 225–34; voluntary, 75. See also abolitionism

Slobodian, Quinn, 18, 175

Smith, Adam: as classical liberal, 3, 5, 13, 36; on colonialism, 265; criticism of, 182; on equality, 223–24; on government’s role, 194–95; influence of, 5, 13, 44, 45, 260; and labor theory of value, 81; and laissez-faire, 38; and natural law, 106; opposition to mercantilism, 157, 158–59, 194; and the poor, 183; and poverty, 189; and self-interest principle, 193–94; and spontaneous order, 192; *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 195; and trade, 261–63; and voluntary exchange, 179–80; *The Wealth of Nations*, 81, 157, 158–59, 179, 194–95, 263, 265

Smith, George, 114

Smith, Gerrit, 231, 233

Smith, Vernon, 194

social complexity, 188–90. See also spontaneous order

social contract, 24, 125, 128, 164

Social Darwinism, 182–86, 218, 268

socialism: in Britain, 3, 40–41, 43; conservatism in relation to, 153; equated with slavery, 76; in France, 3, 46–47; Hayek’s opposition to, 5, 18, 28, 57, 58–59, 273; liberal and, 36–37, 40; libertarianism compatible with, 54, 77, 79, 134, 152–54, 293; libertarianism vs., 2, 3, 5, 34, 36–37, 40–41, 43, 46–47, 57, 63, 153–54, 258, 293; Mill and, 311n15; Mises’s opposition to, 5, 28, 57; nineteenth- vs. twentieth-century meanings of, 79; and poverty, 203–5; Rothbard and, 60–61; in United States, 3–5, 50, 57. See also communism

social justice, 2, 209–14, 257, 295

Société d’Économie, 48

Société d’Économie Politique, 139

Southern Poverty Law Center, 290

sovereignty of the individual. See self-ownership

Soviet Union, 34, 54–56, 63, 79, 210, 240, 258, 273, 286

Sowell, Thomas, 238–39, 308n78

Spanish-American War, 267–69

speech. See freedom of speech

Spence, Thomas, 84

Spencer, Herbert: and anarchism, 115–16; on children’s rights, 316n79; criticisms of, 53–54, 86, 182, 183–85; on expediency, 105, 329n41; on government’s role, 35, 128, 129; and human nature, 133–34; influence of, 60, 84–85, 294; on intellectual property, 87–88; and labor unions, 177; on land and property, 38, 41, 80, 84–88, 97, 99; libertarianism of, 16, 17, 38–39, 41; and liberty, 14, 30–31, 38, 52, 186–87; *The Man versus the State*, 35, 41, 56; opposition to imperialism, 187, 268; opposition to socialism, 54, 56, 76; pessimistic trend of thought of, 41, 86, 270; and the poor, 184–90, 347n9, 348n20; *The Principles of Ethics*, 85, 349n25; and social critique, 293; *Social Statics*, 35, 38–39, 84–85, 97, 115, 130, 184, 349n25; and survival of the fittest, 184–87; and utilitarianism, 16; and women’s rights and status, 130, 348n19

Spencer, Richard, 290

spontaneous order: characteristics of, 27; customs and rules/laws resulting from, 192–93; defined, 27; free markets and, 27–28; as fundamental concern of libertarians, 6, 27–28; law-governed order vs., 28; limitations of, from radical libertarian perspective, 28; mutual aid societies as example of, 198–202; poverty relief through promotion of, 190–97; property conventions as, 94–95; self-interest as cause of, 20, 191–92, 196; white flight as, 252. See also social complexity

Spooner, Lysander: on government’s role, 112, 119–20, 125, 128–30, 331n11, 331n17;
influence of, 60, 229; on intellectual property, 87–89; and labor, 77–78, 175; “A Letter to Grover Cleveland,” 128, 334n6; libertarianism of, 5, 17, 20; and liberty, 52, 119–20; mail delivery service established by, 111–13; and moral parity, 228–29, 331n11; “No Treason,” 128; and poverty, 205–7; and property, 98, 104, 107–8, 294, 327n103; and slavery, 208, 228–31, 283; on taxes, 107–8

Sprading, Charles T., 11

Stalin, Joseph, 55–56

Stanley, Edward, 225

state. See government/the state

state-capacity libertarianism, 216–18

states’ rights, 237, 359n65

statism, 11, 61, 145, 153, 208, 215, 236, 258, 279, 284–85

Steiner, Hillel, 87

Stigler, George, 171; “Roofs or Ceilings?,” 60

Stirner, Max, 52–53, 141

Stokes, Carl, 202

Storey, Moorfield, 269

Story, Joseph, 112–13

Stossel, John, 235

strict libertarianism: adherents of, 12–13; business and, 175; characteristics of, 12–17; history of, 12–13, 14, 17; and liberty, 31; moral approach of, 15–16, 142; and property, 21–22, 31, 97–98; rationalism of, 14–17; rationalism of, 15–16, 142; recent development of, 12–13; self-ownership as fundamental concept of, 70; socialism vs., 40

Stromberg, Joseph, 168

Students for a Democratic Society, 154, 295

Students for Liberty, 65

Sumner, William Graham, 183–89, 268–70, 348n6, 349n25

surplus value, 82

survival of the fittest, 182–86

Taft-Hartley Act (United States), 346n85

Tappan, Arthur, 227

taxation: illegitimacy of, 107–8, 229; negative, 197; progressive, 57–58, 195

Taylor, Jared, 290

Tesón, Fernando, 257

Thatcher, Margaret, 210

Thierry, Augustin, 162


Thomas, Clarence, 250

Thompson, Phillips, 182

Time Store, Cincinnati, Ohio, 135–36, 136

Tocqueville, Alexis de, 200

Tolstoy, Leo, 146

Tomasi, John, Free Market Fairness, 65, 210

trade. See free markets/trade

Trade Union Act (Britain), 40

tragedy of the commons, 91–95, 326n93

Trenchard, John, Cato’s Letters, 49

Trump, Donald, 66, 291

Tucker, Benjamin: and anarchism, 5, 10, 66, 124; and crime/protective services, 141; criticism of George, 323n56; economic views of, 166; and egoism, 52–53, 141; on government’s role, 127, 128, 141, 216; influence of, 51, 60, 216; influences on, 51, 71, 120; on intellectual property, 89–90; and labor, 79, 82, 135, 175–76; on land and property, 87, 89; libertarianism of, 5, 10–11, 51, 294, 300n8; pessimism of, 270; and poverty, 53–54, 205, 207–8; and women’s voting rights, 130

Tullock, Gordon, 23, 206, 212

Turgot, Jacques, 44

Turner, Nat, 228

Twain, Mark (Samuel Langhorne Clemens), 269

unintended consequences, 105, 188–90, 197

unions. See labor unions

United States: British and French thought vs. that of, 49–50; imperialism of, 268–70; libertarianism in, 2–5, 34, 49–67, 294; poverty in, 205–8; slavery in, 4, 7, 50–51, 225–34; socialism in, 3–5, 50, 57; and Spanish-American War, 267–68
University of Chicago. See Committee on Social Thought, University of Chicago
University of Chicago Press, 59
U.S. Constitution, 111, 227, 228, 229
U.S. Department of War, 270
U.S. Postal Service, 109–10, 270
U.S. State Department, 131
U.S. Supreme Court, 246
usury, 38, 82, 89, 205–7, 318n10
utilitarianism/consequentialism: Bentham and, 37–39; critiques of, 74, 100–101; democracy and, 129; justice in relation to, 22, 305n52; libertarianism compared to, 15–16, 30–31; and liberty, 30; and property, 100–105; rationalistic forms of, 16
utopian societies. See experimental communities
vaccination, 42, 43, 215, 292, 312n38
Vallier, Kevin, 18
VDARE, 290
veil of uncertainty, 212–13
victimless crimes, 29
Victorian values, 187–88, 202–3, 207–8, 260, 264
Vietnam War, 284
Viner, Jacob, 157, 195
violence. See coercion
Virginia school of economics, 5–6
Vitoria, Francisco de, 68–69, 318n10
Volker Fund, 58, 59, 173, 174
Voltaire, 181
voluntary association/exchange: and free markets, 25; global peace and, 266–67; and labor, 75, 177–78, 216, 223; libertarian advocacy of, 179–81; and property, 22; rights-respecting racism and, 245–50; and socialism, 36, 50, 54; and social order, 48, 62, 71, 113, 140, 145; and trade, 70, 160, 167, 194; in United States, 200
voting and voting rights: criticisms of, 128–30, 229; women’s, 130
Walker, Edwin Cox, 120–21
Walker, James L., 315n76
war: isolationist responses to, 240, 270–72, 279–80, 282; libertarian theories of/ opposition to, 4, 107, 125, 186, 234, 263, 264–70, 280, 282–85; optimistic forecasts of end of, 263, 314n64. See also peace
Warren, Josiah, 52, 71, 116, 134–37, 175, 319n11
Washington, Booker T., 202
wealth: of capitalists, 82–83; distribution of, 36, 99, 158, 209; legislators’ alignment with, 188; markets/trade as means of, 27–28, 46; mercantilism and, 158; political use and procurement of, 348n16; self-interest as cause of, 27, 191; voluntary exchange as cause of, 26. See also economics/economy
Webb, Beatrice, 203
Weber, Max, 113
Weinstein, James, 168
Weld, Bill, 292
welfare state, 64, 66, 197–98, 209, 240, 244–45, 277, 289–90. See also mutual aid
Wesley, John, 224
West Indies, 222–23
Weydemeyer, Joseph, 162
white flight, 252
white supremacy, 250–51, 253, 290, 293
Wild, Laura Ingalls, 56, 316n90
Wilkinson, Will, 65, 211
Will, George, 62
Williams, Walter, 235, 239–40
Williams, William Appleman, 168
Wilson, Woodrow, 284
women, rights and status of, 130, 227–28, 348n19
The Word (magazine), 120, 334n48
World War I, 275
World War II, 271, 279
Wright, Henry, 118, 122, 227–28
X, Malcolm, 220
Yarros, Victor, 52, 124, 128, 130, 315n75, 332n29
Young Americans for Freedom, 279, 281
Zionism, 286–87
Zwolinski, Matt, 65, 210, 214