

Comparative management of West colonizing enterprises: a heterodox review

Methodology

The study was descriptive and explanatory to clarify the variables of the colonizing paradox of the American West, as well as to understand their relationship and development according to economic theory and experience.

It is a fundamental review study due to the combination of heterodox approaches, such as the Austrian and Institutionalist School.

Objective

To review the colonizing process of the American West (from Pennsylvania to Illinois), from heterodox approaches (Austrian and Institutionalist) to provide complexity and realism about the utopian experiences undertaken.

Introduction

Given the tendency to reductionism and anachronism of the vision of American economic history, the paper offers a critical review of the colonization process in the West, which was not the result of state planning but of private initiative, of free, thrifty and industrious individuals, who constituted novel colonizing enterprises.

Result or conclusion 1

The colonization of the American West was achieved through the utopian experiences

of alt-cap (commercial capitalism as an alternative to mercantilism and the emerging industrial capitalism) and an-cap (novel private colonizing enterprises in the form of community, cooperative, mutual, etc.).

Results or conclusion 2

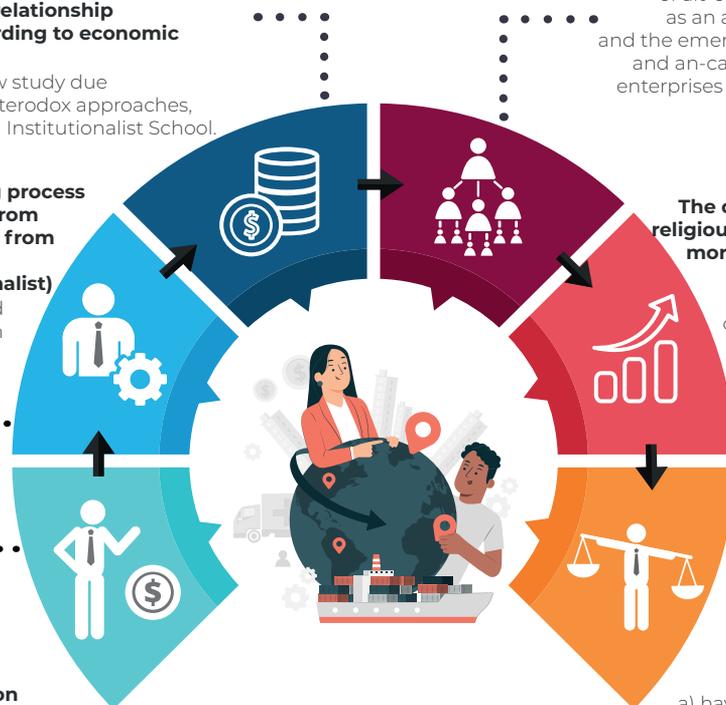
The colonizing enterprises were religious and ideological, resulting more efficient and sustainable;

the religious versus the ideological, as there was no coercive centralized planning, and they were inspired by an ethic of profit.

Result or conclusion 3

The colonizing enterprises lost relevance due to:

- a) having achieved their objective;
- b) their transformation into companies on the scale of industrial capitalism;
- c) the pressures of the standardizing model of the federal nation-state, etc.



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Gestión comparada de empresas colonizadoras del Oeste americano: una revisión heterodoxa

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Abstract: this review provides for the first time a systematization of real anarcho-capitalist experiences during the colonization of the West in the United States of America. This process of continental integration of the country was not the result of state planning and its technological impulse, as assumed by the mainstream; it was the entrepreneurship of private companies, in the form of community farms and trading their surplus. In this study, the theoretical and methodological frameworks are critically reviewed, with the help of heterodox economic approaches, extracting the theorems and empirical observations to consider in the examination of colonizing experiences, from Pennsylvania to Illinois. Through a comparative analysis of case studies selected from primary sources, an identifying and classifying saturation of assumptions is reached, establishing a robust enabling systematization for the contrast between religious and ideological colonizing companies. These companies are evaluated for their efficiency and sustainability, to resolve the colonizing paradox of the American West: why religious companies, being the first to arrive and with less outlay, are more successful than ideological ones. This is a critical-hermeneutical and historical-comparative study of Political Economy and History of Economy and Institutions, according to heterodox approaches mix, for the refutation of errors assumed in the colonization of the West, in addition to confirming the viability of the anarcho-capitalists experiences.

Keywords: economic history, political economy, macroeconomics, heterodox approaches, colonial enterprises, religious factor, comparative management, United States of America.

Resumen: esta revisión aporta por primera vez una sistematización de las experiencias reales anarcocapitalistas durante la colonización del Oeste de Estados Unidos de América. Este proceso de integración continental del país no fue el efecto de una planificación estatal y su impulso tecnológico, como supone el modelo ortodoxo, sino que fue el resultado de la iniciativa de empresas privadas en forma de granjas comunitarias, comercializando sus excedentes. Este trabajo revisa críticamente los marcos teóricos y metodológicos, con la ayuda de los enfoques económicos heterodoxos, extrayendo los teoremas y observaciones empíricas a considerar en el examen de las experiencias colonizadoras, desde Pensilvania a Illinois. A través del análisis comparado de estudio de casos de fuentes primarias, se llega a una saturación identificativa y clasificadora de supuestos, siendo suficiente para fijar una robusta sistematización habilitadora para el contraste entre empresas colonizadoras religiosas e ideológicas. Estas empresas son evaluadas en su eficiencia y sostenibilidad, con el fin de resolver la paradoja colonizadora del Oeste estadounidense: por qué las empresas religiosas, siendo las primeras en llegar y con menor desembolso, resultan más exitosas que las ideológicas. Se trata de un estudio crítico-hermenéutico e histórico-comparado de economía política e historia económica y de las instituciones, desde la combinación de enfoques heterodoxos, para la refutación de errores asumidos en la colonización del Oeste, además de confirmar la viabilidad de las experiencias anarcocapitalistas.

Palabras clave: historia económica, economía política, macroeconomía, enfoques heterodoxos, empresas coloniales, factor religioso, gestión comparada, Estados Unidos de América.

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Introduction

After the Great Recession of 2008, mainstream or orthodox economics with its positivist-formal model of neoclassical synthesis for the development of the state welfare economy, was rejected since it not only failed to detect the crisis, but was blamed for it (Keen, 2011). Since then, the economy has been guided by the MIT boys or neo-Keynesians normativist *lato sensu* (including post-Keynesians), with their anachronistic interpretations (from identity politics) and transvaluation exercises (what used to be the market is now the State; savings are discouraged and spending is stimulated; growth and development are separated, in addition to postulating theses of degrowth -even post-growth-decoupling, de-globalization, etc.). In this review, a hermeneutic turn is introduced (Sánchez-Bayón, 2020) offering the alternative of heterodox approaches (Austrian, institutionalist, cultural, etc.), in addition to proposing a Copernican revolution (back to the stage prior to the deviation of approaches): for this reason the focus is on the take-off of capitalism and the American growth and development model in the 19th century (according to the American historiography itself prior to the arrival of the aforementioned normative neo-Keynesians). At that time, the State was minimal and was being reformulated (especially with the Civil War, 1861-1864), and the economic agents generating change were family businesses and cooperatives (nor had businesses and families been split off as independent economic agents, as would later be presumed in the neoclassical synthesis); moreover, the theoretical and methodological frameworks were those of Political Economy.

The mainstream version tends to assume a reductionist and anachronistic thesis on American growth and development by internalizing a trilemma (see below). This official thesis attributes the colonizing process of the American West to the State and its promotion of technological advances (e.g., the railroad, the telegraph). Thus, it is assumed that, once the Civil War ended, the economic model of the Northern States (industrial and autochthonous WASP -acronym for white Anglo-Saxon Protestants-, Baltzell, 1962, 1964) was imposed on the South (agrarian and reli-

giously dependent on Europe -i.e. Anglicans and Catholics), thus generalizing massive industrial capitalism and the success of national integration. The fiction of an American economic and monetary union has been assumed from the beginning, but in reality, there was a trickle of state annexations, with different levels of development and competing economic models. In contrast to this minimal vision (almost mono-causal -and today reinterpreted in an identitarian and anti-capitalist key), a more complex review is presented, adjusted to the nineteenth-century reality, provided by the combination of heterodox approaches (attentive to socio-cultural issues, as well as contemporaneous with colonization).

The review presented refutes the aforementioned erroneous reductionism, at least in three of its main inferences, impostures and fallacies (with weasel and polylogistic concepts according to the Austrians; Hayek, 1952a, 1952b; Mises, 1957), related among themselves and informing the assumed macroeconomic model: Protestant error, communist-utopian error, macro-technological error. Beyond the punctual refutation (of each error), an integrative and alternative re-reading is offered (closer to reality and not mathematizing or autistic, as the mainstream vision is qualified, Romer, 2015; Alcorn and Solarz, 2006). Thus, key socioeconomic actors and institutions in American economic growth and development are recovered, such as the utopian movements and their novel religious and ideological colonial enterprises that compete to conquest the West. A systematization is offered in this regard, as well as an assessment of efficiency and sustainability across projects. In the end, a less limited (according to mainstream common wisdom, Galbraith, 1958), and richer view will be available about the nineteenth-century process that led to the coast-to-coast integration of the country, laying the present-day foundations of the USA.

Theoretical and methodological frameworks

The trilemma underpinning the mainstream view that needs to be revised is the following (due to the mainline heterodox):

- Protestant error: Weberian thesis (Weber, 1905), in assuming the supposed Protestant homogeneity and superiority (as opposed to Catholicism, above all) and its ethics as the driving force of capitalism, being just the opposite (until the 19th century, there are cases of capitalist success in both Protestant and Catholic countries, for example, in Europe: Belgium, France, Naples, etc.; in America: Maryland or Cuba). It turns out that it is capitalism that favors the development of Protestantism, by promoting religious freedom, Church-State separation and the competitiveness of the spiritual market, promoting new foundations (Cox, 1964; Sánchez-Bayón, 2014, 2018).
- Communist-utopian error: socialist thesis (Noyes, 1870; Hillquit, 1903), on its supposed moral and efficiency superiority, an argument already refuted by those who did visit the colonizing experiences of the American West (Nordhoff, 1875; Hinds, 1878, 1908), observing that until the 19th century, anarchism and communism in the USA were received as religious (Rothbard, 1995; Stokes, 1950); then philosophical (American Individualist Anarchism, Madison, 1945; Martin, 1951; Martin, 1951; Stokes, 1950), until the nineteenth century, anarchism and communism received was religious (Rothbard, 1995; Stokes, 1950); then philosophical (American Individualist Anarchism, Madison, 1945; Martin, 1953); finally, anarchism and communism have been interpreted in a socialist ideological key). The utopian error is based on a thesis popularized by Marx and Engels (1848, ch. 3), in dealing with “utopian-critical socialism or communism”. Despite the initial scorn, thanks to the reinterpretation of later Fabian socialists (such as the generation of progressive and skeptical historians, see below), the idea of the benevolent socialist utopia has spread (already dismantled by economic historians such as Hartwell et al., 1994; Hartwell, 1971; Rothbard, 1995). In reality, socialist utopias had a life expectancy of less than three years, as opposed to several generations of religious utopias, which did provide experiments in new social models (such as mutualism, cooperativism, etc.).
- Macro-technological error: it starts with progressive historians (Beard, 1913, 1921), with socio-economic theses on productive forces as the historical engine. This approach was merged by skeptics with the technological factor (Hofstadter and Olson, 1986; Lipset, 1996) and taken up by the MIT boys. Thus, the technological error of state impulse (with revivals, Mazzucato, 2013), was already refuted by neo-institutionalist authors such as Fogel (1964), minimizing the role of technologies such as the train (via private concessions, e.g. Mohawk & Hudson Railroad, Saratoga & Schenectady Railroad), to achieve the integration of the country (with a late estimated contribution of 2 % in the growth of national GDP in the 1890s). Even from neo-institutionalism and Cultural Economics-CE, the role of the religious factor (with its religious awakenings and revitalizations) in the growth and development of the U.S. was considered key (Fogel, 2000; Fogel and Engerman, 1974).

The trilemma as a whole has served to confuse and reinforce the macroeconomic error of believing that the U.S. economic growth and development model has been unique and constant since the 19th century. A widespread and dominant industrial capitalism has been taken for granted (especially after the Civil War, with the imposition of the northern industrial WASP model on the entire country). In reality, in the 19th century, there were simultaneously other economic systems (such as the commercial capitalism of the colonial companies in the West or the mercantilism of the southern plantations -which did not disappear immediately-). Industrial capitalism only began to spread massively in the wake of the second industrial, technological and energy revolution of the 1880s (after the reconstruction period and the great recession). Therefore, in this review of the U.S. nineteenth-century macroeconomic model, the aim is to recover the contributions of the commercial capitalism of the colonizing companies, which, thanks to their surplus of provisions and utensils (staple approach of EI, NIE and EC), were

able to guarantee the advance in the connection of the country's coasts. Therefore, neither the State nor technology were determinant in the colonizing process (their role was more relevant after the second industrial revolution and the reinforcement of the federal State with the expansion to the South); what was key was the competition between private colonizing companies of a religious and ideological nature, some being more efficient and sustainable than others.

Corpus selection criteria

In order to systematize the aforementioned colonizing companies and to be able to assess their level of efficiency and sustainability, the following heterodox (yet complementary to each other and constitutive of the mainline, Boettke *et al.*, 2016) contributions have been combined:

- Austrian School of Economics (SEA): Mises' theorem on the economic impossibility of socialism (Mises, 1922, 1929, 1933, 1944), revised by Hayek (1944, 1988), then extended to any centralized coercive interventionism and repressor of freedom, according to Hoppe (1989) and Huerta de Soto (1992), is followed by Mises' theorem on the economic impossibility of socialism (Mises, 1922, 1929, 1933, 1944). Mises' theorem has the corollary of the Buchanan-Tullock public choice theorems. Another key idea is Hayek's thesis on spontaneous order (developing Smith's invisible hand, 1776), in favor of evolutionary social institutions (Hayek, 1946; 1952a, 1952b). In methodological terms, SEA offers various resources from its beginnings, with its *methodenstreit* or method dispute (Menger, 1883; Mises, 1929, 1933; Huerta de Soto, 1992, 2000; Hoppe, 1995).
- Anarcho-capitalism (Ancap): this study pays attention to the contributions of the American Individualist Anarchist, with complementary readings of EAE (Veysey, 1973) and Public choice (Tullock, 1972, 1974). This review attends to Rothbard's axiom (on property and free enterprise as the key to development) and to the homestead principle (appropriation of land through work, consolidating the right to property. Rothbard, 1973). Historically, this explains (thanks to decentralization and separation of powers) the transition from the small colonies of New England to the large colonies of the Middle Provinces and the Western territories (Rothbard, 1975-1979; Sánchez-Bayón, 2014, 2018), as well as the transition from main-line churches or hierarchical churches (close to the established power) to evangelical churches (communitarian in nature). Methodologically, this review observes the rules of free research (according to the anarchist approach, it is better to find than to confirm, Feyerabend, 1975; Escotado, 2008-2016).
- Institutional approach (IA): this review focuses on two currents of American institutionalism, one being the nineteenth-century or traditional (historical-sociological and pragmatic-anti-formalist), and the other, the neo-institutional of the twentieth century. The traditional current offered a more comprehensive than quantitative economics (unlike the contemporary neoclassical monetarists, e.g., Clark, Fisher), with very popular exponents in its time, such as Veblen (a student of Peirce -a great pragmatist- and of Rev. Sumner -evolutionist; in addition to economics, he taught sociology and Church-State Studies), Hamilton (of the juridical-sociological movement American Legal realism), Commons (Georgist social reformer) or Dewey (pragmatist); with a second generation, with Mitchell or Ayres (disciples of Veblen and Dewey). Semi-institutionalist authors such as Schumpeter and Galbraith are related to this current. From IA, contributions such as Rostow's "modernization model and the phases of growth and development" (1959, 1960, 1961), plus Gerschenkron's critique of economic backwardness (1962) have been used. Other interdisciplinary approaches close to CE and very much present in Religion & Economics have also been con-

sidered; see above): American awakenings and revivals, American exceptionalism, melting pot, stapple approach, etc.

- Neo-institutionalist approach of the new political economy (NIE-NEP): from Law & Economics Coase's theorem on the firm and transactional cost is important (Coase, 1937, 1960). Public choice offers a series of Buchanan-Tullock theorems on interventionism, which means the end of political romanticism and its paternalistic state, because there are many power games in decisions, with correlated effects: rent-seeking, clientelism, crony capitalism, inconclusive and inclusive agenda, etc. (Buchanan and Tullock, 1962). Constitutional Economics offers Buchanan's theorem on the relevance of rules (Brennan and Buchanan, 1985; Buchanan, 1986, 1987, 1990, in agreement with Hayek, 1960, 1973). Combining the above approaches to R&E, the driving work of Tollison (1989, 2003, 2006) is key. Cliometrics offers empirical observations such as those already raised by Fogel (on technologies, the religious factor, etc.). Currently, there has been a revival of NIE, with Nobel laureates in economics, such as Ostrom and Williamson, and candidate authors such as Acemoglu and Robinson (2012, 2019).

The frameworks offered by the selected heterodox economic approaches are alternative to the mainstream (for their revision of fundamentals) and complementary to each other (considering economy as a process of creativity and freedom, where rational individuals and pro-incentive institutions interact for greater welfare): (a) SEA

offers a positive economics, based on principles and deductive method (Menger, 1871; Mises, 1949; Huerta de Soto, 2000); (b) Ancap offers a normative economics focused on the realization of its principles (Rothbard, 1962, 1973; Hoppe, 1993); c) IA offers a positive economics based on the combination of principles and experiences, in addition to resorting to deductive and inductive methods (which makes it possible to speak of general rules and conjunctural or idiosyncratic expressions); d) NIE gathers the acquis of the previous ones, in addition to bringing approaches closer to the mainstream; it includes the main disciplinary developments within NEP (including the possibilist approach, Hirschman, 1970, 1993). Other arguments in favor of the use of heterodox approaches are: a) their coeval status with the object of study (as a 19th century mainline, see Figure 1: unlike the neoclassical synthesis approach, which is more than a century and a half away), thus avoiding complementary anachronistic errors; b) their combined use by the Religion & Economics-R&E discipline (since the 1970s, in the framework of CE).

The cited frameworks were incorporated into R&E¹ (Boettke, 2005), along with others from CE (VV.AA., 1972, 2014; Walsh, 2000), such as religious factor and frontier (with its cycles of awakenings and revitalizations; Sánchez-Bayón, 2014, 2018), denominationalism, social gospel, American covenant Theology, staple approach or method of entry of utopias (Arcadianism, anarchism, millenarianism, moral reform programs, etc.).

The state of the art differs from the usual, given the novelty of approaches and combination of frameworks (except for some sectoral incursions, such as Anderson and Hill, 1979, 2004; Veysey, 1973). Therefore, a specialized bibliometric study

1 Discipline emancipated from Church-State Studies (Stokes, 1950; Wood *et al.*, 1958) in the 1970s and divided with the culture wars (Sánchez-Bayón, 2014, 2018): a) consensus line with studies on ecumenical relations, denominationalism and competition, etc.; b) critical line that focuses in problems of minorities and discrimination, inequality, etc. Since globalization, there has been an emergence of the discipline, with the label Economics of Religion (JEL code Z12 and promoted by the Cultural Economics approach). It has several think-thanks, notably the Institute for the Study of Religion, Economics and Society at Chapman University, under the direction of Prof. Iannaccone (1998), in collaboration with the Association for the Study of Religion, Economics and Culture at Pennsylvania State University, together with the J. Templeton Foundation and the National Science Foundation, etc.; there are also many interdisciplinary programs and lines of research on the subject at Ivy League universities (e.g., Harvard: Barro and McCleary, 2003, 2006). Currently, there is a recovery of the original name, with initiatives such as the Religion & Economics Collection in The Quarterly Journal of Economics, supported by Harvard and Oxford universities, plus half a hundred well-indexed specialized journals (see Figure 2).

of the scientific production of R&E related to the subject was the starting point, and a thematic and journal map was drawn up (see Figure 2). In doing so, the set of key secondary sources for the study of the utopias or colonizing enterprises of the American West (Wooster, 1924; Tyler, 1944; Bestor, 1950; Cohen, 1973; Fogarty, 1972, 1980, 1990), plus their later revival (Gairdner *et al.*, 1980; Berry, 1992; Kephart, 1998; Friesen, 2004; Curl, 2012), supplemented by lots of encyclopedic and documentary works on socio-religious life in the USA (Lippy and Williams, 1998; Mead, 1975;

Melton, 1989; Menéndez, 1976; Noonan and Gafney, 2001; Olson and Djupe, 2003; Queen *et al.*, 1996; Smith and Jameson, 1961). Subsequently, the review has been refined, contrasting primary sources such as the Owen epistles (between father and son and with Rapp, digitized by the Indiana Historical Society) with Cabot and Smith (digitized by the International Institute of Social History); along with travelers of utopias *in situ* such as Noyes (1870), Nordhoff (1875), Hinds (1878, 1908) or Hillquit (1903).

Figure 1

List of economic approaches and schools of economics

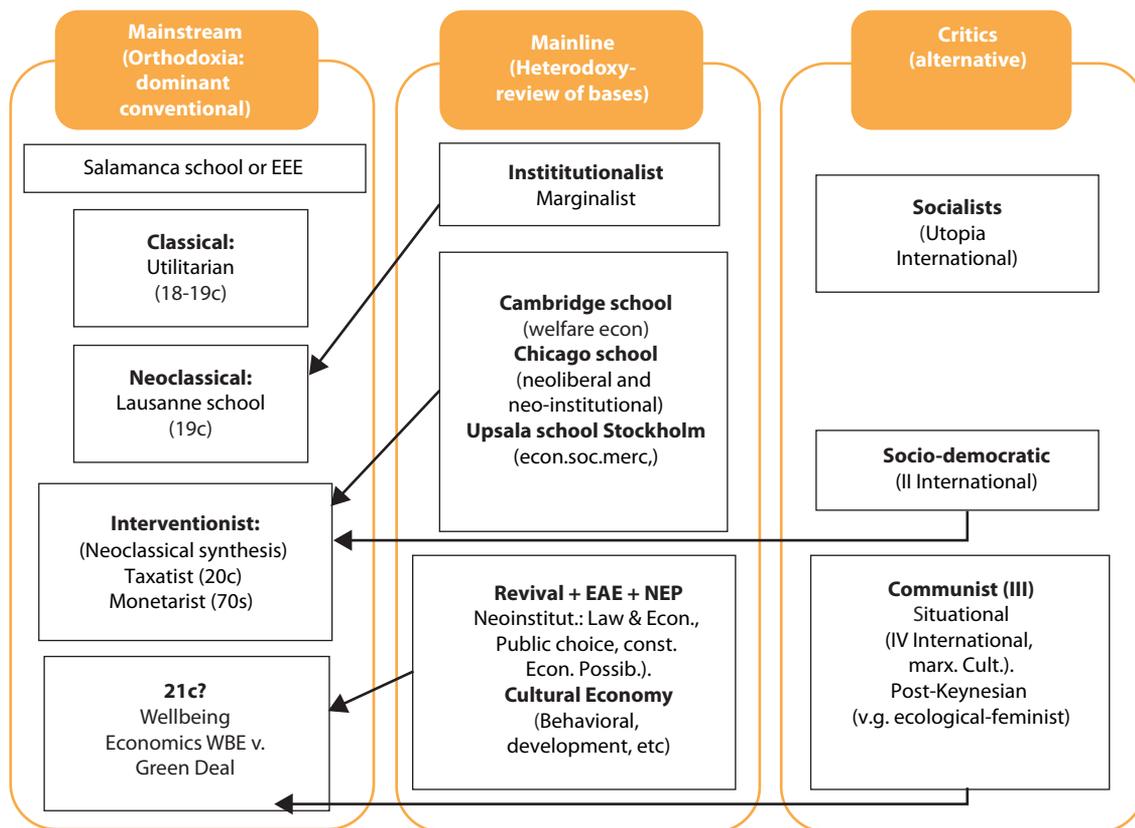
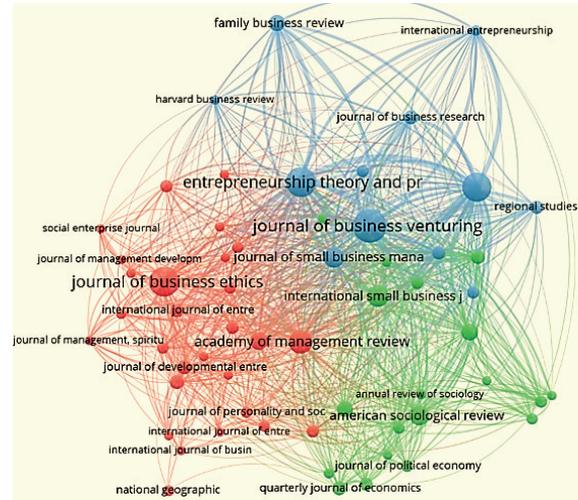
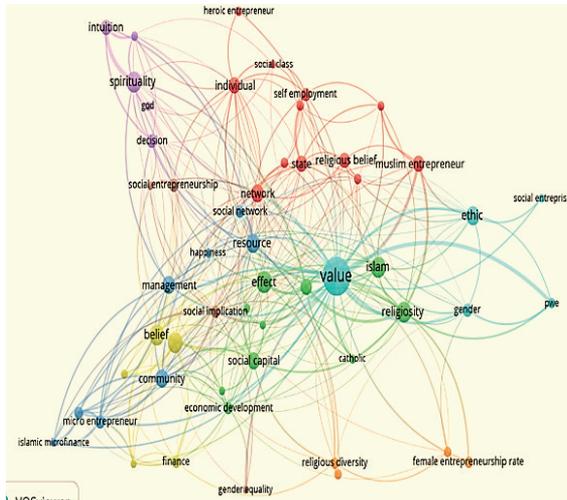


Figure 2
R&E Bibliometrics (subjects and journals)



Note. Block *et al.*, 2020.

Contributions to the state of the art: systematization of cases

The demarcation criterion set to select which cases to attend (and its saturation: when including some other assumption lacks marginal utility), responds to the following coordinates: a) spatial: the territories of the Western USA (from Pennsylvania to Illinois, open only to free and indebted people, with savings and talent for colonization); b) temporal: the 19th century, between the pre-deprivation, maturity and mass consumption stage, accompanied by milestones such as the 2nd religious awakening and the (Farm)Land Acts, favoring the colonizing process in the interior of the country; c) material: focusing on the new type of enterprise, such as cooperatives (in the form of farms and community workshops), which some will be reconverted into corporations in order to survive in the second industrial revolution. As for the main working hypothesis: the aim is to prove the existence of anarcho-capitalist experiences (of private and voluntary initiative) and to study their viability as an alternative socio-economic model, as well as to compare which turned out to be more efficient and sustainable. In short, the cases are presented chro-

nologically and as a whole (from the pioneering sects to the subsequent ideological utopias, with their most idiosyncratic experiences).

The systematization of cases is as follows (Noyes, 1870; Nordhoff, 1875; Hinds, 1878, 1908; Hillquit, 1903): 1) Religious enterprises (dissident, perfectionist and millenarian sects): a) transplanted traditionalists (e.g., Shakers, Rappites, Amanites), (b) autochthonous superventists (e.g., Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons); 2) Social laboratories and intellectual communes (e.g., Fruitlands, Brook Farm); 3) Ideological enterprises: a) nationalist (by nations of origin and ethnicity), b) socialist (e.g., Icarists, Owenites, Fourierites), c) mixed (e.g., Georgists, Freemasons, Vegans, Love-Free).

Religious enterprises: dissident sects, perfectionists and millenarians

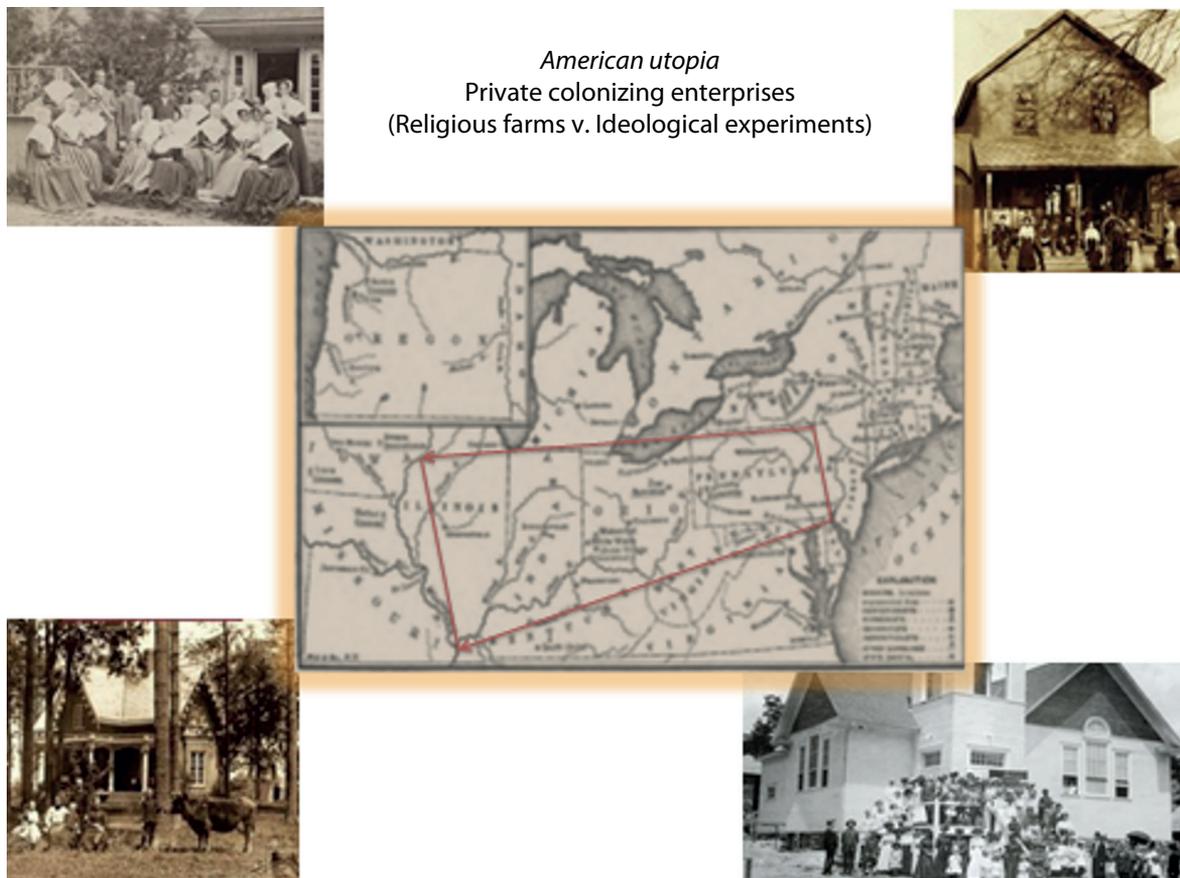
The focus of the colonizing enterprise began with the aforementioned Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania, where the Quakers (or religious Society of Friends - Christian anarchists, not accepting dogmas, hierarchies, civil power over religion, etc.) had become the largest private landowners (by royal concession or purchase, they had some 120 000 km²). To ensure their land con-

servation and political expansion (giving rise to new States), and given their own industriousness, they initiated the largest entrepreneurial project of their time, as an alternative to the mercantilism of the time (in six months they had parceled up more than 300 000 acres to begin the experience). As opposed to the oligopolistic companies with royal concessions and servitude contracts (for example, London Company, Plymouth Company - and other merchant adventurers), the Quaker

shipping company looked for free and hard-working people who could pay a symbolic price for the trip and the acquisition of land, committing themselves to the establishment of a farm and/or productive workshop, which would favor their sustainability and regional growth. It is understood that the first to arrive were the members of the new Protestant sects, inspired by the Second Religious Awakening and persecuted in Europe.

Figure 3

Nineteenth-century community/cooperative colonizing companies in the U.S.



Note. Nordhoff, 1875; Hinds, 1878, 1908.

a. Traditional transplanted

Among the first transplanted religions were the Quakers, who have remained to this day. In addi-

tion to their successful farms and workshops, giving way to multiple businesses, which as corporations have continued to the present day: the metallurgical Bethlehem Steel, the financial Sandy

Spring Bank, the communication and later financial company Western Union, the food company Quaker Oats, etc.

The following are the experiences of those sects that came through the Quakers:

- *Dunkers* (also called German Baptist Brethren or Church of the Brethren): this refers to Central European immigrants from religious minorities such as some Anabaptists, part of the Amish, etc., dissidents from Catholicism, Lutheranism and Reformism. They founded their first community farm in Pennsylvania (although with the women's buildings separated from the men's), called the Ephrata Community or Cloister in 1732 (registered as a joint-stock company since 1812 and now declared state cultural heritage), followed by the Snowhill Community (1800), Antietam (1852) and several others, and from these communities they successfully spread westward (some communities even moved to the southeast, with cooperative plantations).
 - *Shakers* (the leapers or shakers - for their ceremonial - actually constituted as a United Society of believers in the second coming of Christ): they arrived in Pennsylvania in the 1780s and were nicknamed the quaking Quakers for their ritual dances. They were also the most egalitarian between men and women (with a proactive role for women), highlighting the foundational work of communities of Jane Wardley, Mother Ann Lee or Mother Lucy Wright (who ran orphanages and shelters of the time). In the 19th century there were about 4000 believers distributed in more than 20 main communities and as many small-family ones (New Lebanon, Sabbathday Lake, Shakertown, etc., are among the first and most important, besides persisting until today). They were tremendously industrious (and inventors of utensils), as they considered that work redeemed and improved them as people. Today their settlements have also been declared part of the state cultural heritage
- or converted into museums. Their household utensils and tools, for their simplicity, elegance and functionality (in accordance with their creed), are still highly valued and auctioned at high prices.
 - *Rappitas* (named after its founder, Johann Georg Rapp, although the official name Harmony Society): it is a split from Lutheranism (and persecuted for it), which arrived in the U.S. in 1803 (because the Quaker shipping company took pity on them and practically gave them a scholarship for the trip, given their very poor situation), moving the headquarters of their society to Pennsylvania in 1805 (lasting until 1905). As a pietist group, it had many similarities with those previously mentioned, so that coexistence was easy. This group, in two years recomposed itself, reached 400 members and began its specialty: the foundation of workshop towns, such as Harmony I (in Pennsylvania), Harmony II (in Indiana), New Harmony (also in Indiana and sold to Owen, for 135,000 dollars - when the land had cost him not even 300 dollars - to try his experiment of utopian socialism, see above), Economy (actually Old Economy Village, in Pennsylvania, characteristic for its furnaces and where Rapp died).
 - *Amanitas* (comes from the Song of Songs and means to keep sincere, and its official denomination was the Society of Amana): like the Rappites, they were very persecuted in Germany, arriving in Pennsylvania by the charity and compassion of the Quakers, who not only defrayed their trip, but gave them almost twenty dollars so that they could begin their journey. Their industriousness and thrift proved even more formidable than that of the other sects, for being fewer and having arrived in worse conditions, in a couple of decades they had accumulated a patrimony of almost a million dollars. Their project has continued, knowing how to adapt to industrial capitalism -something that the other communities did not do- giving way

to Amana Refrigeration Inc. from which comes the multinational of Whirlpool household appliances.

- *Religious communal society* (known to its members by its communes: Aurorites and Bethelians): its founder was a young Prussian Lutheran, William Keil, who emigrated to America, settling his family in Pennsylvania. He participated in the New Harmony experiment (both with the Rappietas and Owen, until its dissolution), and then went on to found his own communes: Bethel (Missouri) and Aurora (Oregon). His society combined Lutheran, Pietist and Methodist elements, fused in the golden rule (or reciprocity): treat your neighbor as you would have him treat you. Keil was known for his enthusiasm and for being a healer. He died in 1873 and the society was dissolved in 1883.

b. *Autochthonous superventions*

We address here the experiments of the new sects that, as a result of the Second Great Religious Awakening (Stokes, 1950; Sánchez-Bayón, 2014, 2018), went from being mainline churches or hierarchical churches of European origin, to become evangelical churches or indigenous community churches, until reaching expressions and almost outside Christianity (secularizing it and transforming it in their own way), such as the Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, scientific Christians, etc. In these cases, it is no longer a matter of pietistic movements, in which industriousness and thrift prevail as signs of predestination for salvation, but of enthusiastic groups, oriented towards the community and its solidarity, with very striking social experiments for the time (for example, complex marriages or polygamy).

- *Perfectionist Christians*: is an evangelical branch based on the Presbyterianism of its founder (Rev. Finney), combined with Methodism (in vogue with the Second Great Awakening), and which seeks sanctification through a life dedicated to love. Noyes (considered as an American utopian proto-socialist), influenced by Finney, stu-

died theology, became a preacher (although his license was revoked when he declared himself perfect and sinless in 1834), of great charisma, managed to convince hundreds of people to join his Society of Free Love and its communities: (a) Putney Community (Vermont, 1836), begins as a Bible school, but given the persecution of the authorities (arresting Noyes several times), finally moved to New York; (b) Oneida Community (New York, 1848-1881), is the most important and best known of all, becoming the epicenter for the rest of the communities; (c) Communities of Wallingford (Connecticut), Brooklyn (New York), Newark (New Jersey), Cambridge and Putney (Vermont), plus the community of Niagara Falls (in Ontario, Canada), where Noyes finally fled to avoid further arrests. This communal social experiment grew to some three hundred members, who supported themselves through thriving industries (e.g., silk thread production, animal trapping, leather handbags, palm leaf hats, fruit and vegetable growing and, above all, silversmithing).

- *Society of Universal Friends*: its founder was a Quaker from Rhode Island, Jemima Wilkinson, who claimed to have suffered a serious illness in 1776, eventually dying and being resurrected as a genderless evangelical renamed Public Universal Friend (referring to himself in a non-binary way and dressing in an androgynous manner). Taking advantage of the Revolutionary War and with the help of his brethren, he preached the end times, claimed an end to slavery and advocated free will. He came to have a hundred followers, founding two settlements: a) Gore-the friend- (in New York, in 1790 and in 1792 he already had 25 families and a farm); b) Jerusalem (also in New York and where the Home of the Friend is still located, today part of the state cultural patrimony). The founder died in 1819, but his communities continued until the 1860s.
- *Christian Restorationists and Jehovah's Witnesses*: the restorationists pretend to return to the

origins of Christianity, and many of them are also millenarianists, defending the transformation of the world and the second coming. From among the restorationists arose in Pennsylvania the Bible Students movement founded in 1870 by Charles Taze Russell, who founded the Watchtower Tract Society of Zion/Sion (Jerusalem). Thus, a lucrative religious literature distribution business began, which, upon Russell's death, was spun off. Joseph Franklin Rutherford retained control of the society, re-founding it in 1931 (to differentiate it from other Bible study groups), and renaming it Jehovah's Witnesses. Today it has almost nine million followers dedicated to evangelism and, thanks to donations and religious literature, it is one of the richest corporations in New York, with a turnover of some nine hundred and fifty million dollars a year.

- *Mormons* (officially, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints): is a type of syncretism, which unites Christianity (restorationist evangelicalism) with other religions (including pre-Columbian and Egyptian hermetic religions). Its denomination (Mormon), comes from its scriptures, the Book of Mormon, who was a Nephite prophet and later angel who appeared to the founder, Joseph Smith, to show him the book and to translate it. Smith began preaching in the 1820s in New York, as a restorationist, and since the 1930s, as a Mormon. In their mission to establish the kingdom of God on earth, the Mormons carried out several foundations: attempted settlements and expulsion with persecution (due to misgivings about their polygamy and other practices that scandalized at the time): Palmyra (New York), Kirtland (Ohio), New Jerusalem or City of Zion (Missouri). Purchase of the city of Commerce (Illinois), renaming it Nauvoo (there was peace and prosperity until Smith was beaten by a mob in 1844). During this period, the Mormons had a relationship with Cabet's Icarists, to whom they sold the city of Nauvoo, and they moved to Utah

(under the direction of Brigham Young they founded Salt Lake City).

Among all the groups presented, it is worth mentioning the corporations of religious origin that have maintained to date: a) the Baptist Mr. Colgate and his hygienic-sanitary company; b) the Evangelicals and their companies such as Pfalzgraff (kitchen utensils, maintained until 2005) or Louisville (ceramics and ornaments, also sold in 2007); c) the Mormons and their hotelier Marriott, etc. More efficient and sustainable were the denominations that opened up to proselytizing and used their production as merchandising or promotional merchandise (for example, Pfalzgraff and Louisville became very popular for their Christmas designs).

Secularizing enterprises: social laboratories and communes of intellectuals

This section is quite complex, since it refers to the set of diverse experiences born of American political theology and its secularizing approaches. Thus, it alludes to the new social philosophies, from the most popular, such as Unitarianism and American Civil Religion-ACR (Sánchez-Bayón, 2018), to the most elitist, such as transcendentalism and pragmatism. Their colonial enterprises were more ephemeral, as their driving intellectuals were more concerned with the development of their social laboratories (in education, culture, social habits, etc.), than with the very subsistence and sustainability of the project. The corollary of Mises (1956) -with respect to his theorem- on the anti-capitalist mentality of the intellectuals is worth mentioning here. Among this type of experiences it is worth mentioning:

- *Transcendentalists*: This is an indigenous current of thought (coming from Unitarianism), which gives rise to intellectual communes, among which Fruitlands (founded in Harvard, in 1842 -with a duration of seven months- by Lane and Alcott, who were unable to make the farm productive, by devoting more time to intellectual labors), and Brook Farm (founded near Boston, between 1844 and 1847, by

the Unitarian minister Replay, with characters of the time, such as the novelist Hawthorne, resulting in a precursor experience of Fouriesianism, see above).

- *Pragmatists and intentional and fraternal communities*: properly American, they include social experiments such as Social freedom community, Hopedale Community (Practical Christianity), Skaneateles and Prairie Home Community (Society for Universal Inquiry), Brotherhood of the new life, Colonies of Anaheim (California)-Vineland (New Jersey)-Silkville (Kansas). New York Experiments.

Utopian ideological experiences

a. Nationalists

There are two lines of research on this matter. On the one hand, to verify whether most of the evangelical communities that emerged after the Second Great Awakening (since 1790), being autochthonous, have a certain American or patriotic nationalist component (as opposed to the main-line churches, which do have a foreign origin, responding to foreign leaders, as in the Anglican case). On the other hand, other immigrant communities with State Church maintain that nationalism with their metropolis and hence the tendency to isolation to maintain their original traditions, as in the cases of Danish Socialist Colony (in Kansas), German Reformed Colonies (in Texas), Bishop Hill Colony (of Swedes in Illinois) or Am Olam (with Jewish agricultural communities all over the country - as a forerunner of the kibbutz). Another line would be that of the Georgist movement (because of its inspirer, Henry George and his work *Progress and Poverty* of 1879), but given its relations with socialism, perhaps it will go to the mixed block.

b. Socialists

The utopian socialist-inspired communities of the second half of the 19th century are varied, and their experiences can be classified as follows:

- *Icarists*: named after the work *Journey to Icaria* (1839) by the Frenchman E. Cabet (with egalitarian approaches), who would move to the USA in 1848, helping to promote Icarist communities such as Louisiana, Texas, Iowa, Missouri, California, etc. Nauvoo (in Illinois) stands out for being a project shared with the Mormons (until the lynching of Smith and Young's decision to immigrate to Utah).
- *Owenians*: are named after their inspiration, the paradoxical industrialist and utopian socialist R. Owen (he was the first to generalize the term "socialist" in 1827, to refer to his project of a new society with opportunities for all). He had the support of Dale (Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland -and his father-in-law-) and Bentham, to finance the New Lanark project (a large factory, with social innovations, such as a nursery), intending to repeat it and extend it to a whole city in New Harmony (Indiana). The project failed because he did not select the workers (he hired almost a thousand unqualified workers); he left his son in charge (who surrounded himself with intellectuals without practical experience); the difficulties to obtain more financing (due to the situation at the time), etc. The fact is that Owen lost 4/5 of his fortune, while the four New Harmony newspapers (financed by him) accused him of being a speculator (for not having risked 100% of his wealth). It was such a nonsense that not even visiting the facilities in person was able to fix the situation. In his memoirs, Rapp recalled how sad he felt when he returned to New Harmony to complete the financial transaction, and in less than two years, the city had been left to deteriorate "they had not even re-roofed it," he lamented to himself.
- Based on the postulates of Owenite utopian socialism, there were other experiments: a) Oberlin Colony in Ohio (1833-1843), led by J. J. Shipherd (and eight families); b) Kristeen Community in Indiana (1845-1847), led by C. Mowland,

who had connections with the Universal Search Society (see below); c) Fruit Hills in Ohio (1845-52), led by the anarchist O. S. Murray, who was related to the Universal Search Society (see below). Mowland, who had connections with the Universal Search Society (see below); c) Fruit Hills in Ohio (1845-52), led by anarchist O.S. Murray, who had connections with the Kristeen community; etc.

- *Fourierists*: the reception of the postulates of the French utopian socialist (or, better said, mutualist), gave rise to the constitution of the American Fourier Society with its network of communities or phalansteries (in English phalanx or phalanges). The following are worth mentioning (following the order of Noyes and Nordhoff): Trumbull phalanx, Ohio phalanx, Clermont phalanx, Integral phalanx, Alphadelphia phalanx, Clarkson phalanx, Sodus Bay phalanx, Grange phalanx, Wisconsin phalanx, North American phalanx, etc. Even smaller, independent experiments, such as Spring Farm Colony (in Wisconsin, 1846-1848).
- *Fabians*: In the case of the United States, this was initiated via Christian socialism, more specifically, by agents such as Rev. W.D. Porter Bliss in the 1890s, who carried out some attempt at communal experience. Subsequently, its development was limited to the academic and administrative sphere, with the formation of the American Fabian Movement, as well as the multiplicity of Fabian Societies and University Labor Clubs in universities (for example, the Harvard Fabian Society with members such as Stuart Chase, who helped design the New Deal).

c. Mixed

Those experiences that intermingle ideologies are considered (such as Georgism, see below), that include the spiritualist and free love movements, such as the Nashoba communes (in Tennessee, 1825-1828, led by F. Wright), Free Lovers at

Davis House (in Ohio, 1854-58, led by F. Barry), etc. Even *sui generis* cases, such as the Sylvania Association, Yellow Springs Community, Seven Epitaphs, Marlboro Association, Northampton Association, etc. It is worth mentioning the openly declared case of libertarian socialism, the case of the New Philadelphia Colony (in Pennsylvania, 1832-1833, led by B. Müller). Also curious are the Grangers or local corporations of small rural landowners and Masons; even the cases of vegetarian living communities, such as Octagon City (Kansas) or Shalam Colony (New Mexico).

Discussion and conclusions

Regarding the starting hypothesis, it is confirmed that the U.S. macroeconomic model in terms of its growth and development, has not been uniform, nor linear, nor constant, but rich and plural, coexisting throughout the 19th century with mercantilist reminiscences, with a commercial capitalism (where the experiences studied are framed) and another incipient industrial one (taking off thanks to the surplus of the cases treated). It is also noted that there were anarcho-capitalist experiences in the colonization of the American West (in the form of community societies, cooperatives and mutual societies, some of which were later reconverted into economy of scale corporations). There were a variety of cases in the form of private enterprises to promote community farms and/or workshops, thus supplying the frontier with food and utensils, and helping to connect and integrate the country. Thus, it was not the state or its technologies that determined the change (or at least, they were driven by civil society, from religious movements to big businessmen like Edison, Tesla or Westinghouse). It turns out that the State was challenged with the Civil War and technologies were left in the hands of private companies and/or foreign capital. The religious factor (*lato sensu*, including ideologies) was more relevant, mobilizing multitudes and favoring the constitution of communities throughout the West.

Among the systematized colonizing enterprises, the following comparison can be made between groups of communities (resolving the

colonizing paradox): the most costly experiences (in price, opportunity, losses or sunk cost, etc.) and the first to disappear, despite being the most recent to be established (they arose in the 1840s and mostly disappeared before the Civil War), were the ideological enterprises (above all, those of utopian socialism). The shortest and of limited cost (losing the donations of their benefactors), were the intellectual communes (of Fabian socialist style), which did not exceed forty-eight months, affecting less than fifty people in total. These cases had in common the ideological factor, giving rise to a worse adaptation to the events, due to their centralized and coercive direction (tending to formalisms and bureaucracy little operative), and due to their lack of incentives for productivity and profitability (without freedom, property or particular initiative).

Consequently, Mises' theorem on the impossibility of socialism (especially since its reinterpretation by Hoppe and Huerta de Soto, as centrally planned and coercive interventionism, discouraging private initiative) is fulfilled, together with the complementary theorems of Buchanan-Tullock (on clientelistic networks, rent-seeking, omnibus decisions, etc.). This explains the greater inefficiency and unsustainability of ideological utopias as opposed to religious ones: while the ideological ones disappeared in a short time and with high indebtedness, some of the confessional ones were able to evolve spontaneously (Hayek), giving way to corporations in force to this day, such as companies of Amanite, Mormon, etc., origin. The latter projects were maintained for a longer period of time thanks to the compensatory mechanisms of social evangelism and the social bonus (productive efforts that were not economically rewarded were so via social recognition and sanctification for eternal life).

As a way to compare, among all the experiences, it has already been said that the traditional religious ones (the dissident and perfectionist sects), were the most productive, among other things because of their positive and redemptive vision of work and business (even reviving the entrepreneurial function, as in the cases of the Rappitas and Amanitas). Unlike the rest of the American farmers who were satisfied with

a production of autarchy (reproducing more or less their resources), on the other hand, the sects mentioned tended to growth and diversification (the farm was followed by sawmills, mills, looms, dyeing, carpentry, ovens, printing, etc.), besides taking care of savings, so they could face greater investments, multiplying their capital (until producing compound capital). The problem arouses with the adaptation to industrial capitalism (with its mass production and economy of scale) and the obstacles of the federal nation-state (which did not want alternative models that violated its dominant standardization). Therefore, there have been utopias in the USA (even in anarcho-capitalist form), but these have become marginal and marginalized since the 20th century, with the strengthening of the State and its welfare economy (expropriating solidarity and charity, converting them into public goods charged to budgets).

In the foundational evolution of the United States (taking into account the multi-relationship between economy, law, politics and religion), it can be telegraphically concluded that the 17th century was the century of mercantilism sponsored by royal houses (openly in the Southern Plantations and covertly in the travel servitude contracts in New England). The 18th century was the beginning of commercial capitalism, especially towards the interior of the continent, but it was also convulsive, because there were many wars (for example, the Indian Wars, the War of Independence). In the 19th century, commercial capitalism emerged, especially in the colonization of the West, thanks to private colonial companies (being the true origin of cooperativism and generalized mutualism). Meanwhile, on the Atlantic coast and nearby, there was tension between the emerging Nordic industrial model and the mercantilist vestige of the South, which ended in the Civil War and in the imposition of the model of the winning side over the defeated (but not because of economic superiority, since the raw materials of the South had risen in price due to the industrialization demand of Europe).

Focusing attention on what has been presented in this study on the American experiments of the 19th century, it is possible to diagnose the causes of their extinction by the concurrence of

a variety of circumstances and assumptions: a) the conduction of their objective, i.e., to help colonize the West and integrate the country; b) the conduction of the theorem of the impossibility of socialism (so those communities that remained more centralized and coercive, without due respect for property and private initiative, being the first to become extinct and the most costly); c) the pressures of the standardizing model of the federal nation-state (which did not want alternative models, so it marginalized them, until their extinction and reconversion of their settlements into part of the state cultural heritage); d) the effects of the second industrial and technological revolution, which gave way to industrial capitalism (thus overcoming commercial capitalism, in which these communities – excepting the amanitas and their Whirlpool, for example - stood out).

As future lines of research, the life of the communities presented and their comparative conception and conduction of cost, usefulness and efficiency should be studied in depth.

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