

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 intellectual 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, threatens 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 libertarianism as a quintessentially American doctrine that emerged in the twentieth century. In fact, libertarianism was born in the nineteenth 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 may 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.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 *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.³

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.

INDEX

- 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
- abortion rights, 292
- 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;
racism; slavery
- agency shops, 346n85
- Allende, Salvador, 130
- Alm, Richard, 191
- alt-right, 290, 335n71
- Amash, Justin, 253
- 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, 172
- 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
- anarcho-capitalism, 62, 140-46, 174, 338n114
- anarcho-communism, 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
- Aquinas, 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
- Azpilcueta 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 Liberty Matters, 251-52
- Black Lives Matter, 253
- Black Nationalism, 220

- 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, 282
Bradford, William, 92-93
Bramwell, Lord, 41
Brennan, Jason, 24
Bright, John, 38, 204, 258-60, 262,
264-67
Brimelow, 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,
303n33
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 entre-
preneurship, 180; free markets in relation
to, 149; libertarian attitudes toward,
149, 163, 166, 172, 174-75, 179-81;
neoliberalism and, 175; political expen-
ditures of, 174; political power of,
155-63; Rand and, 148-51; and regu-
lation, 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
Cannon, Michael F., 253
Cantillon, Richard, 44
Cantwell, Christopher, 290-91, 293
capitalism: anarcho-, 62, 140-46, 174,
338n114; 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; radi-
calization 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; con-
cerning 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; libertari-
anism 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
creative destruction, 152
Crenshaw, Kimberlé, 253
crime: anarchism and, 132–33, 137–45;
protection against, 137–45; victimless, 29
Crimean War, 264–67
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/demysti-
fication
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
- Dumenhill, Lynn, 200
- Dunoyer, Charles, 44, 139, 159, 162-64
- Duranty, Walter, 56
- Eakins, David, 168
- East India Company, 155
- economics/economy: in American thought, 52; in French thought, 44, 48, 155-63; growth of, 26, 47, 131, 175, 180, 191, 196; heterodox libertarianism and, 81-83; liberalism associated with, 191; libertarianism associated with, 5, 35-36; self-interest as basis of, 193-94; Social Darwinism and, 184. *See also* capitalism; free markets/trade; protectionism; regulation; wealth
- The Economist* (magazine), 259
- 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, 329n141
- 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; crony 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
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 118, 122, 146, 225–28, 232
- 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, 23–25, 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

- 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 Serf-*
 dom, 58–59, 131, 273, 278; skepticism
 of authority, 23, 28; and social com-
 plexity, 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 perspec-
 tive 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
Hodgskin, Thomas, 35, 37, 80, 82, 96,
 176, 216, 293, 310n7, 322n46; *Labour*
 Defended against the Claims of Capital,
 37, 176, 342n36
Hofstadter, Richard, 183–85
homesteading, 78
Hoover, Herbert, 151, 284
Hoppe, Hans-Hermann, 244, 290–91,
 292–93, 335n71
House Un-American Activities Com-
 mittee, 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 Carters, 198
individualism: in Britain, 29, 41–43; as
 fundamental concern of libertarians,
 3, 6, 29–30, 220–21; and group identi-
 ties, 220–21; and liberty, 30–31; meth-
 odological, 29–30; and morality, 29,
 75; and nonaggression principle, 74;
 normative, 29; origin of term, 311n25;
 and poverty, 203–5; public choice eco-
 nomics 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

- 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
- Kaufman, 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; libertari-
anism 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; neo-
liberal distancing from, 18; origin of
term, 341n27; survival of the fittest
linked to, 183–84
- land: of American Indians, 68–70; con-
troversies 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; natu-
ral rights basis of, 306n61; prevention
of plunder as purpose of, 161; spontane-
ous order as source of, 192–93; spon-
taneous 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) [news-letter], 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
- libertarianism: absolutism of, 3, 14-16; anarchism associated with, 3, 5, 10; basic concepts of, 1-3, 6-7, 9-13, 21-33, 35; in Britain, 2-3, 34, 37-43, 293-94; capitalism associated with, 10; civil, 11; Cold War, 54-63; critiques of, 182-84, 241; deontological, 15, 22, 60, 106; economics associated with, 5; epistemological principles (logic, rationalism, monism) underlying, 2, 7, 14-15; examples of, 1-2; in France, 2-3, 34, 44-49, 293-94; as fundamental concern of libertarians, 300n3; heterodox, 78-87; history of, 34-67; identity crisis (post-Cold War) of, 63; intellectual history of, 2-5, 8, 33; and labor, 4; origins of, 9-13, 34-54, 152-53, 300-301nn1-10; pejorative connotations of, 10; periods/waves of, 7; pluralism of, 6, 7, 11-12, 20-21, 59-60, 63-66, 293-97; popular conceptions of, 1-2, 4-5, 12-13, 301n16; progressive, 47, 65; progressivism of, 43; radicalism of, 3-4, 7, 13, 14-16, 26; reactionary components of, 4, 7; strict meaning of, 12-13, 17; systematic character of, 3, 14, 32, 35; terminological considerations for, 16-18; Third Wave, 63-66, 215-16, 295-96; in United States, 2-5, 34, 49-67, 294; utilitarianism/consequentialism compared to, 15-16, 30-31. *See also* strict libertarianism
- 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

- 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
Molinari, Gustave de, 35, 47–48, 137–41, 145–46, 176, 216, 263, 270, 274, 314n63, 337n101, 338n108, 338n114
monarchy, 335n71
money. *See* monopoly: on money/currency; wealth
monopoly: French mercantilism and, 157–58; government/state, 24–25, 79, 110–13, 166–67, 206–8; and intellectual property, 89; on money/currency, 82, 207–8; postal, 109–13; racist policies and, 247–49
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

- moral parity thesis, 24, 30, 46–47, 123–27, 268, 282, 306n59
- 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
- neoliberalism: 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 Deal, 55–57, 151–52, 164, 167, 258, 271, 273, 279, 295
- 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, 291
- 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 Vis-
count, 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
Pinochet, 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 liber-
tarianism and, 53–54; capitalism as
anecdote to, 195; deserving vs. unde-
serving, 187–88, 203; individualistic
vs. collective approaches to, 203–5;
intractability of, 190–91; libertarian
approaches to, 183–98; liberty seen as
anecdote 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 funda-
mental 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; Lock-
ean 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

- race: discrimination by, 234-35, 237, 239-40, 246-48; segregation by, 7, 235, 242, 247-48; slavery linked to, 50, 120. *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; rights-respecting, 245-50; structural, 32-33, 221, 246, 250, 252; whites 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

- rights: individualism linked to, 29; liberty linked to, 31; racism justified by respect of, 245–50; strict libertarianism and, 31; voting, 130. *See also* natural law/rights
- Right to Work laws, 177–78, 346n85
- Rockwell, Llewelyn, Jr., 64, 240–43, 251, 290–91
- Rojas, Fabio, 252
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 56, 151, 271, 279, 284
- Röpke, Wilhelm, 18, 303n33
- Rothbard, Murray: *America's Great Depression*, 61; anarchism/radicalism of, 20, 28, 60, 62, 117, 141–42, 149–55, 174, 281, 303n35, 338n114; *An Austrian Perspective on the History of Economic Thought*, 61; and crime/protective services, 141–42, 220, 243–44; criticism of utilitarianism, 100–101; critiques of American foreign policy, 283–84, 287; economic views of, 10, 151–55, 157, 166–67, 174; *The Ethics of Liberty*, 1, 61; on government's role, 125–26; and human nature, 272; influence of, 1, 13, 61–62, 142–43, 280; influences on, 37, 60, 126, 159, 229; on intellectual property, 90; and Israel, 286–87, 368n116; libertarianism of, 1, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 60–61, 64, 152–54, 174–75, 280–87, 295, 309n3; and liberty, 31; *Man, Economy and State*, 61, 174; moral approach of, 15, 20, 21, 24, 125, 142, 282; *Mozart Was a Red*, 150; and natural law, 141–42; *A New History of Leviathan*, 154; *For a New Liberty*, 61, 73; and nonintervention, 281–84; opposition to conservatism, 61, 281; opposition to militarism, 280, 282–83; and paleo-libertarianism, 64, 243–44; on pollution, 307n68; and property, 21, 31, 72, 78, 98, 104, 328n119; racial attitudes of, 243–45; and Rand, 149–51, 286, 340n6; and rights, 304n40; and self-ownership, 72–73; and socialism, 60–61; *The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult*, 150; Volker Fund's support of, 173, 174
- 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, 17, 64, 94–95, 99
- Scholasticism, 69–70, 106, 318n10
- Schultz, Alfred, 58
- Schumpeter, Joseph, 152
- Second Amendment, 230
- Second Opium War, 267
- Seeley, John Robert, 301n9
- 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, 70–77; liberty linked to, 25, 31; Locke and, 72; as moral right, 22; Nozick and, 72–76, 319n15; 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,
208; racial and sociological 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 govern-
ment'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* spon-
taneous order
- social contract, 24, 125, 128, 164
- Social Darwinism, 182–86, 218, 268
- socialism: in Britain, 3, 40–41, 43; con-
servatism in relation to, 153; equated
with slavery, 76; in France, 3, 46–47;
Hayek's opposition to, 5, 18, 28, 57,
58–59, 273; liberalism 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, 329n141; on government's role, 35,
128, 129; and human nature, 133–34;
influence of, 60, 84–85, 294; on intel-
lectual 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 radi-
cal 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, 334n56; libertarianism of, 5, 17, 20; and liberty, 52, 119–20; mail delivery service established by, 111–13; and moral parity, 24, 306n61; and natural rights, 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; radicalism 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, 348n16, 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
- Third Wave libertarianism, 63–66; BHL, 64–66, 215, 295–96; left-libertarianism, 65–66, 296; mutualist, 216; paleo-libertarianism, 64, 66, 240–45, 290–91, 296
- 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
- Tulloch, 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
- Wilder, 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