



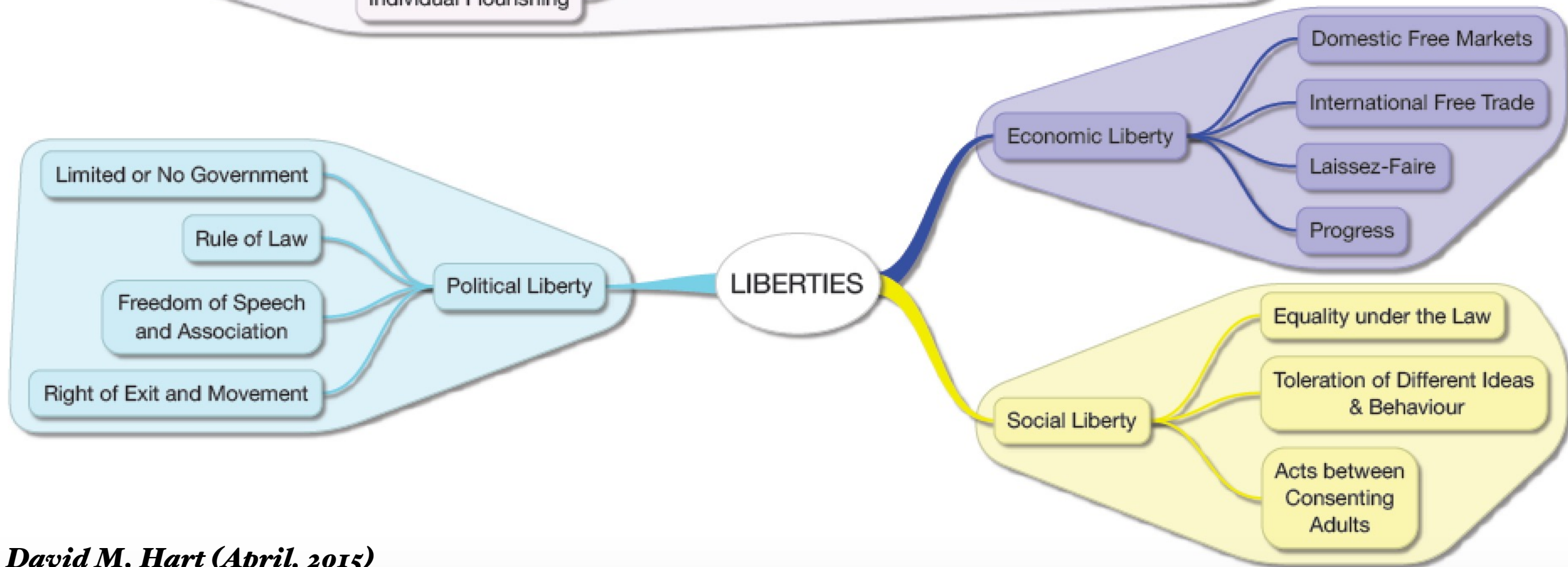
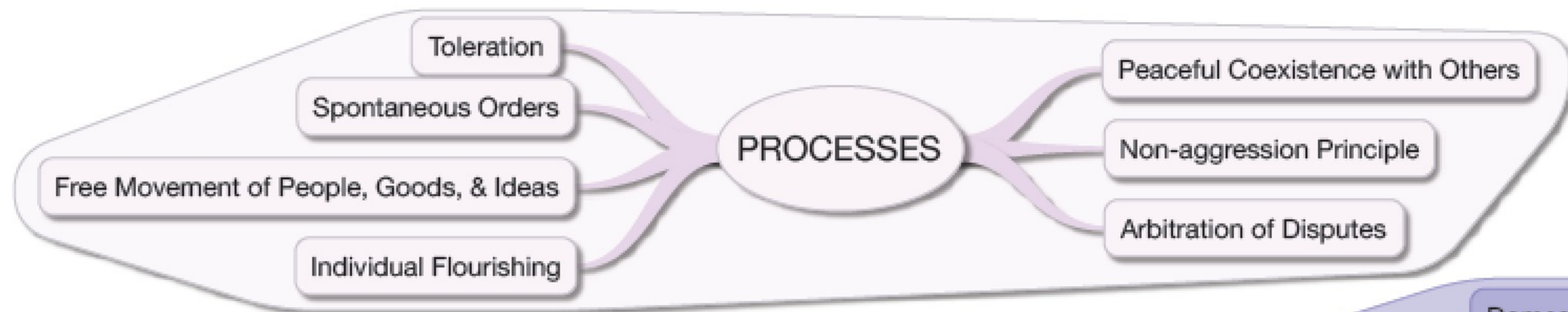
**“A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL LIBERALISM:
IDEAS & MOVEMENTS”**

IHS Summer Seminar

Bryn Mawr, June 2015

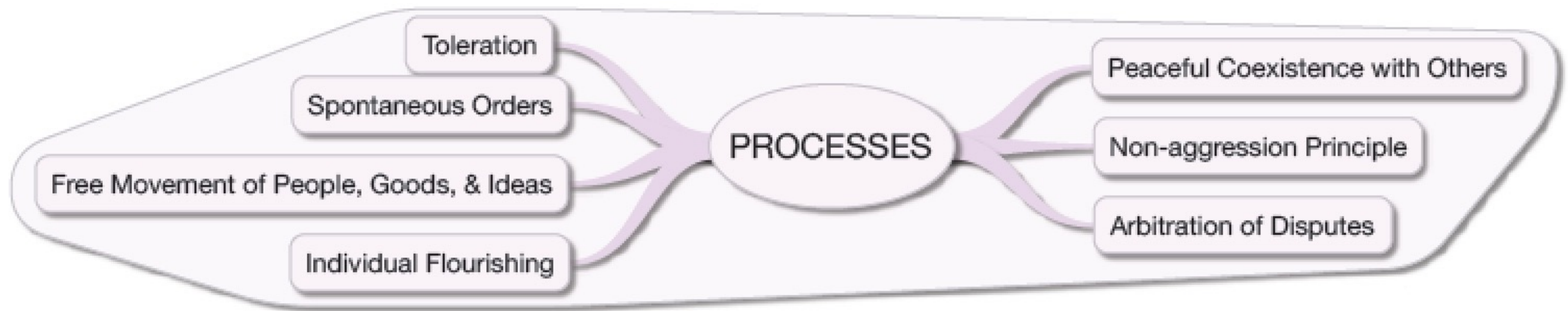
Dr. David M. Hart

KEY IDEAS OF CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

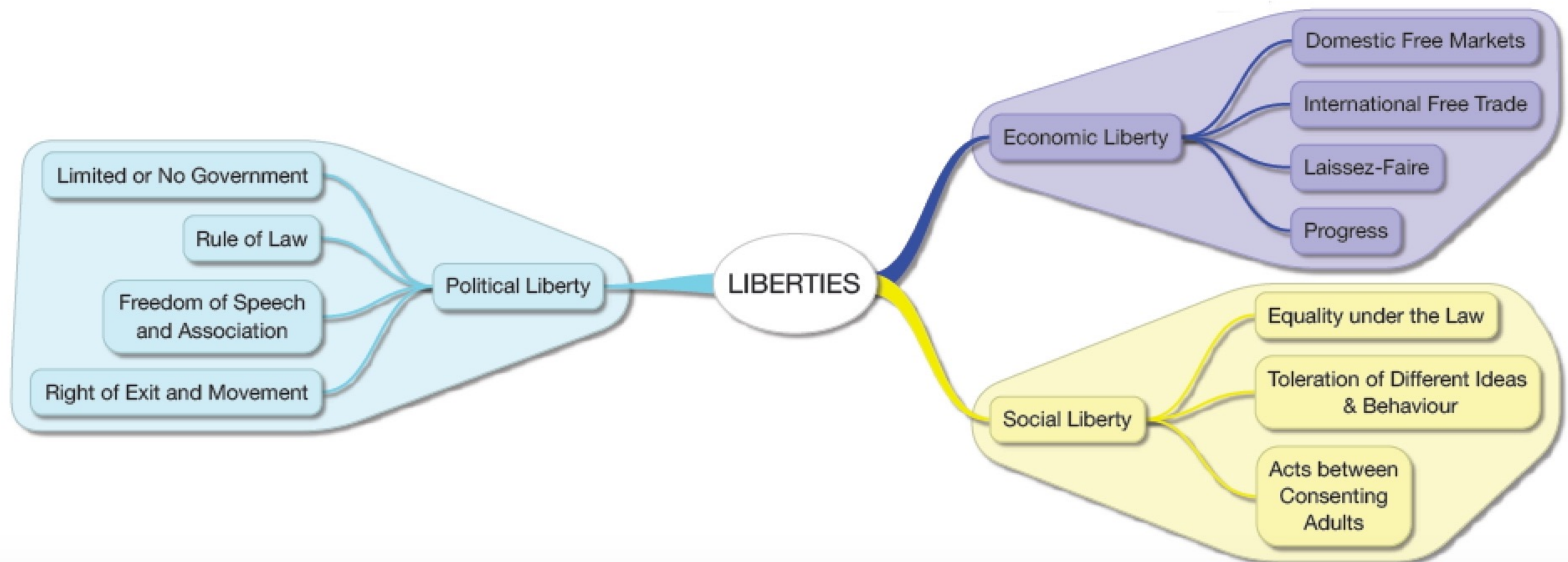




The foundations for these beliefs are based upon the following basic principles and philosophical grounds



The processes by which these principles are carried out/put into practice



LIBERTY is compromised of three main bundles of freedoms

Frédéric Bastiat on LIBERTY as the sum of all freedoms (1850)



**Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850),
The Law (June 1850)**

Frédéric Bastiat on LIBERTY as the combinations of all freedoms (1850)

And **what is liberty**, this word that has the power of making all hearts beat faster and causing agitation around the world, if it is not **the sum of all freedoms**: freedom of conscience, teaching, and association; freedom of the press; freedom to travel, work, and trade; in other words, **the free exercise of all inoffensive faculties by all men** and, in still other terms, **the destruction of all despotic regimes, even legal despotism**, and the reduction of the law to its sole rational attribution, which is to regulate the individual law of legitimate defense or to punish injustice.

The Law (June 1850)

<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/2450#Bastiat_1573-02_931>

Twelve Key Concepts of Liberty



Revolutionary Playing Card, “The Spirit of Peace (Prosperity)” (1793)

1. Natural Law and Natural Rights
2. Private Property
3. Individual Liberty
4. Idea of Spontaneous Order
5. Free Markets
6. Limited Government
7. Rule of Law
8. Freedom of Speech & Religion
9. Free Trade
10. Peace
11. Progress
12. Right of Exit

What Classical Liberals were FOR: Basic Principles & Grounds for Liberty - Natural Rights & Private Property

Readings: *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (2008).

- “Natural Rights,” pp. 434-36; “Equality,” pp. 154-56; “Private Property,” pp. 393-94

- property rights are not created by government but exist anterior to it (i.e. they are “natural rights” not “artificial rights” (Hodgskin)
- the right of self-propriety or self-ownership (the Levellers & Locke)
- the right to acquire unowned property (Locke)
- the right to exchange property titles with others (private contracts)
- the right to enjoy one's property so long as no aggression is initiated against others (non-aggression axiom)
- property rights (in one's person, home, possessions) create an individual, private sphere which must be protected from outside interference (by state, church, other individuals) (Humboldt & Mill)
- the Law of Equal Freedom (Spencer)

John Locke on the State of Nature & Self- Ownership (1689)



JOHN LOCKE

John Locke (1632-1704)

Two Treatises of Government (1689)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/222>>

John Locke on Self-Ownership

Of Property

§. 27. Though the earth, and all inferior creatures, be common to all men, yet **every man has a property in his own person**: this no body has any right to but himself.

The labour of his body, and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his.

Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. It being by him removed from the common state nature hath placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other men: for this labour being the unquestionable property of the labourer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good, left in common for others.

John Locke on the State of Nature

§. 6. ...The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being **all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions...**

§. 7. And that **all men may be restrained from invading others rights, and from doing hurt to one another**, and the law of nature be observed, which willeth the peace and preservation of all mankind, the execution of the law of nature is, in that state, put into every man's hands, whereby every one has a right to punish the transgressors of that law to such a degree, as may hinder its violation... And if any one in the state of nature may punish another for any evil he has done, every one may do so: for in that state of perfect equality, where naturally **there is no superiority or jurisdiction of one over another**, what any may do in prosecution of that law, every one must needs have a right to do.

What Classical Liberals were FOR: Political Liberty - Limited Government

Readings: *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (2008).

- “Limited Government,” pp. 303-305; “Anarchism,” pp. 10-13; “Anarcho-Capitalism,” pp. 13-14

- strictly defined powers limited by constitution or bill of rights (Jefferson, Madison)
- right to choose one's rulers/representatives (elections) (Philosophic Radicals - Mill)
- checks & balances to limit power of branches of government (Montesquieu, US Constitution)
- decentralization of power (federalism, states rights, municipal govt.)
- the problem of defining the limits of govt. power (classical Smithian view, nightwatchman state, anarcho-capitalism)
- the problem of keeping government limited (anarcho-capitalism)



What Classical Liberals were FOR: Political Liberty - Rule of Law

Readings: *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (2008).

- “Limited Government,” pp. 303-305; “Constitutionalism”, pp. 100-103; “Rule of Law”, pp. 445-447.

- “the rule of laws not of men”
- the law applies equally to all (including agents of the state)
- independent courts
- common law, trial by jury, right to habeas corpus
- abolition of “cruel & unusual punishment” (torture, death penalty)

Sir William Blackstone argues that no man may be deprived of his just property except by the lawful judgment of his peers (1628)



Sir Edward Coke (1552 – 1634)

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/3894>>

Sir Edward Coke, *Petition of Right* (1628)

<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/913#1f0462-03_head_040>

Sir William Blackstone argues that no man may be deprived of his just property except by the lawful judgment of his peers (1628)

And where also by the statute called the Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted that **no free man may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land;** and in the 28th year of the reign of King Edward the Third it was declared and enacted by authority of parliament that no man, of what state or condition that he be, shall be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law.

Sir Edward Coke, *Petition of Right* (1628)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quote/203>>

The Protection of One's Property under the Constitution

Rob Sitch, *The Castle* (1997) - [5 mins 49]

Section 51(xxxi) creates a right to compensation
"on just terms" for "acquisition of property" by the
Commonwealth from any state or person

<<http://www.apf.gov.au/senate/general/constitution/>>





Rob Sitch, *The Castle* (1997)

Benjamin Constant and the Freedom of the Press (1815)



Benjamin Constant (1767 – 1830)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/3890>>

**Benjamin Constant, *Principles of Politics
Applicable to all Governments* (1815)**
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/861>>

Benjamin Constant and the Freedom of the Press (1815)

If you once grant the need to repress the expression of opinion, either the State will have to act judicially or the government will have to arrogate to itself police powers which free it from recourse to judicial means. In the first case the laws will be eluded. Nothing is easier than presenting an opinion in such variegated guises that a precisely defined law cannot touch it. In the second case, **by authorizing the government to deal ruthlessly with whatever opinions there may be, you are giving it the right to interpret thought, to make inductions, in a nutshell to reason and to put its reasoning in the place of the facts which ought to be the sole basis for government counteraction. This is to establish despotism with a free hand.** Which opinion cannot draw down a punishment on its author? You give the government a free hand for evildoing, provided that it is careful to engage in evil thinking. You will never escape from this circle. **The men to whom you entrust the right to judge opinions are quite as susceptible as others to being misled or corrupted,** and the arbitrary power which you will have invested in them can be used against the most necessary truths as well as the most fatal errors.

Benjamin Constant, *Principles of Politics Applicable to all Governments* (1815)

<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/861#Constant_0452_270>



Eugène Delacroix, "Le Déménagement de la censure", *Le Miroir*, (11 February, 1822)
 (The Censors Moving House, or the Censors sent packing)

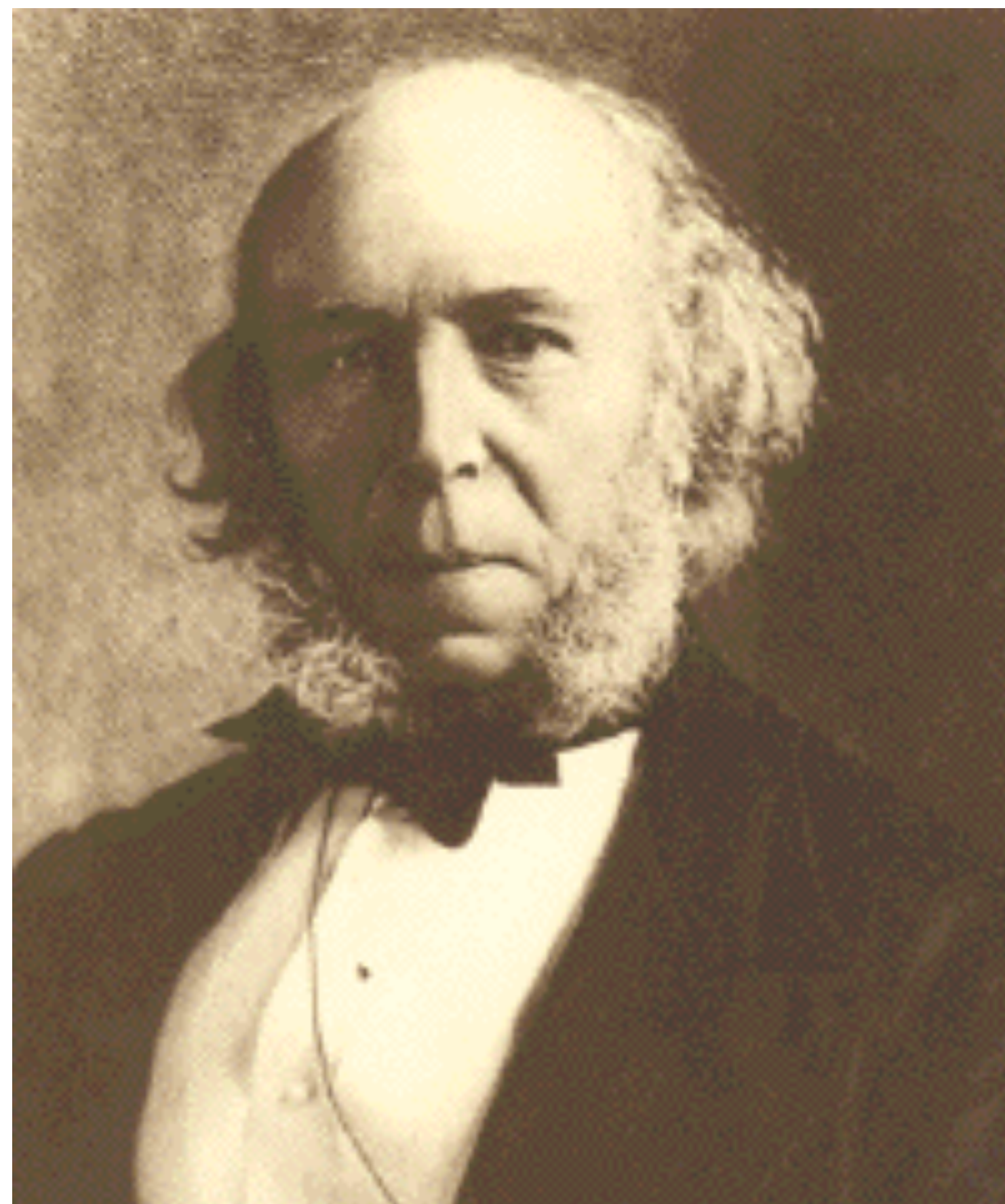
What Classical Liberals were FOR: Political Liberty - Right of Exit

Readings: *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (2008).

- “Right of Revolution”, pp. 431-33.

- internal (personal) - right to free movement within the state (no slavery, being tied to the land (serfs), internal passports & controls)
- external (personal) - right to emigrate/immigrate, right to cross political borders
- internal (govt)
 - right to change one’s government (“throw the bastards out” in free elections)
 - problem of “serial bastardry”
 - right of rebellion against unjust state, resistance to tyranny
 - the right to secede
 - the right to ignore the state (Spencer)

Herbert Spencer on the Right to Ignore the State (1851)



Herbert Spencer (1820-1903)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/165>>

Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics* (1851)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/273>>

Herbert Spencer on the Right to Ignore the State (1851) I

§ 1. As a corollary to the proposition that all institutions must be subordinated to the law of equal freedom, we cannot choose but admit **the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry**. If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, then **he is free to drop connection with the state**—to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying towards its support. It is self-evident that **in so behaving he in no way trenches upon the liberty of others**; for his position is a passive one; and whilst passive he cannot become an aggressor. It is equally selfevident that he cannot be compelled to continue one of a political corporation, without a breach of the moral law, seeing that citizenship involves payment of taxes; and the taking away of a man's property against his will, is an infringement of his rights.

Herbert Spencer on the Right to Ignore the State (1851) II

Government being simply an agent employed in common by a number of individuals to secure to them certain advantages, the very nature of the connection implies that it is for each to say whether he will employ such an agent or not. If any one of them determines to ignore this mutual-safety confederation, nothing can be said except that he loses all claim to its good offices, and exposes himself to the danger of maltreatment—a thing he is quite at liberty to do if he likes. **He cannot be coerced into political combination without a breach of the law of equal freedom; he can withdraw from it without committing any such breach; and he has therefore a right so to withdraw.**

What Classical Liberals were FOR: Economic Liberty - The Free Market Economy

Readings: *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (2008).

- “Free Market Economy” “Economic Development”; “Progress”

- domestic free markets and international free trade (A. Smith, F. Bastiat, L. von Mises)
- voluntary exchanges are mutually beneficial (ex ante)
- freely set market prices (information about supply & demand - Hayek)
- private ownership of economic assets - private contracts for exchange of property
- decentralized decision-making - “I, Pencil” - Hayek’s “problem of knowledge”
- no regulation outside of legal protection of property rights
- complete freedom of movement of people and goods (laissez-faire, laissez-passer)
- minimal/no taxes, balanced government budgets
- no subsidies or protection for favoured individuals or groups
- the incentive of profit and the disincentive of losses

Adam Smith on the natural ordering Tendency of Free Markets, or what he called the “Invisible Hand” (1776)



Adam Smith (1723-1790)

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quotes/249>>

As every individual, therefore, endeavours as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestick industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value; every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. **He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the publick interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it.** By preferring the support of domestick to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, **he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.** Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the publick good. It is an affectation, indeed, not very common among merchants, and very few words need be employed in dissuading them from it.

What Classical Liberals were FOR: Economic Liberty - Free Trade

Readings: *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (2008).

- “Free Trade”; “Natural Harmony of Interests”

- domestic free markets and international free trade (A. Smith, F. Bastiat, L. von Mises)
- complete freedom of movement of people and goods (laissez-faire, laissez-passer)
- foreign trade another example of mutually beneficial trade between individuals
- benefits of division of labour, comparative advantage (David Ricardo) exist between households, cities, regions, and “nation states”
- no subsidies or protection for favoured individuals or groups
- breakthrough text was A. Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* (1776) in struggle against mercantilism
- breakthrough policy was abolition of the British “Corn Laws” (1846 - R. Cobden)
- F. Bastiat brilliantly & wittily exposed the absurdities & self-interested motives of the protectionists in *Economic Sophisms* (1846, 1848)
- policy of unilateral free trade is beneficial to consumers

**Lysander Spooner on the
idea that laws against “vice”
(victimless crimes) are
unjust (1875)**



Lysander Spooner (1808-1887)

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quotes/270>>

VICES are those acts by which a man harms himself or his property.

Crimes are those acts by which one man harms the person or property of another.

Vices are simply the errors which a man makes in his search after his own happiness. Unlike crimes, they imply no malice toward others, and no interference with their persons or property.

In vices, the very essence of crime—that is, the design to injure the person or property of another—is wanting.

It is a maxim of the law that there can be no crime without a criminal intent; that is, without the intent to invade the person or property of another. But no one ever practises a vice with any such criminal intent. He practises his vice for his own happiness solely, and not from any malice toward others.

Unless this clear distinction between vices and crimes be made and recognized by the laws, there can be on earth no such thing as individual right, liberty, or property; no such things as the right of one man to the control of his own person and property, and the corresponding and co-equal rights of another man to the control of his own person and property.

For a government to declare a vice to be a crime, and to punish it as such, is an attempt to falsify the very nature of things. It is as absurd as it would be to declare truth to be falsehood, or falsehood truth.

**David Hume on the origin
of government in warfare,
and the “perpetual
struggle” between
Liberty and Power (1777)**



David Hume (1711-1776)

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quotes/148>>

It is probable, that the first ascendant of one man over multitudes begun during a state of war; where the superiority of courage and of genius discovers itself most visibly, where unanimity and concert are most requisite, and where the pernicious effects of disorder are most sensibly felt. The long continuance of that state, an incident common among savage tribes, enured the people to submission; and if the chieftain possessed as much equity as prudence and valour, he became, even during peace, the arbiter of all differences, and could gradually, by a mixture of force and consent, establish his authority....

In all governments, there is a perpetual intestine struggle, open or secret, between Authority and Liberty; and neither of them can ever absolutely prevail in the contest. A great sacrifice of liberty must necessarily be made in every government; yet even the authority, which confines liberty, can never, and perhaps ought never, in any constitution, to become quite entire and uncontroulable.

James Mill on Who are to watch the watchmen? (1835)



James Mill (1773-1836)

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quotes/495>>

We go upon the postulate, that the power, by which the class qui pillent succeed in carrying on their vocation, is an evil; and ought to be abated. This postulate, indeed, has been refused, and with cries of great indignation; but we have not time at present to examine them.

We assume, then, that this power ought to be taken away; and we say, that we know but one way of accomplishing our object, which is, to grant to the people the entire and complete choice of their representatives.

This has ever been the great problem of Government. The powers of Government are of necessity placed in some hands; they who are intrusted with them have infinite temptations to abuse them, and will never cease abusing them, if they are not prevented. How are they to be prevented? The people must appoint watchmen. But quis custodiet ipsos custodes? Who are to watch the watchmen?—The people themselves. There is no other resource; and without this ultimate safeguard, the ruling Few will be for ever the scourge and oppression of the subject Many.

**Wilhelm von Humboldt
argued that freedom was the
“Grand and Indispensable
Condition” for individual
flourishing (1792)**



Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835)

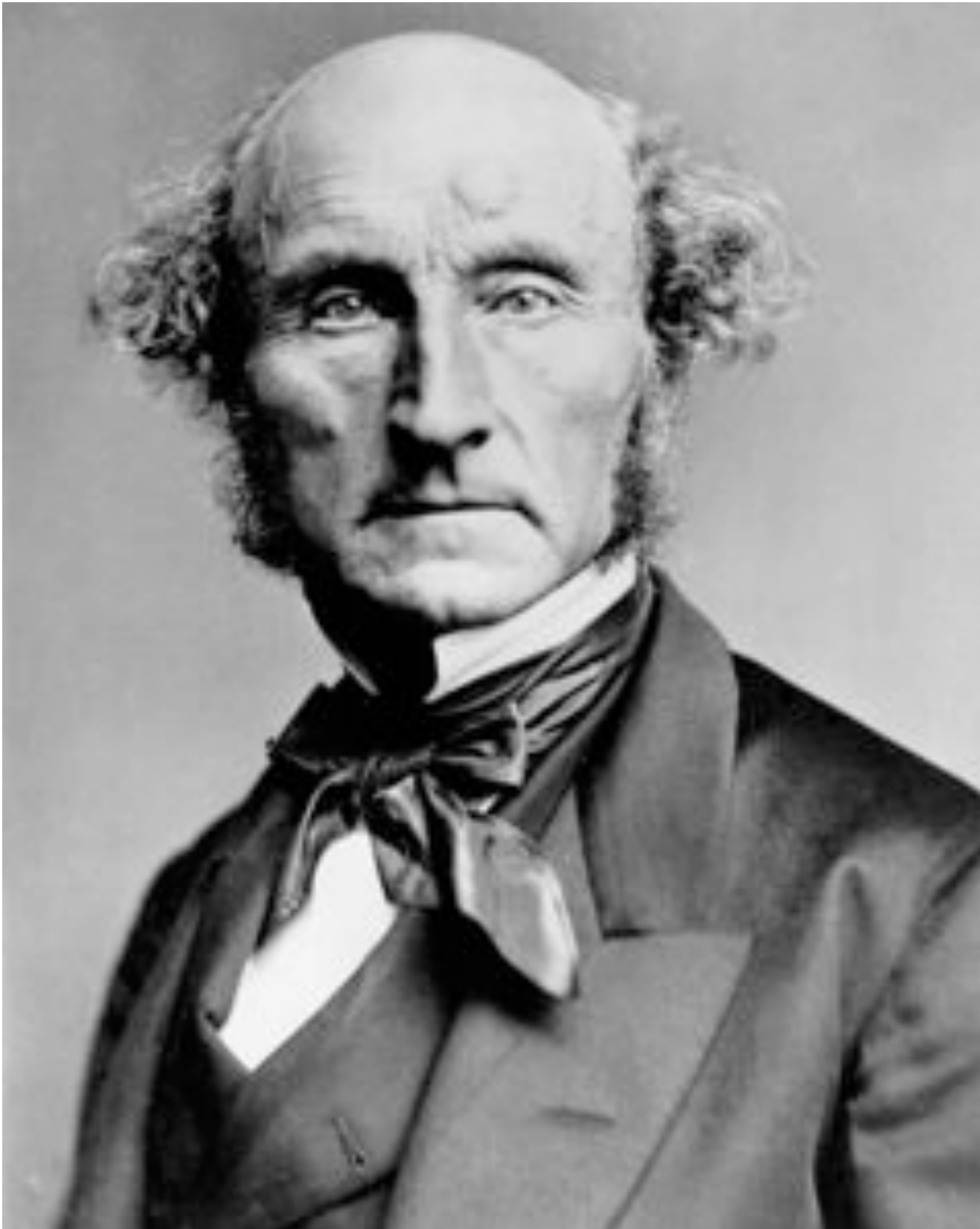
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quotes/62>>

The true end of Man, or that which is prescribed by the eternal and immutable dictates of reason, and not suggested by vague and transient desires, is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole. Freedom is the grand and indispensable condition which the possibility of such a development presupposes; but there is besides another essential,—intimately connected with freedom, it is true,—a variety of situations. Even the most free and self-reliant of men is thwarted and hindered in his development by uniformity of position. But as it is evident, on the one hand, that such a diversity is a constant result of freedom, and on the other, that there is a species of oppression which, without imposing restrictions on man himself, gives a peculiar impress of its own to surrounding circumstances; these two conditions, of freedom and variety of situation, may be regarded, in a certain sense, as one and the same...

I therefore deduce, as the natural inference from what has been argued, that reason cannot desire for man any other condition than that in which each individual not only enjoys the most absolute freedom of developing himself by his own energies, in his perfect individuality, but in which external nature even is left unfashioned by any human agency, but only receives the impress given to it by each individual of himself and his own free will, according to the measure of his wants and instincts, and restricted only by the limits of his powers and his rights.

From this principle it seems to me, that Reason must never yield aught save what is absolutely required to preserve it. It must therefore be the basis of every political system, and must especially constitute the starting-point of the inquiry which at present claims our attention.

**J.S. Mill's great principle
was that “over himself, over
his own body and mind, the
individual is
sovereign” (1859)**



John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quotes/81>>

The object of this Essay is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties, or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because, in the opinions of others, to do so would be wise, or even right. These are good reasons for remonstrating with him, or reasoning with him, or persuading him or entreating him, but not for compelling him, or visiting him with any evil, in case he do otherwise. To justify that, the conduct from which it is desired to deter him must be calculated to produce evil to some one else. The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

**Mary Wollstonecraft likens the
situation of soldiers under a
tyrant king to women under a
tyrant husband (1792)**



Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797)

***A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quotes/435>>**

Standing armies can never consist of resolute, robust men; they may be well disciplined machines, but they will seldom contain men under the influence of strong passions, or with very vigorous faculties. And as for any depth of understanding, I will venture to affirm, that it is as rarely to be found in the army as amongst women; and the cause, I maintain, is the same. It may be further observed, that officers are also particularly attentive to their persons, fond of dancing, crowded rooms, adventures, and ridicule. Like the fair sex, the business of their lives is gallantry. – They were taught to please, and they only live to please. Yet they do not lose their rank in the distinction of sexes, for they are still reckoned superior to women, though in what their superiority consists, beyond what I have just mentioned, it is difficult to discover.

The great misfortune is this, that they both acquire manners before morals, and a knowledge of life before they have, from reflection, any acquaintance with the grand ideal outline of human nature. The consequence is natural; satisfied with common nature, they become a prey to prejudices, and taking all their opinions on credulity, they blindly submit to authority. So that if they have any sense, it is a kind of instinctive glance, that catches proportions, and decides with respect to manners; but fails when arguments are to be pursued below the surface, or opinions analyzed.

May not the same remark be applied to women? Nay, the argument may be carried still further, for they are both thrown out of a useful station by the unnatural distinctions established in civilized life. Riches and hereditary honours have made cyphers of women to give consequence to the numerical figure; and idleness has produced a mixture of gallantry and despotism into society, which leads the very men who are the slaves of their mistresses to tyrannize over their sisters, wives, and daughters. This is only keeping them in rank and file, it is true. Strengthen the female mind by enlarging it, and there will be an end to blind obedience; but, as blind obedience is ever sought for by power, tyrants and sensualists are in the right when they endeavour to keep women in the dark, because the former only want slaves, and the latter a play-thing. The sensualist, indeed, has been the most dangerous of tyrants, and women have been duped by their lovers, as princes by their ministers, whilst dreaming that they reigned over them.

Frédéric Bastiat on “A Petition from the Manufacturers of Candles” (1846)



Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/25>>

Frédéric Bastiat , “A Petition of the Candlemakers” (1846)
<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/276#lfo182_head_021>

Frédéric Bastiat on “A Petition from the Manufacturers of Candles” (1846)

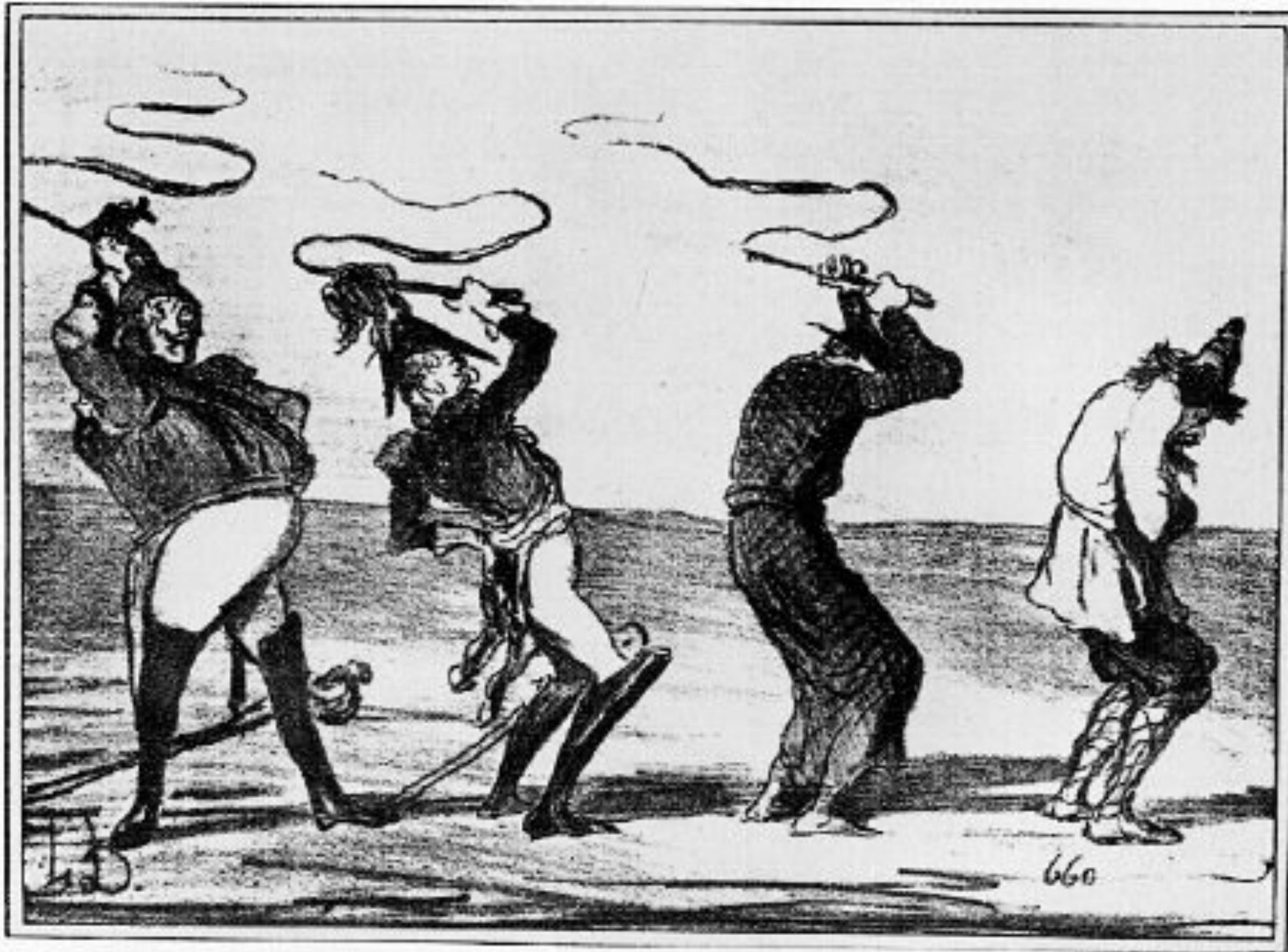
We are suffering from **the ruinous competition of a foreign rival** who apparently works under conditions so far superior to our own for the production of light that he is **flooding the domestic market with it at an incredibly low price; for the moment he appears, our sales cease**, all the consumers turn to him, and a branch of French industry whose ramifications are innumerable is all at once reduced to complete stagnation. This rival, which is none other than the sun, is waging war on us so mercilessly that we suspect he is being stirred up against us by perfidious Albion (excellent diplomacy nowadays!), particularly because he has for that haughty island a respect that he does not show for us.

We ask you to be so good as to pass a law requiring the closing of all windows, dormers, skylights, inside and outside shutters, curtains, casements, bull's-eyes, deadlights, and blinds—in short, all openings, holes, chinks, and fissures through which the light of the sun is wont to enter houses, to the detriment of the fair industries with which, we are proud to say, we have endowed the country, a country that cannot, without betraying ingratitude, abandon us today to so unequal a combat.

Frédéric Bastiat , “A Petition of the Candlemakers” (1846)

<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/276#Bastiat_0182_271>

The Military is a “Command Society”



The Army hierarchy.

Honoré Daumier, “The Army Hierarchy” (1860s)

Richard Cobden on the British Empire righting the world's wrongs (1854)



Richard Cobden (1804-1865)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/89>>

**Richard Cobden, "Speech in the House of Commons on the
Russian War" (December 22, 1854)**
<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/931#lf0129-02_head_001>

Richard Cobden on the British Empire righting the world's wrongs (1854)

But what are the grounds on which we are to continue this war, when the Germans have acquiesced in the proposals of peace which have been made? Is it that war is a luxury? Is it that we are fighting—to use a cant phrase of Mr. Pitt's time—to secure indemnity for the past, and security for the future? **Are we to be the Don Quixotes of Europe, to go about fighting for every cause where we find that some one has been wronged? In most quarrels there is generally a little wrong on both sides; and, if we make up our minds always to interfere when any one is being wronged, I do not see always how we are to choose between the two sides. It will not do always to assume that the weaker party is in the right, for little States, like little individuals, are often very quarrelsome, presuming on their weakness, and not unfrequently abusing the forbearance which their weakness procures them.**

Richard Cobden, "Speech in the House of Commons on the
Russian War" (December 22, 1854)

<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/931#Cobden_0129.02_14>

William Graham Sumner thought America's war against Spain would result in an American Empire (1898)



William Graham Sumner (1840 – 1910)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/person/236>>

William Graham Sumner, "The Conquest of the United States by Spain" (1898)
<http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/345#lf0255_label_369>

William Graham Sumner thought America's war against Spain would result in an American Empire (1898) I

The American people believe that they have a free country, and we are treated to grandiloquent speeches about our flag and our reputation for freedom and enlightenment. The common opinion is that we have these things because we have chosen and adopted them, because they are in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. We suppose, therefore, that we are sure to keep them and that the follies of other people are things which we can hear about with complacency. **People say that this country is like no other; that its prosperity proves its exceptionality, and so on. These are popular errors which in time will meet with harsh correction...**

Now what will hasten the day when our present advantages will wear out and when we shall come down to the conditions of the older and densely populated nations? The answer is: **war, debt, taxation, diplomacy, a grand governmental system, pomp, glory, a big army and navy, lavish expenditures, political jobbery - in a word, imperialism...**

William Graham Sumner thought America's war against Spain would result in an American Empire (1898) II

The great foe of democracy now and in the near future is **plutocracy**. Every year that passes brings out this antagonism more distinctly. It is to be **the social war of the twentieth century**. In that war **militarism, expansion and imperialism will all favor plutocracy**. In the first place, war and expansion will favor **jobbery**, both in the dependencies and at home. In the second place, they will take away the attention of the people from what the plutocrats are doing. In the third place, they will cause **large expenditures of the people's money**, the return for which will not go into the treasury, but into the hands of a few schemers. In the fourth place, they will call for a **large public debt and taxes**, and these things especially tend to make men unequal, because any social burdens bear more heavily on the weak than on the strong, and so make the weak weaker and the strong stronger. Therefore **expansion and imperialism are a grand onslaught on democracy**.

William Graham Sumner thought America's war against Spain would result in an American Empire (1898) III

The point which I have tried to make in this lecture is that **expansion and imperialism are at war with the best traditions, principles, and interests of the American people**, and that they will plunge us into a network of difficult problems and political perils, which we might have avoided, while they offer us no corresponding advantage in return.

William Graham Sumner, "The Conquest of the United States by Spain" (1898)
<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/quote/56>>

Opposition to War & Empire



"EXPANSION."

The water-cure method of extorting from Uncle Sam the confession that an Empire is better than a Republic.

**"Expansion: The Water-Cure method of extorting from Uncle Sam the confession that an Empire is better than a Republic" (January 31, 1902)
[The Anti-Imperialism League]**

Summary: What Classical Liberals were FOR & AGAINST

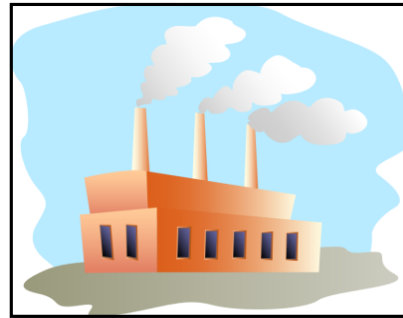
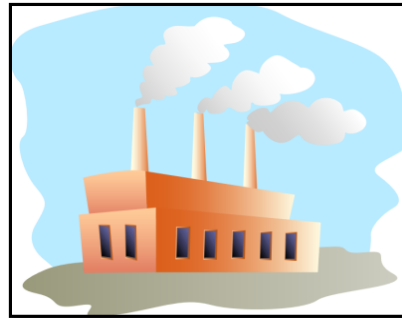
FOR:

1. Natural Law & Natural Rights
2. Private Property
3. Individual Liberty
4. Idea of Spontaneous Order
5. Free Markets
6. Limited Government
7. Rule of Law
8. Freedom of Speech & Religion
9. Free Trade
10. Peace
11. Progress
12. Right of Exit

AGAINST:

1. arbitrary political power
2. arbitrary religious power
3. slavery & serfdom
4. war & conscription
5. taxation
6. national debt
7. tariffs & other trade protection
8. subsidies & monopolies to favoured industries
9. central bank & fiat money
10. empire & colonies
11. censorship
12. torture, arbitrary arrest & imprisonment, execution

THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION OF GOODS



(Highest to lowest)

Raw materials

1st Order Factory
Production

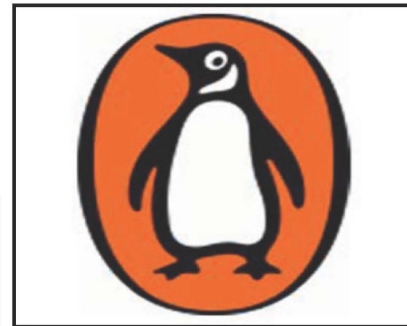
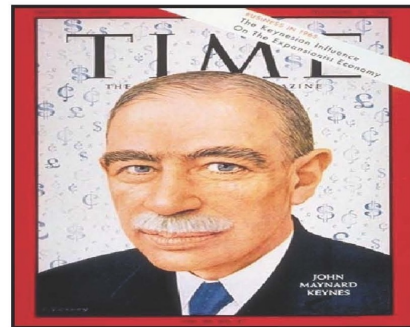
2nd Order Factory
Production

Distribution

Consumers

**The Austrian Theory of the Structure of
Production of Goods (Hayek & Mises)**

THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION OF IDEAS 1



THE PRODUCTION OF IDEAS

THE CONSUMPTION OF IDEAS

**Highest Order -
Original Research**

**2nd Highest -
broadening**

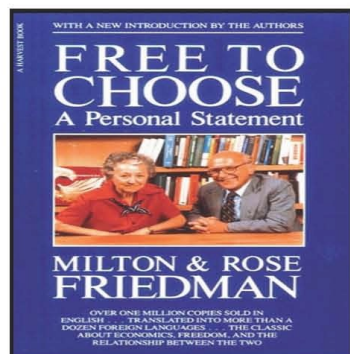
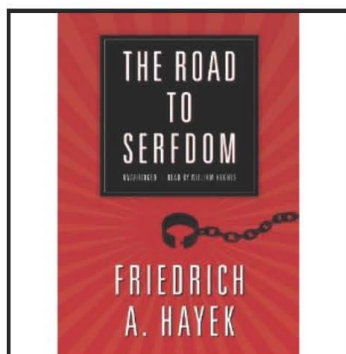
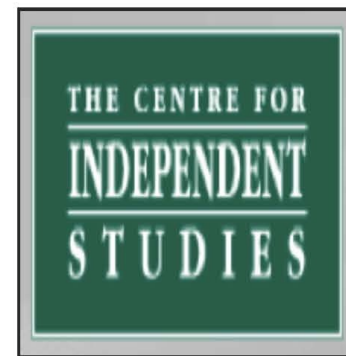
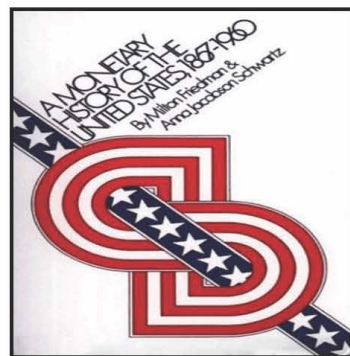
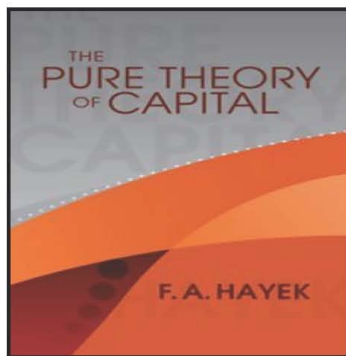
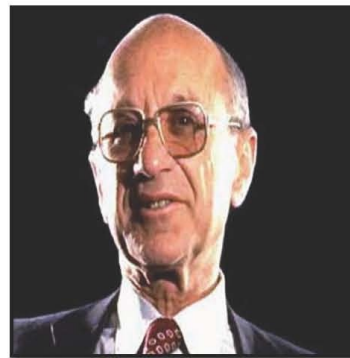
**3rd Highest -
popularization**

**Politicians,
Lobbyists, Vested
Interests**

**Citizens and
Voters**

A Hayekian Theory of the Structure of Production of Ideas

THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION OF IDEAS 2



Highest Order -
original research

2nd Highest -
popularization

Free Market
Think Tanks

Politicians,
Policy Makers

A Hayekian Theory of the Structure of Production of Ideas

The Power of the “Myth” of the Traditional Rights of Englishmen I



Ridley Scott, *Robin Hood* (2010) - Robin demands that the King respect the ancient rights of Englishmen in a written Charter [2 mins 47]

“Rise and Rise again until Lambs become Lions” (Never give up).



Ridley Scott, *Robin Hood* (2010)



That's all Folks!