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# The Voluntaryist

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## Laying the Axe to the Root of the Tree: Voluntaryist Strategies to End Human Slavery

By Carl Watner

In the Fall of 2013, I received a direct-mail campaign piece from The Foundation for Economic Education which was accompanied by a DVD titled AMAZING GRACE. The DVD told the story of the efforts of William Wilberforce and the British abolitionists to outlaw the slave trade. Their primary focus was on getting enough votes in the House of Commons and the House of Lords to make it a criminal act for any British subject or British-owned ship to transport slaves within the empire. When this goal was finally achieved in 1807, the abolitionists realized that they needed to undertake another campaign, this time to outlaw the ownership of slaves within the British dominions. Finally, in 1833, both houses of Parliament passed an emancipation bill which made the slaves apprentices until 1838, when they would become officially free. In addition, the British government awarded the owners of these slaves 20 million pounds in government bonds to compensate them for the loss of their "property." [1]

Watching AMAZING GRACE got me thinking. Although most civilizations have had some form of slavery, historically, what were some of the non-political ways that the slaves had been freed? How might slavery have been abolished in a voluntaryist society where there was no central government to decree what was legal and illegal? Although it is clear that slavery and voluntaryism are incompatible, it is still likely that some form of slavery would occur in a voluntaryist society, but it would not be a socially acceptable institution. Slavery is the total violation of a person's self-ownership rights. Indeed, some abolitionists referred to slavery as "man stealing." Under a system of chattel slavery, slave owners not only buy and sell their slaves like beasts of burden, but the children of slaves are the slave owner's property, too. As David Brion Davis wrote in THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN WESTERN CULTURE, "the slave has three defining characteristics: his person is the property of another man, his will is subject to his owner's authority, and his labor or services are obtained through coercion." [2] In most cases, this requires the existence of a government and laws to define the rights of the slave owner, laws against manumission, laws that create compulsory slave patrols and, above all else, the use of the government police power to force the return of runaway slaves. [3]

Even though advances in technology and the Industrial Revolution and human understanding were making slavery less justifiable and less economically sustainable before the American Civil War, the big question still remained: Was it right or wrong for one person to own another? Many early American abolitionists believed that it was necessary "to convince [their] fellow-citizens ... that slave-holding [was] a heinous crime," but they shared different opinions about the proper way to bring about its cessation. [4] William Lloyd Garrison and his followers, for example, were opposed to involvement in politics. Whether it be office holding or participating in political parties, they did not want to support a government which permitted slavery. To Garrison's way of thinking the end could not justify the means. They sought "a change in the moral vision of the people." [5] "In seeking to reform the public sentiment that lay behind laws and constitutions and that inspired them, the Garrisonians struck at the source of the problem." [6] Moral suasion (as they called it) laid the axe at the root of the tree. Their task was "to awaken public opinion to the horror of slavery and to stimulate it to take action against the evil. ... Without public opinion on their side, the abolitionists could accomplish" very little. Using moral persuasion, they had to concentrate on "awakening consciences [and] disseminating the truth" that slavery was evil. [7] Lydia Maria Child, a cohort of Garrison, pointed out that even if slavery were outlawed by Congress "great political changes ... without corresponding changes in the moral sentiment of a nation, [would be] worse than useless." The evils of slavery would reappear "in a more exaggerated form." [8]

It is clearly wrong to think that the only way slavery could have been eliminated in the United States is by having fought the Civil War. As Jim Powell wrote in the conclusion to his book, GREATEST EMANCIPATIONS: HOW THE WEST ABOLISHED SLAVERY, "a peaceful, persistent, multi-strategy process of eroding slavery would have made it much less difficult to arrive at a point where blacks could be both emancipated and safe, flourishing with equal rights in a free society." [9] Voluntaryists reject violent means, such as those used by John Brown and the armies of the North. Violence only begets violence and certainly does not change minds. Voluntaryists also reject governmental solutions to the problem of slavery. They would not become involved in party politics or government emancipation programs. What voluntaryists would have done is to constantly emphasize that slavery was an unmitigated evil and

*(continued on page 3)*

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## “The Buck Stops Here”:

### Voluntaryism and Counterfeit Money

By Carl Watner

Twice in my life I have been stuck with counterfeit paper money. As I have written before, all US government money is really counterfeit, but the kind of counterfeit I am discussing in this article is paper money produced by non-government agents and passed into circulation under the pretense that it really is government-produced money. [1]

My first encounter with a fake was when a customer gave me a \$100 bill, which I innocently took to the bank to get changed into twenties. The teller took it, went into a huddle with the other tellers, and came back and told me, “Counterfeit.” The bill was actually a \$5 note that had been bleached and turned into a fake \$100. A counterfeit pen would not have detected it because it was on “authentic” paper. You could hold it up to the light and see a magnetic strip in it, but the strip read “five” instead of “100.” Also the hidden picture of the president was Lincoln, not Franklin. The bank confiscated the fake and I was out \$100. However, I knew the person who gave it to me, whom I called. He apologized and promptly brought me five twenties. [2]

The second time, I was given a \$20 which I put into a deposit that went to the bank. Same routine. Only this time the note was in a bunch of twenties that the teller ran through her automatic counter. The machine stopped when it got to the fake. There was no magnetic strip in the paper, and when put on top of a real twenty dollar bill you could see that it was trimmed somewhat smaller than the real thing. [3] Still, it looked authentic. The bank confiscated this piece of paper, and I was out twenty dollars. In all probability, the person who passed it to me hadn’t known that it was counterfeit either.

What is interesting to note about these episodes, particularly if you are a voluntaryist?

First. According to the government, counterfeit paper money does not belong to you. The United States Secret Service website, “Know Your Money,” instructs that if you receive a counterfeit you should not return it to the person who gave it to you. It is against federal and most state laws to possess fakes. You are to surrender

the note to the police, bank personnel, or Secret Service agents.

Second. There is such a thing as private crime protection insurance that a business may purchase. It may include coverage for forged checks and money orders, and counterfeit currency fraud, as well as employee theft and computer fraud.

Third. You may go on the offensive, and protect yourself by screening all paper money. Look for the watermark. Read the magnetic strip. Test with a counterfeit detection pen.


Fourth. What should be done if you are presented with a counterfeit note, which you detect before you accept it? The right thing to do would be to refuse it and tell the person who presented it to you that you must have another legitimate bill. It is not your responsibility or obligation to seize their paper money, even if it is counterfeit, any more than it is your obligation to seize their untaxed distilled spirits or illegal drugs.

Fifth. What should be done if you detect a fake note after you have accepted it and put it in your pocket? If you know its source, you might try to have them reimburse you. Not knowing its source, you are faced with two alternatives: knowingly pass it along to some other dupe who presumably would not realize it is fake; OR suffer the loss and continue on your way. The voluntaryist would choose the latter alternative. He or she would “turn the other cheek” and vow to improve his or her defenses against accepting counterfeits. Use a counterfeit detection pen regularly and check each and every bill more carefully. Take care of the means, and hopefully you’ll be as counterfeit free as possible. What the voluntaryist would not do is knowingly pass on a fake. That would be fraudulent. Being a person of integrity and responsibility, the voluntaryist knows that “the buck stops here,” and that he or she should have been more careful to protect against becoming a victim of fakers.

#### Footnotes

[1] See the interesting article by James E. McAdoo, “A Perfect Counterfeit,” THE FREEMAN, December 1975, pp. 722-726, in which he discusses the similarity between the effects of fractional reserve banking and undetected counterfeiting. Also see the Chart on page 8 of THE VOLUNTARYIST, Whole No. 115 (4th Quarter 2002) comparing “Real Money, Counterfeit Notes, and Federal Reserve Notes.”

[2] Though the note was forfeited to the government, who was entitled to the real five dollar bill on which the fake was printed?

[3] In “Technical Topics,” THE MATCH, Issue 112 (Fall 2013), p. 70, Fred Woodworth observes that photocopiers automatically shrink or enlarge “images by about half of one percent” in order to “prevent people from making really accurate sized copies of cash ... .” The copiers are programmed this way and “one cannot get around it by juggling the enlarge/reduce capability” feature. 

You need to watch your pennies so you can spend your dollars where they count.

- Mary Liz Curtin - proprietor of Leon & Lulu in Clawson, MI

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## Laying the Axe to the Root of the Tree

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dispel the assumption that “blacks were incapable of living in freedom.” [10] Voluntaryists would have supported the establishment of trade and vocational schools and colleges that would help blacks demonstrate that they were as capable, hard-working, frugal, and enterprising as their white counterparts. People like Frederick Douglass, Doctor James McCune Smith, William Wells Brown, and Booker T. Washington were shining examples of what could be achieved.

In a letter written about March 1, 1837, the sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimke pretty much summarized what they described as “*The definite, practical means by which the North can put an end to Slavery in the South.*” They purported to set forth the *sins of the North*, and then “showed what Northerners c[ould] do to overthrow the great Prison House of the South.” Although they endorsed petitioning Congress and refusing to vote for pro-slavery Congressmen, they emphasized the voluntaryist, non-political means of undermining slavery:

Let the northern churches refuse to receive slaveholders at their communion tables, or to permit slaveholding ministers to enter their pulpits. ... Let northern men who go to the South to make their fortunes, see to it that those fortunes are not made out of the unrequited toil of the slave. ... Let northern manufacturers refuse to purchase cotton, for the cultivation of which the laborer has received no wages. Let the grocer refuse to buy the rice and sugar of the South, ... . Let the merchant refuse to receive the articles manufactured of slave grown cotton, and let the consumer refuse to purchase either the rice, sugar or cotton articles ... which has cost the slave his unpaid labor, his tears and his blood. Every northerner may, in this way, bear a faithful testimony against slavery at the South, by withdrawing his pecuniary support. ...

If Northerners were to do all we have marked out, can anyone doubt the powerful influence which it would produce on southern conscience and Southern interest? Could slavery live a single year under such an organized, disinterested, noble opposition to it? No, it would wither and die, never to be revived again. If Northerners were to purify *their* hearts and cleanse *their* hands from the sin of slavery, then would their tongues be loosed, and they would unceasingly pour into the ears of Southerners, the calm remonstrance, the brotherly rebuke, the earnest entreaty “to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke.” ... Oh no! He still has the heart of a man, and that heart would soon break under the hammer of truth. [11]

However, some major ideas were missing from the Grimkes’ letter, such as mounting a major tax refusal campaign against any government which supported

slavery; and encouraging the slaves, themselves, to stop work and confront their oppressors with their refusal to cooperate. [12] Whether one believes that northern declamations against slavery and the religious, social, and economic boycott of slave-owning Southerners would be effective, history shows that these and other nonviolent means of weakening and undercutting slavery did exist, and in many cases, were at least partially successful, in accomplishing their goal.

In the case of England, the British abolitionists undertook a massive public relations campaign to arouse the public against the slave trade. As Alexis de Tocqueville observed, it was “something absolutely without precedent in history.” [13] To begin the massive job of changing public opinion, the British abolitionists used every means at their disposal. They used popular forums, like the debating societies (where women often took part), to argue the demerits of slavery. They collected many thousands of signatures on petitions. They printed and distributed letters reporting on the status of their campaign and solicited contributions to support their cause. They publicized and utilized a logo and medallion created by Josiah Wedgwood and his workers, which read “Am I not a man and a brother?” They encouraged people to boycott the use of slave-grown sugar. They issued the first widely distributed political poster showing the inhumane conditions existing in ships engaged in the slave trade. They organized local committees under the umbrella of a national organization, and they put an ex-slave, Olaudah Equiano, on tour to publicize his autobiography, which rapidly became a best-seller. [14]

The sugar boycott in Britain reached its climax during the year 1792, when it was estimated that 300,000 men, women, and children abstained from using slave-grown sugar. A tract written and published in the same year argued that since neither the slave dealer nor planter had any moral right to control the slave or the products of his labor, they could not convey good title. Anyone who bought from them only had a criminal possession; by receiving the produce of the slave’s labor a person became an accessory to robbery, after the fact. The advocates of the boycott argued, that “If we purchase the commodity, we participate in the crime.” [15] A 20th Century researcher on “slave sugar boycotts and female activism” noted:

[A]bstention became a matter of conscience, a way of purifying oneself from pollution by the sin of slavery, ...; [and] it was a way of rooting anti-slavery in domestic culture; and it was a means of promoting economic systems based on waged rather than unwaged labor. But it had another important significance. It was promoted as a way of bringing about the downfall of the slave system as rapidly as possible, without awaiting the results of parliamentary deliberations. ... [A]bstention encouraged universal participation. .. [A]bstention campaigners recognized that their effectiveness depended on gaining the widest possible public

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participation, and thus actively solicited the support of children, of the poor, and most, notably, of women. ... [P]rivate abstention became an expression of public anti-slavery opinion. ... [A]bstention was direct action by the masses.

[In 1824,] Quaker pamphleteer, Elizabeth Heyrick, asserted that slavery was a question in which we are *all* implicated. [The West Indian planter, and the people of this country, stand in the same moral relation to each other, as the thief and the receiver of stolen goods.] There was no neutral ground: "the whole nation must now divide itself into the *active supporters*, and the *active opposers of slavery*." ... Abstention was thus linked to an unwillingness to rely on governmental action. ... [I]f government would not take action the people must bring about the end of the slave trade themselves by putting economic pressure on the planters and slave traders. ... Government could be by-passed and, through abstention, 'We, the people, the common people of England - we ourselves will emancipate' [the slave]. Abstention campaigns were thus about the people taking things into their own hands rather than relying on the authorities. [16]

Although the sugar boycott only reduced the price of sugar by one penny per pound, this alarmed the West Indian slave owners "more than all the alarm that had been produced by moral and legislative action." [17] Midgley concludes that the boycott's "direct impact on sugar production in the West Indies was very limited. ... [A]bstention's significance lay rather in its vital role in creating a national anti-slavery culture in Great Britain." [18]

American abolitionists, with the active participation of many Quakers, created their own Free Produce movement. In 1839, Thomas Branagan published his tract, *BUYING STOLEN GOODS SYNONYMOUS WITH STEALING*. He argued that "Slavery depends on the consumption of the produce of its labour for support. Refuse this produce, and slavery MUST cease. Say not that individual influence is small. Every aggregate must be composed of a collection of individuals. It is only by such collected individual influence, that any important end is attained; any great design is accomplished by man. The power of numbers supplies the want of sufficient force in the individual; ... ." [19] Elihu Burritt (1810-1879), the Learned Blacksmith, noted in Reason Seven of his pre-Civil War tract *TWENTY REASONS FOR TOTAL ABSTINENCE FROM SLAVE-LABOUR PRODUCE*, "It is a measure that does not trench upon any principle of free trade. It asks the interference of no legislation against the introduction or use of slave-labour produce. It requires no petitions to parliaments, diets, national assemblies, cortes, or congresses. It involves nothing but the free, voluntary legislation of the individual conscience upon the articles of household or personal consumption." [20] The Quaker-led American Free Produce Association called the boycott "one of the most

efficient means of peacefully abolishing the system of slavery." [21]

The Quakers did not limit their abolitionist activities to the free produce movement. In fact, their opposition to slavery began much earlier. The Quakers became the only major religious denomination that would not allow its members to own slaves. [22] They eventually voluntarily abolished slavery and slaveholding among the members of their religion. Those who refused were disowned from the Society. In 1758, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting resolved to exclude members who bought or sold slaves. "Those who persisted in violating the rules by purchasing Negroes were ... subjected to discipline. ... [They] could not have the unity of Friends" if they continued to own slaves. [23] The Quakers asserted that slaves were "prize" goods, that is, captives of war, violence, cruelty, and oppression, of theft and robbery of the highest nature. The use of prize goods or any goods obtained through illegitimate means was inconsistent with their testimony towards peace and nonviolence. Therefore it was only consistent that they forego the purchase and services of human beings who had been captured in Africa, even though they themselves had not been involved in the original violence.

Not only did most Quakers manumit their slaves, but they actually paid reparations to their former slaves, as compensation for their past unpaid services. In this sense, they may have been the only "ruling class" ever to voluntarily relinquish their power over others. [24] One of the earliest Quakers to attack slavery was Elias Hicks (1748-1830), who manumitted his own slaves in 1778. In 1811, he published his *OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, AND ON THE USE OF THE PRODUCE OF THEIR LABOR*. "Hicks insisted that all men were free under the laws of God; that no one had a moral right to enslave his fellows for any reason whatever. Users of the products of slave labor shared in the guilt of the slaveholders, he believed; they were equally culpable in the sight of God. No man-made law sanctioning slavery could remove this guilt, nor could slaveholders rightfully refuse to emancipate their slaves. On the contrary, they owed their slaves wages for the work which had unjustly been required of them." [25]

Many Quakers were active in the Underground Railroad, and stood ready to help runaway slaves. But as Harriet Tubman and other contemporaries noted, the slaves had to want to be free. She is reputed to have said, "I freed a thousand slaves, but I could have freed a thousand more if they had only known they were slaves." No external authority could make them free. This was exactly the point that the nonviolent Garrisonians clung to before John Brown's raid and the outbreak of the Civil War. Violence was not a permanent solution to the problem of slavery. Violence would not make the slaves want freedom; violence would not convince the slaveholders that their ownership of slaves was a moral wrong; and violence would not

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change public sentiment. Slavery and governments and violence were so intertwined that the Garrisonians believed that it was foolish to believe that violence exercised by governments could be used to end slavery.

Furthermore, as the nonviolent critics of John Brown pointed out a war against slavery would be almost as bad as slavery itself. [26] Parker Pillsbury expressed a basic pacifist insight when “he said, ‘We cannot cast out the devil of slavery by the devil’ of war.” [27] Adin Ballou asked, “[I]f the slaves were freed by rebellion what is to be done with them for the next one hundred years? It would take at least a century to educate them out of the ferocity engendered by such conflict. How are they to be employed, trained for liberty, and organized into well ordered communities? And above all how is this work to be accomplished with the great mass of whites in the country full of horror, loathing, and revenge toward them? ... Can’t we wait the operation of a more peaceful process? Can’t we content ourselves with holy efforts to bring about a change in public sentiment, so that this thing may be accomplished, without resorting to such horrible measures? It may seem hard to wait, but if we do not wait, we shall do worse.” [28] Ballou claimed that there were “vast differences between a people trained for liberty and self-government through a century and a half, and the millions of long crushed slaves, schooled to servility and studiously kept in ignorance[.] Such a people need all the help and benefit of a peaceful emancipation.” [29] William H. Furness, Philadelphia Underground Railroader and Unitarian pastor summarized the damage that Brown’s raid did to abolitionism. “In resorting to force” he injured the cause of abolitionism. “He did not take into account the undeviating law that violence produces violence. ... Revolutions effected by force always end, sooner or later, in reestablishing the tyranny they undertake to overthrow.” [30]

After the war, there were a few nonviolent abolitionists who realized that the Northern victory was hollow. They disagreed with Garrison’s belief that government-forced emancipation was a success. “H.C. Wright [had] repeatedly said that only ideas, not bullets, could permanently settle the question of slavery. ... Ezra Heywood pointed out that a government that could abolish slavery as a military necessity had no antislavery principles and could therefore re-establish slavery if circumstances required it.” Indeed, the federal government initiated military conscription during the war (1862), even before Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. “Abby Kelley Foster ... predicted flatly, if the slave is freed only out of consideration for the safety of the Union, [then] ‘the hate of the colored race will still continue, and the poison of that wickedness will destroy us as a nation’.” At least a few of the nonviolent abolitionists “had not forgotten their fundamental belief that to achieve humanitarian reform, particularly if it was to be thorough and permanent reform, the methods used to achieve it must

be consistent with the nature of the reform.” [31] “What [most pro-war] abolitionists often chose to brush aside was that after the [fighting] most blacks would still be living in the South among ... Confederates” who were opposed to their emancipation. [32] What the critics of war saw was that “[W]ar as a means to end the oppression of Negroes was to be little more than tragic futility.” [33]

In predicting the success of forced emancipation as a result of war, Thomas Wentworth Higginson noted that in reality “freedom of the slave ultimately had to be the work of the slave. He stated frankly in a private letter: ‘The great obstacle to anti-slavery action has always been the apparent feebleness and timidity of the slaves themselves.’ ... Nonresistants held similar sentiments. One of them repeated Lord Byron’s often-quoted line, ‘Who would be free, themselves must strike the first blow.’ The antislavery movement could help in removing ‘the outward forms of bondage,’ but it was up to the Negroes to raise themselves in the scale of civilization.” As Adin Ballou put it, “To put an end to slavery by emancipation will not materially elevate the character of the race,” nor make them free. The slaves have to want to free themselves; otherwise efforts by others to free them would ultimately fail. [34]

Douglas Lorimer in his article “Black Slaves and English Liberty” concluded that it was this attitude of desiring freedom and taking responsibility for one’s own self which actually brought freedom to the slaves in England. “[A]ided by free blacks and sympathetic whites ... [they] established their own liberty.” The slaves simply voted with their feet and chose to become free servants. [35] Since English law of the mid to late 1700s did not take cognizance of a person’s skin color (“the law took no notice of a negro”), common law processes applied to those slaves that were brought to England by their masters. [36] In 1772, in what became known as the Somerset decision, Lord Mansfield removed the greatest threat to blacks in England: they could not be forcefully deported to a foreign country (where their slave status would be legally recognized). [37] Slaves in England were subject to the writ of habeas corpus. A Negro could not be held as a slave against his will, since there was no positive law sanctioning slavery within England. However, as Lorimer emphasized, the end of slavery in England came about, not from the decisions of the courts, but from the actions of the slaves.

One of the ways that some American slaves struck their first blows for freedom was by arranging to buy themselves. This was done by the slave purchasing himself from his master. [38] It is impossible to calculate the number of slaves who were freed by purchase, though historical records show it was in the hundreds, if not thousands. Often times, the self-purchase movement went forward in spite of the legal restrictions imposed by all of the slave states. It was most prevalent in the industrialized cities, where slaves usually had more opportunities to earn money. In cities, such as

Charleston, SC, self-purchase arrangements were sometimes made through churches. In other places, already freed slaves were used as intermediaries and/or trustees to hold title to slaves who bought themselves. The self-purchase movement helped to undermine the system of slavery by refuting the argument that slavery was justifiable and necessary because Negroes were inferior beings. It demonstrated that Negroes could attain their freedom in the face of overwhelming obstacles. Furthermore, it aroused envy and discontent among those who were still slaves by showing what could be accomplished by free Negroes. [39]

So what would laying the axe to the root of the tree mean in terms of voluntarist strategy? Ultimately, it would mean influencing public opinion to such an extent that slavery would no longer be tolerated. Society and culture would gradually dry up the support for slavery. [40] This is what happened in at least one northern state. “[B]y the time of the first United States Census, in 1790, no slaves were officially listed in Massachusetts.” [41] Indeed in examining how slavery was ‘dried up’ in Massachusetts, in 1795, “Jeremy Belknap ... claimed that public opinion was chiefly responsible for the wane of slavery. Summarizing the instances in which slaves had sued for and obtained their freedom before the Revolution, he noted that the process became easier after the ratification of the [state] Constitution of 1780, when many Negroes asked for their freedom and got it, while others simply absconded and depended upon the weight of public opinion to sustain them in their behavior.” [42] Thus, “When public opinion would no longer tolerate slavery it disappeared ....” [43] No war, no violence, no government legislation nor emancipation proclamations were necessary. When public opinion turns against slavery, support for slavery collapses, and the slaves simply become free.

The nonviolent campaign to abolish slavery holds many lessons for the voluntarist who wants to abandon taxation and the state. As I noted in my anthology, *RENDER NOT: THE CASE AGAINST TAXATION*, the arguments against taxation are very analogous to the arguments against slavery. As I explain there, taxation is not only theft - it *is* slavery. If voluntarists are to learn anything from the movement to abolish the slave trade and slavery it should be that they must lay the axe at the root of the tree and convincingly demonstrate that the premise behind taxation is that the State owns the citizen. When public opinion no longer tolerates the coercive monopolization of public services exercised by the State, the State will disappear. No war, no violence, no government legislation, nor government tax holidays will be necessary. When public opinion turns against taxation, support for the State will collapse, and the citizenry will simply become free.

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 [31] *ibid.*, p. 336.  
 [32] *ibid.*, p. 339.  
 [33] *ibid.*, p. 330.  
 [34] Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.  
 [35] Lorimer, Douglas A., “Black Slaves and English Liberty: A Re-examination of Racial Slavery in England,” *3 IMMIGRANT & MINORITIES* (July 1984), pp. 121-150 at pp. 124-125.  
 [36] Drescher, Seymour, “Manumission in a Society without Slave Law: Eighteenth Century England,” *3 SLAVERY & ABOLITION* (December 1989), pp. 85-101 at p. 87.  
 [37] Hochschild (2005), *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50.  
 [38] Matison, Sumner Eliot, “Manumission By Purchase,” *33 THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY* (April 1948), pp. 146-167 at pp. 166-167.

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[39] *ibid.*, pp. 153 and 167.

[40] Freeman, Harrop A., "A Remonstrance for Conscience," 106 UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LAW REVIEW (April 1958), pp. 806-830 at p. 825.

[41] Cushing, John D., "The Cushing Court and the Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts," 5 THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF LEGAL HISTORY (April 1961), pp. 118-144 at p. 138.

[42] *ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

[43] *ibid.*, p. 144. ¶

## Leo Tolstoy On the Circle of Violence

*(continued from page 8)*

obliged to maintain and strengthen the enslavement of the masses.

These bribed officials, from the highest ministers to the lowest scribes, who, forming one continuous chain of men, are united by the same interest of supporting themselves by the labors of the masses, and grow wealthier in proportion as they more humbly do the will of their governments, always and everywhere, stopping short before no means, in all branches of activity, in word and deed, defend the governmental violence, upon which their very well-being is based.

The third means is what I cannot call by any other name than the hypnotization of the people. This means consists in retarding the spiritual development of men and maintaining them with all kinds of suggestions in a concept of life which humanity has already outlived, and on which the power of the governments is based. This hypnotization is at the present time organized in the most complex manner, and, beginning its action in childhood, continues over men to their death. This hypnotization begins at early youth in compulsory schools which are established for the purpose, and in which the children are instilled with world-conceptions which were peculiar to their ancestors and are directly opposed to the modern consciousness of humanity. In countries in which there is a state religion, the children are taught the senseless blasphemies of ecclesiastical catechisms, in which the necessity of obeying the powers is pointed out; in republican governments they are taught the savage superstition of patriotism, and the same imaginary obligation of obeying the authorities. At a more advanced age, this hypnotization is continued by encouraging the religious and the patriotic superstitions.

The religious superstition is encouraged by means of the institution of churches, processions, monuments, festivities, from the money collected from the masses, and these, with the aid of painting, architecture, music, incense, but chiefly by the maintenance of the so-called clergy, stupefy the masses: their duty consists in this, that with their representations, the pathos of the services, their sermons, their interference in the private lives of the people - at births, marriages, deaths - they bedim the people and keep them in an eternal condition of stupefaction. The patriotic superstition is encouraged by means of public celebrations, spectacles, monuments, festivities, which are arranged by the governments and the ruling classes on the money collected from the masses, and which make people prone to recognize the

exclusive importance of their own nation and the grandeur of their own state and rulers, and to be ill inclined toward all other nations and even hate them. In connection with this, the despotic governments directly prohibit the printing and dissemination of books and the utterance of speeches which enlighten the masses, and deport or incarcerate all men who are likely to rouse the masses from their lethargy; besides, all governments without exception conceal from the masses everything which could free them, and encourage everything which could corrupt them, such as the authorship of books which maintain the masses in the savagery of their religious and patriotic superstitions, all kinds of sensuous amusements, spectacles, circuses, theatres, and even all kinds of physical intoxications, such as tobacco, and brandy, which furnish the chief income of states; they even encourage prostitution, which is not only acknowledged, but even organized by the majority of governments. Such is the third means.

The fourth means consists in this, that with the aid of the three preceding means there is segregated, from the men so fettered and stupefied, a certain small number of men, who are subjected to intensified methods of stupefaction and brutalization, and are turned into involuntary tools of all those cruelties and bestialities which the governments may need. This stupefaction and brutalization is accomplished by taking the men at that youthful age when they have not yet had time to form any firm convictions in regard to morality, and, having removed them from all natural conditions of human life, from home, family, native district, rational labor, locking them all up together in narrow barracks, dressing them up in peculiar garments, and making them, under the influence of shouts, drums, music, glittering objects, perform daily exercises specially invented for the purpose, and thus inducing such a state of hypnosis in them that they cease to be men, and become unthinking machines, which are obedient to the command of the hypnotizer. These hypnotized, physically strong young men (all young men, on account of the present universal military service), who are provided with instruments of murder, and who are always obedient to the power of the governments and are prepared to commit any act of violence at their command, form the fourth and chief means for the enslavement of men.

With this means the circle of violence is closed.

Intimidation, bribery, hypnotization, make men desirous to become soldiers; but it is the soldiers who give the power and the possibility for punishing people, and picking them clean (and bribing the officials with the money thus obtained), and for hypnotizing and enlisting them again as soldiers, who in turn afford the possibility for doing all this.

The circle is closed, and there is no way of tearing oneself away from it by means of force.

[Excerpts from Leo Tolstoy, THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU, original English translation of 1894, Chapter VIII, paragraphs 24-34.] ¶

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## Leo Tolstoy On the Circle of Violence

[Editor's Note: Although this excerpt from Tolstoy ends on a seemingly pessimistic note, Tolstoy's point is that violence cannot be used to remove the state from our lives. As LaBoetie wrote in *THE DISCOURSE OF VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE*, "There are always a few (people), better endowed than others, who ... even if liberty had entirely perished from the earth" would reinvent it. "For them slavery has no satisfaction, no matter how well disguised." (p. 65) And as Murray Rothbard observed in his "Introduction" to LaBoetie, the prime task of education "is ... debamboozling the public on the entire nature and procedures of the despotic State." (p. 33) In short we have to embrace the proper means, and the end will take care of itself.]

The governments in our time - all governments, the most despotic and the most liberal - have become what [Alexander] Herzen [1812-1870] so aptly called Genghis-Khans with telegraphs, that is, organizations of violence, which have nothing at their base but the coarsest arbitrary will, and yet use all those means which science has worked out for the aggregate social peaceful activity of free and equal men, and which they now employ for the enslavement and oppression of men.

The governments and the ruling classes do not now lean on the right, not even on the semblance of justice, but on an artificial organization which, with the aid of the perfections of science, encloses all men in the circle of violence, from which there is no possibility of tearing

themselves away. This circle is now composed of four means of influencing men. All those means are connected and sustain one another, as the links in the ring of a united chain.

The first, the oldest, means is the means of intimidation. This means consists in representing the existing state structure (no matter what it may be - whether a free republic or the wildest despotism) as something sacred and invariable, and so in inflicting the severest penalties for any attempt at changing it. This means, having been used before, is even now used in an unchanged form wherever there are governments: in Russia - against the so-called nihilists; in America - against the anarchists; in France - against the imperialists, monarchists, communists, and anarchists. The railways, telegraphs, photographs, and the perfected method of removing people, without killing them, into eternal solitary confinement, where, hidden from men, they perish and are forgotten, and many other modern inventions, which governments employ more freely than anyone else, give them such strength that as soon as the power has fallen into certain hands, and the visible and the secret police, and the administration, and all kinds of prosecutors, and jailers, and executioners are earnestly at work, there is no possibility of overthrowing the government, no matter how senseless or cruel it may be.

The second means is that of bribery. It consists in taking the wealth away from the laboring classes in the shape of monetary taxes, and distributing this wealth among the officials, who for this remuneration are

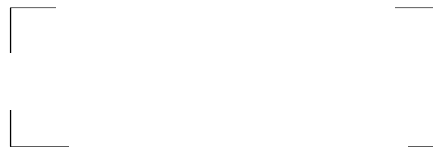
*(continued on page 7)*

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