

A Review: Digital Archeology of the Modern American Libertarian Movement¹

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Abstract:

The modern American libertarian movement began in the mid-1960s. The surviving written resources from this early era are vanishing, unless converted to digital format. This article provides background for the development of this movement and presents currently available online digital publication platforms. Along with some relevant publications in need of digital preservation.

Keywords: libertarian movement, libertarian history, libertarian publications, PDF, Rothbard, Republican libertarians, Libertarian Party, Ayn Rand.

1. Roots of the Modern American Libertarian Movement

Everyone who identifies as a “libertarian” today, in the American sense, has a different point of origin. This could be family, friends, loved ones, roommates, personal experiences or any number of other exposures. Today there are hundreds if not thousands of published books, magazines and articles. Thousands of Internet websites, blogs, discussion sites, YouTube and other videos. Along with less specific but still inherently libertarian themed works of art, films, poems, novels, plays and artistic or historical works of many different kinds. But 60 years ago, this was far different.

The pre Internet era of contemporary American libertarianism began in 1960, more or less. The exact starting point can’t be pinpointed, but before 1960 there were few self-identified American libertarians of the modern individualist, free market oriented kind. There were people who identified as “civil libertarians” for various reasons. But the American individualist limited government/market anarchist libertarian tradition was nearly extinct.

There were a few individuals, such as Dr. Murray N. Rothbard, (a Ph.D. economist/historian from New York City), who had formed a small circle of students and admirers of Ludwig von Mises and other economists of the “Austrian School” of economics. But this was mainly a study group. Novelist-screenwriter-philosopher Ayn Rand also lived in NYC and by the late 50s Rothbard had joined her Objectivist study circle for regular meetings. However admirers of Rand (Objectivists, Randians, and “Students of Objectivism” as Rand insisted on calling them) were mainly interested in her novels and the ideas and individualist philosophy expressed therein. She later wrote a several books of essays on her philosophy absent a literary context. However

“Miss Rand” didn’t like the term “libertarian.” Later in that decade she repeatedly denounced libertarians as “drug taking anarchists” and “hippies of the right” whose ideas were said to be incompatible with her official philosophy. Nonetheless most early American libertarians were familiar with her work and some, if not all, originally considered themselves Objectivists or Randians to one degree or another. Later the official Objectivist movement suffered a major split. By the late 60s Rand’s movement lost considerable momentum and influence among younger libertarians who disliked Rand’s authoritarian leadership style and culturally conservative personal values.

There was no organized libertarian movement or publications, though articles by libertarians, and sometimes mentioning “libertarians” or “libertarianism” appeared in a few small political magazines, journals or conservative publications.

There were also many other roads to modern American libertarianism. Many of which had no explicit basis in conservative, right-wing or anti-communist movements, trends or intellectual sources. Some individuals came from what might be loosely called the Left or New Left, such as the anti-Vietnam war activism, Quakerism or pacifism. A unique variant of libertarian pacifism, which had surprising and long term influence, arose from Robert LeFevre and his Colorado Springs based Freedom School, which lasted until the mid-70s. After moving to Southern California in the mid-60s this school later expanded to include the unaccredited Rampart College. This consisted of formal classroom study and lectures given by LeFevre at mini courses to young libertarians across America or on audio tape. LeFevre’s main teaching tenet which he termed “autarchism” reflected a radical individualist self-ownership principle along with consistent opposition to the use of physical force, even for self-defense. LeFevre’s personal history included leadership roles in oddball 1940’s southern California based spiritual cults (the Great I AM movement was one). But his later libertarian teachings about non-aggression, completely free markets and ethical and historical foundations of liberty caught on with several very successful entrepreneurs. Including textile manufacturer Roger Milliken and oil & gas entrepreneur Charles Koch Sr. and his family members. Several Freedom School students or teachers became mainstream libertarians and activist leaders. One young student teacher for LeFevre, Dana Rohrabacher, became a long tenured US congressman and champion of Ronald Reagan conservatism, with a distinct libertarian edge. Still other young libertarians emerged from both anti-Vietnam war and anti-draft activism. Some were intellectually and culturally leftist but became disillusioned with all forms of modern Marxism and state socialism. A few even came from “classical anarchism” roots dating back to the pre-communist Marxist European left. Others were disillusioned SDS activists from the American and European student protest movements. Still others, and there was considerable overlap in influences, stemmed from the 50s-60s explosion of imaginative science fiction.

A few very successful SF writers such as Robert Heinlein were explicitly libertarian or even anarchists. Some early libertarians such as L. Neil Smith enjoyed commercial success using future libertarian world themes. The mid 60s debut of ground breaking TV science fiction like Star Trek (though not explicitly very libertarian) made new ways of futurist thinking popular. Likewise the publication of J. R. R. Tolkien’s Lord of the Rings trilogy embodied fantasy tales where heroic Everyman characters seek out and destroy those who lusted after the Ring of Power, a clear metaphor for State Power. While Tolkien isn’t often considered a libertarian forefather, his Meta themes all present libertarian values and morality.

The development of effective cheap female birth control fueled a cultural sexual revolution. The post WWII Baby Boomer demographic, “New Frontier” JFK idealism about civil rights for racial minorities and rejection of colonialism and explicit foreign imperialism requiring military intervention all created the ideal circumstances for a new kind of American libertarianism to slowly emerge. American high school students of the time were routinely assigned George Orwell’s 1984 and Animal Farm and Aldous Huxley’s Brave New World for classroom reading. They thus absorbed some of those anti-state, anti-Stalinist messages and ideological themes.

It should also be noted that the American the First Wave feminist movement had some antecedents in early libertarian activism. Most visibly UC student Sharon Pressley founded and led

the Berkeley Libertarian Alliance, one of the first specifically identified libertarian groups formed. In the 70s she later helped organize the Alliance of Libertarian Feminists (ALF) which was a small caucus in the larger mainly Democrat Women's Political Caucus. It is also worth noting that while the Gay Liberation movement began publicly in the early 70s, many young gay conservatives and right-wingers became explicitly libertarian (or quiet fellow travelers) and no longer considered themselves conservatives. Anti-gay cultural bias was fairly strong in the traditional right/conservative circles, some of whom denounced gays as "unchristian" or immoral. Since libertarianism is about individual rights and personal choice, government persecution of homosexuals and bigotry was ideologically incompatible with libertarian values.

The John Birch Society and its publication *The New American* was more radical and in some areas anti-state, but overall the JBS was tainted with conspiratorial anti-Communist theories which put it inevitably beyond the "respectable conservative" pale. Somewhat surprisingly, the JBS today remains very anti-statist and hostile to federal Leviathan. Several JBS 60s era youth leaders became prominent early libertarian movement activists including Libertarian Party founder David Nolan and libertarian historian Jeffrey Rogers Hummel.

In the 50s the small booklet format *The Freeman* was published by the Foundation for Economic Education (FEE), which is still active. *The New Individualist Review* was initially sponsored by the University of Chicago Chapter of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The word "libertarian" appeared in both of these publications numerous times and some later prominent libertarian scholars and writers were regular contributors. If you wanted to find published libertarian thought in the 1960s, you could usually find it there. However, other than the Republican Barry Goldwater 1964 presidential campaign – whose main speechwriter was Karl Hess, later a major libertarian writer, speaker and activist – libertarianism was seldom encountered in political discourse. Jokes about being them being "librarians" grew very tiresome.

Partly due to the influence of the 1964 Goldwater presidential campaign among young conservatives (including this author) and the related growth of the right-wing youth group Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), more explicitly libertarian writings began to appear. In the *New Guard*, the monthly YAF magazine, articles appeared in the late 60s specifically written from a libertarian viewpoint. In late 1968 a small classified ad in the *New Guard* promoted Murray Rothbard's new monthly newsletter *Libertarian Forum*. This had begun a few months earlier, which he co-edited with Karl Hess and later several others. At the same time the official Objectivist movement was imploding over the scandalous split between Rand's second-in-command, psychologist Nathaniel Brandon (who was Rand's secret lover), and Rand herself. Simultaneously the conservative YAF youth group was undergoing a major split between the "trads" (conventional conservatives in the anti-communist Buckleyite mold) and the much more energetic emerging libertarian wing. (YAF survives to this day under the auspices of the Young America's Foundation.) YAF libertarians were basically forced out at their August 1969 national convention in St. Louis. Many would date the start of the modern American libertarian activist movement to this event. The YAF Libertarian Caucus walked out in a bloc and became the foundation for several other activist young libertarian groups: the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL), the Radical Libertarian Alliance (RLA), along with numerous local libertarian youth groups and fronts.

By the late 60s after the split from YAF, the American libertarian movement largely broke away from any former right-wing or Randian predecessor groups. In many cases activists began small newsletters or magazines. These all were self-published until the Reason Foundation, newly created in the mid 60s, expanded Reason magazine into a modern glossy professional format in late 1969.

Published books about the early formation of the modern American libertarian movement include *It Usually Begins with Ayn Rand*, by Jerome Tuccille and *Radicals for Capitalism* by Brian Doherty.

2. Intellectual Artifacts of the Modern American Libertarian Movement

While archeology is usually thought to be the uncovering of physical artifacts of the prehistoric and early historic past, “intellectual artifacts” are much the same with respect to uncovering and preserving information. In modern times of course there are artifacts such as physical books, magazines, newspapers, films, audio and video recordings and others. The bulk of “knowledge” therefore, is contained in these objects. Most of the significant ones of these kinds are preserved in collections, either individual or more carefully, in sponsored institutional libraries.

Associated with the modern American libertarian movement as discussed above, were hundreds of mostly very small newsletters, newspapers, magazines and other printed items. Prior to about the year 2000 the Internet was for most publishers and readers not available as a ready substitute for the printed paper publications then in existence.

Paper publications are subject to deterioration over time. Newsprint fades and crumbles within a few decades. Paper becomes fragile, print fades and depending on storage may also suffer mold, water and insect damage. Without special preservation techniques paper publications will eventually be totally lost.

Paper documents are limited to the physical locations where copies may be found. Since early American libertarian publications are now at least 20-60 years old, other than the few which were originally obtained by libraries or subsequently donated, they are not available unless in the original owners personal possession. Over the decades most have been discarded due to moves, lack of storage, death, etc. Remaining copies, aside from some library collections, are mostly kept in attics, closets or dusty files awaiting eventual disposal. Many have been totally forgotten by their owners.

What we call the Internet wasn't an option prior to 1990. There were predecessors, but these were links among research institutions and not available to the public at large.

In 1995 Microsoft introduced an Internet browser making the still emerging Internet accessible to the general public. The transition of what is now called “social media” to the Internet can be said to have been completed by 2004 when Facebook was launched.

Although websites existed and HTML web markup language was being used, computer modem bandwidth and personal computer processors and storage devices were quite limited. Most were text-only. Publishing software for websites was expensive and individual expertise for small publishers was limited prior to about 2000.

Unlike paper documents and publications, software created “Portable Document Formats” or PDFs of these items that are essentially like photographs. Once digitized they can be placed on computer storage devices, the “cloud” (which is a specially linked group of independent computer storage servers), or on websites with individual local storage. They are essentially permanent so long as the electronic data remains intact and readable. On public websites these PDFs are available, readable and often printable from any digital screen device. No library visits needed.

With this PDF software or similar preservation methodology, effort future students and scholars of libertarian ideas and history will have original documentation produced contemporaneously with the development of this movement. An accurate and encompassing collection of original documents will help ensure that future analysis will be from original sources and encompass a wide variety of viewpoints expressed. The libertarian “mastodon bones” will be found in the PDF stratum.

As the American libertarian movement grows it will be valuable and instructive to learn how these ideas for change first developed and slowly matured. ‘Early adopters’ of libertarian ideas from many different sources argued and debated most of the same ideas, theories, history, philosophical details and applications of libertarian thinking which are debated and discussed today. Traditionally libertarians only agree in broad terms. Disagreement and debate over the details is a hallmark of real honest libertarian thought.

Along with innumerable late night dorm room bull sessions among libertarians and their critics, there have been since the early 1980s some academic literature about serious libertarian

subjects. Particularly in the area of economic theory, ethics, philosophy, “political science” and the study of “political economy” and history. Some but not all of these journals or academic writings are now available online as PDFs as will be shown below.

But a more general problem is one endemic to all serious discourse of important and particularly, new ideas. Ideas such as are embodied in libertarian thought. That is the problem popularly described as “re-inventing the wheel.” What is very evident to people such as this author, and others who were readers and consumers of the earliest creators and exponents of the modern American libertarian thought, is that most of these ideas have been around for a long time. Digging through the earliest sources, some of which featured major and serious academics and later “stars” of libertarian thought, provides nuggets of insights which are still being debated and remain relevant today.

Appendix.

Publications Available Today via PDF or other Online Means

The listings shown here were valid at the time located, most of which were compiled in the summer of 2019. Some listings may have changed, been updated, deleted or have invalid links. However they should provide a useful basic guide for further research.

Hosting institutions are shown which often include a number of early publications. Some of these are primarily libertarian, others may host a variety of other publications.

A. The Mises Institute <https://mises.org/about-mises/what-is-the-mises-Institute>

The Mises Institute, named after pioneering Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises, is an established libertarian organization which focuses on scholarly and educational materials and outreach.

It hosts a robust collection of early American libertarian publications listed below and accessible directly at the link directly above this list. Some of these publications pre-date the 1960s and date back to the post WWII era, when the term “libertarian” was barely used in the American political/ideological context. In most cases included in the listing it appears that complete collections of these publications are available, or nearly so. (One exception is Liberty Magazine, the contemporary one, not the 19th century version, for which only the 2003 issue is available on this site.)

<https://mises.org/library/other-journals>

AMERICAN AFFAIRS 1945-1950
AMERICAN MERCURY 1936–1943
FAITH AND FREEDOM 1951-1960
THE FREEMAN 1950-1953
THE FREEMAN 1950–1999
LEFEVRE'S JOURNAL
LEFT AND RIGHT
LIBERTARIAN FORUM 1969–1984
LIBERTARIAN PAPERS
LIBERTY MAGAZINE
ARTICLES OF INTEREST
PERSUASION 1964–1968
RAMPART JOURNALH AND FREEDOM 1951-1960
RAMPART JOURNAL

B. LPedia.org http://lpedia.org/Category:National_Party_Newsletters

The national Libertarian Party, founded in 1972, maintains an archival website which hosts a number of libertarian and Libertarian Party related publications. It is sponsored by the LP’s national committee and maintained on a volunteer basis. As such it is somewhat difficult to navigate and most materials are not complete sets, though it has a large variety of Party related publications and documents.

It hosts a few, or single copies of many other non-Libertarian Party related publications and libertarian related ephemera.

1) Libertarian Party News - The most important of the hosted publications is the national Party newspaper Libertarian Party News, or LP News. The earliest issue of which was produced in late 1971. This publication, usually produced monthly in newsprint editions, is a complete set. In most years fewer than 12 issues were published, however.

In addition to Libertarian Party News LPedia.org features a few single issues or a small number of other libertarian movement publications:

2) A is A Newsletter – Only a single issue from the late 70s, this newsletter format publication existed only for a brief time (unknown) but seems to focus on current events from a libertarian/Objectivist (Randian) viewpoint, given the title (one of Ayn Rand’s most used philosophical statements.) (Cannot currently locate this on LPedia.org, but seems to have been hosted there once.)

3) Libertarian Vanguard – The sometimes tabloid, sometimes newsletter format publication of the self-described Radical Caucus (RC) of the Libertarian Party. The LPedia.org site has only two issues hosted, February 1979 and March 1984. This publication was erratically produced though originally intended to be a monthly publication. It most often appeared immediately prior to Libertarian Party national or state conventions (particularly California), in order to influence decisions voted upon there. Most of the founders/members/writers were active in the LP and most continued careers in LP or other libertarian movement activism.

Most but not all of the Radical Caucus founders/members were from the San Francisco Bay area in California where the Cato Institute was originally located, along with a few other Koch funded publications at the time. By the late 80s most RC members had dropped out of the LP. Many of the core RC members in the late 80s went on to found the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC), the first explicit libertarian group in the GOP, and some later went on in the late 90s to create and operate the still extant website antiwar.com

Libertarian Party News http://lpedia.org/LP_News

Libertarian Vanguard http://lpedia.org/Libertarian_Vanguard

C. The Unz Review <http://www.unz.com/print/>

This link is part of a much larger website mainly devoted to current events and essays along with many other pages devoted to archived books and articles, of which “Libertarian and Free Market” is only one of several categories offered. That is the subhead under “Periodicals” which early libertarian related publications are shown, in a unique “word cloud” format using differing type fonts for each publication.

There are a great many periodicals available; some are from the pre Internet libertarian era. Ron Unz is a former California based entrepreneur who has devoted himself to his extensive website and various political causes and issues, mainly in California. His general thrust on Unz.com is various “banned books” and subjects, often controversial topics not found elsewhere, with a counter Politically Correct thrust. But his extensive digital archives cover material from a large variety of political and ideological viewpoints, not merely his own perspective.

Among the archived pre Internet publications included in this site are:

1) Human Events – a mostly hard right bi-weekly tabloid format published since the 1950s. Some early libertarian writers often appeared, though few contributors were libertarians. Still published today.

2) National Review – This monthly magazine begun in 1955 by William F. Buckley is often said to have been a secretly funded project of the CIA to aid in the “ideological war” against Communism in the 50s. Buckley is now believed by most libertarians to have been a CIA “asset” but mainly

gained fame due to his media presence in NR and later numerous TV and radio appearances, some regular. His family had money, which made his publishing possible. Actual libertarians were nearly all purged from NR by the early 60s.

3) The Abolitionist - This was the initial Radical Libertarian Alliance (RLA) national newsletter, which the Unz site hosts for the period 1970-1971 issues. Remaining issues are scarce. The RLA was one of the initial libertarian splinter groups formed after the 1969 YAF split.

4) Cato Journal – The major publication of the Cato Institute, which was formed with the financial backing of the Koch brothers and originally led (in part) by Murray Rothbard, who was subsequently purged. The Unz site hosts a collection from the mid-80s (when founded) to 2000. Cato still exists as a major “libertarian think tank” based in Washington DC. The Journal mostly contained scholarly articles by a variety of Institute authors and outside academics and contributors.

5) Independent Review – The quarterly academic journal format publication of the Oakland CA based Independent Institute. Unz site hosts issues from 1986-1999, though this publication is still ongoing. Mostly scholarly articles or material about economic and social issues from a libertarian perspective by both Institute scholars and outside contributors. Also features articles of contemporary political issues interest.

6) Journal of Libertarian Studies – Published from 1977-2003, all hosted on the Unz site, this academic style journal featured research and analysis articles by independent libertarian scholars and authors. This was the principal outlet of the NYC based Center for Libertarian Studies.

7) The Libertarian Review – A magazine format publication featuring articles by libertarian writers on contemporary political and economic subjects. The Unz site hosts the entire collection from 1974-1981. This was one of the main Koch brothers financed publications.

8) New Individualist Review – Published by the Chicago chapter of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (still extant in a subsequent form), the Unz website hosts a complete collection of issues from 1961-1968. In a scholarly journal type format, this early publication featured articles by early libertarians mostly from academic backgrounds. Covered economic and political policy issues.

9) Persuasion – A very small but early newsletter format publication featuring short articles by libertarians about contemporary subjects and issues. The Unz collection features what are likely all the back issues, from 1964-1968.

10) The Rothbard-Rockwell Report – A complete collection of this well produced monthly newsletter, from 1990-1998 features short essays and articles by the authors in the title, along with a few other libertarian contributors. Focused mainly on current events in American politics and events from what is now deemed the “paleo-libertarian” viewpoint pioneered by the two main authors.

D. The Voluntaryists, Voluntaryist.com

The Voluntaryist 1982-Present

From their Home Page:

Voluntaryists are advocates of non-political, non-violent strategies to achieve a free society.

We reject electoral politics, in theory and in practice, as incompatible with libertarian principles. Governments must cloak their actions in an aura of moral legitimacy in order to sustain their power, and political methods invariably strengthen that legitimacy.

Voluntaryists seek instead to delegitimize the State through education, and we advocate withdrawal of the cooperation and tacit consent on which State power ultimately depends.

This long standing and unique libertarian group organized in the early 1980s shortly after the boom in the Libertarian Party growth following the Ed Clark/David Koch presidential campaign in 1980. David Koch's funding provided the LP with 50 state ballot access for the first time ever and considerable national publicity.

However a small but significant group of libertarians, including Voluntaryists founders Carl Watner and Wendy McElroy joined to create this libertarian group that rejects politics as a means of change. Harkening back to 19th century individualist anarchists like Lysander Spooner, Benjamin Tucker and Josiah Warren, this group instead advocates reliance on education and passive resistance to the State.

Their well-organized website contains all of the past issues of their regular publication (roughly bi-monthly) *The Voluntaryist*, in an online archive. This is linked from the Home Page at "Table of Contents & Archives" from 1982 to the present. In this they are one of the rare libertarian periodicals which is complete and online, hosted by the original organization (now run primarily by co-founder Carl Watner.)

E. The publications shown below are available on the author's aldallc.com

1) American Libertarian

Published from July 1986 to October 1989. This newspaper was intended to be a monthly tabloid but for various reasons sometimes appeared as a bi-monthly "double issue." The complete set is hosted at the indicated website.

One of the few, if not only, libertarian newspapers (other than the *Libertarian Party News*) which had color, regular photos and cartoons. It was intended to focus mostly on news and interviews as opposed to theory, philosophy or opinion. Though at times subject matter varied.

Edited and largely written by (this article's author) Mike Holmes, the financial backer (though not identified as publisher) was Houston cardiologist Dr. Matthew Monroe. Dr. Monroe also served on the Libertarian National Committee (LNC) from 1979 -1989. Holmes was the editor of the *Libertarian Party News* in 1984-1985.

The intention of *American Libertarian* was to take the contemporary libertarian movement seriously. To cover actual developments in a news format. The Libertarian Party's activities were the most visible during this period but AL also made an effort to cover other groups and news objectively. It never had more than 1,000 subscribers, often less, and lost money. Some contributors were paid small amounts but Holmes was unpaid. The publication was typeset and laid out by libertarian Sue Bjornseth, who worked professionally for a large graphics firm.

The newspaper folded shortly after Dr. Monroe's unsuccessful attempt to become Libertarian Party chair in September 1989. Monroe represented the Ron Paul/Murray Rothbard faction, all of whom subsequently left the LP by the end of 1989.

2) Republican Liberty

Republican Liberty was the official newsletter of the Republican Liberty Caucus (newsletter now in electronic format at rlc.org). The RLC and its first newsletter edition created in 1990 as a national umbrella and newsletter of state Caucus chapters. Eric Rittberg of Florida and a small group of mainly Florida libertarians (many ex LP members) were the initial nucleus of the group and Rittberg was the first *Republican Liberty* editor.

Roger MacBride, the renegade Republican 1972 Nixon elector from New Hampshire who cast his electoral vote for the 1972 LP presidential ticket of John Hospers and Theodora (Tonie) Nathan. He was the initial RL publisher and main financier. MacBride was subsequently elected as national RLC chair and served for several years. Mike Holmes became RL Senior/Associate editor and served until 2000.

The RLC exists to recognize state affiliates who are focused on helping to elect libertarian oriented Republicans to political and party offices. Modern American libertarian movement godfather economist/historian Murray Rothbard gave the keynote speech at the inaugural national RLC convention held in conjunction with the 1992 GOP national convention in Houston. Subsequently for the last two months in 1996 Dr. Ron Paul served as national RLC chair prior to his taking office after being elected (again, after a break) as a Texas Congressman. Paul's return to Congress was a major project of the RLC during the early 90s.

Republican Liberty was usually a bi-monthly though sometimes appeared less frequently or in some instances, as a special edition for GOP events. The RLC and its publications focused on practical party and caucus building activities and avoided philosophical debates or rigid definitions of what constitutes a "libertarian Republican." This non-dogmatic approach worked well and unlike during the initial phase, subsequently most RLC members have not been former LP members but are GOP activists from the outset.

Later Republican Liberty editors included Floridians Tom Walls and Phil Blumel. Internal leadership struggles disrupted regular publication of this newsletter in early 2002. Economics & Finance Professor Clifford Thies initiated his annual Liberty Index of the US Congress in 1989 as an early RLC related project, which continues today. (See separate links on www.aldallc.com) This Index, sometimes appearing as a supplement to Republican Liberty, is the only known detailed evaluation of US House and Senate members based upon their recorded votes. The results are based upon broadly defined "Economic" and "Social" issues legislation cast in either the US House or Senate.

3) Other Resources:

For further information about early American libertarian publications which have yet to be preserved via PDF but should be, see listings at www.aldallc.com.

Notes

1. Some of this material was adapted from the American Libertarian Digital Archive LLC website: www.aldallc.com created and hosted by the author.