

LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

NEW SERIES, VOL. 5, No. 13.

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WHOLE No. 207

LUCIFER--THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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Bible Temperance.

THE BIBLE AND THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.
AN EXAMINATION

OF THE CLAIM OF MODERN CHRISTIANS--THAT THE BIBLE IS A TEMPERANCE WORK.
By E. C. WALKER.

Prefatory Note; Introduction; List A.--Passages unequivocally condemning the use of Wine. List B.--Passages Commanding or Enjoining the use of Wine or Strong Drink, or both, or including a Pious supply of Wine among the blessings to be bestowed upon favored individuals or tribes, etc., or including the deprivation of it among the punishments inflicted upon the disobedient. List C.--Passages Conditionally Condemning the use of Wine, etc., upon stated occasions, by certain persons upon certain occasions, etc. List D.--Passages which incidentally mention the use of Wine and Strong Drink without either condemning or commanding them. List E.--Passages showing that Scripture Wine did intoxicate. Conclusion.

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THE BATTLE OF CHANCE.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

Great thoughts are leaving in the world's wide breast;
The time is laboring with a mighty birth,
Too old ideas fall,
Men wander up and down in wild intent;
A sense of change preparing for the Earth
Broods over all.
There lies a gloom on all things under heaven--
A gloom portentous to the quiet men
Who see no joy in being driven
Onward from change, ever to change again;
Who never walk but on the beaten ways,
And love the breath of yesterday's
Men who would rather sit and sleep
Whereas through the ivies creep,
Back at his door-post all at once,
Fleets of near or distant wars,
Than wake and listen to the moan
Of storm-voiced forests nodding to the stars--
Or hear far off, the melancholy roar
Of billows, white with wrath, battling against
the shore.

Deep on their troubled souls the shadow
Falls;
And in that shadow come and go--
While awful lightnings write upon the skies,
And mystic voices chant the coming woe--
Phantoms swathed in mist and flame,
Of who would live, they cry, in line like this:
Mingling with forms more palpably defined,
That whirl and dance like leaves upon the wind.

Then marshaling in long array their hosts,
Rush forth to battle in a cloud-like band,
Thick phalanxes on those far aerial coasts,
As swarms the locusts plugging Samarens,
Of who would live, they cry, in line like this:
A time of conflict, fierce, and trouble strange,
When old and new, over a dark abyss,
Light the great battle of relentless change!
And still before their eyes discredited kings,
Desolate chiefs, and aged priests forlorn,
Fell by--confused--with all incongruous
things,
Sweeping in rise and fall on ponderous
wings.

While here and there, amid a gold-like light,
Angelic faces, sweet as summer morn,
Which gleam an instant ere extinguished
quite,
Or change to stony skulls, or spectres livid
white.

But not to me--Oh not to me appear
"Eternal gloom. I see a brighter sky,
I feel the beautiful motion of the sphere;
And, lying down upon the grass, I hear,
Far, far away, yet drawing near,
A low, sweet sound of ringing melody;
I see the battle and the combatants;
I know the cause for which their weapons
flash.

I hear the martial music and the chants,
The shock of hosts, the armor clash,
As thought meets thought; but far beyond
I see,
Adown the abysses of the Time to be,
The well-won victory of the right;
The laying down of useless swords and spears,
The reconciliation ardently desired,
Of universal truth and might;
Whose long estrangement, biling earth with
tears,
Gave every manly heart divinely fired,
A burning love, a hope inspired,
To reconquer them, never more to sunder,
Far, far away above the rumbling thunder,
I see the splendor of another day,
Ever since infant time began,
Universal truth and might over man;
It rolls and surges up! it melts away!

Our Cause--Our Duties.

It is customary to call this a transition age, and no doubt it is such. We are living in the border-lands between the Old and the New. The creeds of the centuries gone, the faiths of our fathers, the cherished illusions of the childhood of our race, are slowly but surely dying, fading into the dim distance of by-gone perspective. The objectivized dreams of the ancient seers and priests,--the gods and devils, the heavens and hells,--are more and more clearly seen to be but primitive man's natural but crude and false interpretations of the phenomena by which he was an environed, to be useless to us to-day, save as landmarks and warnings.

While that is true of all that we may properly call theology or religion, in the ordinary use of the latter term, it is no less true that in the domains of morals, politics, and industry, like sweeping revolutions are in progress. No civilization has survived the religion which was its heart and life. Man's conception of the cosmos has been the measure of his ideas of justice, liberty, and truth. When he believed that this small globe of ours was the center of the whole universe, that all that exists was created by a God to glorify himself, that man's first and supreme duty was to be as nearly like this God as possible, and that eternal consequences waited upon the acceptance or rejection of an incomprehensible creed, he naturally knew little of, and cared less for, the rights of man.

His first care was to do that which his God, through his priests, told him was the most important of all duties--save his poor little soul from hell. It to accomplish this it became necessary

to sacrifice those nearest and dearest in the name of his God, that God would absolve him from all sin incurred in violating the moral law, and make of his crimes a shining stairway to the regions of celestial bliss.

Around this primary denial of the law of righteousness legitimately clustered all the blasphemies against Humanity, which have made scarlet with butchery and black with infamy, the religion now slithering under the touch of the icy hand of death. Cunning, indeed, have been the priests and the preachers, the prelates and the popes, of this organized treason against man. Theocracy and monarchy, empire and republic, have all served their evil purposes. Whatever government, whatever industrial or social system, has promised most for them in their warfare against liberty, has been sure to receive their earnest and unscrupulous support.

Siding with the prince against the peasant, with the landlord against the laborer, with law against love, with the slaveholder against the slave, with invasive insolence against individual initiative, the ecclesiastical power has decried earth in the name of heaven, has exploited man in the interest of mammon, and has incultured worship of God instead of duty to men and women.

But the pure white light of science has been shed upon this myriad of legends, and the unimpassioned logic has turned its pitiless gaze upon its sophistries, and they are swiftly vanishing; its artificial, monastic ethics have been weighed in the balance of natural morality and found wanting, and the sword of the patriot is unsheathed against the secular authority which now alone enables the church to spoil the people and deprive them of their liberties.

Yet dream not, friends of Free Thought, that the battle is won. Many a time has the apparently dying snake struck deep its poison fangs into the flesh of him who thought it harmless, and the cause of liberty can never be safe from re-action, so long as the idea of imposed authority lingers in the minds of any considerable portion of the people. Never was the danger greater than now. The foe has shifted his position, but none the less is he our foe, cruel and implacable as of old. Then he spoke with a "Thus saith the Lord!" and the kings went forth to battle, and the prattling lips of infancy, and the care-drawn ones of age, were hushed in death as fell the swords of God's anointed murderers. Then "heresy" was the hunting-cry, and the torture-chambers and death-cells of the Inquisition were filled with those who could not repeat the old shibboleths.

Now, all is changed. Liberty to think and to express our thoughts regarding religion has been largely won, but for this the Church does not care so much so long as she can punish us through the civil power for any attempt to practicalize the new faith; so long as she can cajole where she once drove, and so long as she can get the State to give her the support indirectly which she formerly received directly.

"Morality," "virtue," "temperance," &c., are now her rallying cries, and the signs of the times all indicate that she is about to enter upon a new era of power and prosperity. Wielding the sword of "morality," legislation, uniformed so skillfully as a soldier of the light as to deceive many of the very elect of Free Thought; posing as the champion of our rotten and tyrannous sexual system, and allying herself with monopoly, she is now as truly as in the Dark Ages the enemy of liberty and justice, and between her and humanity there can never be peace.

rents visited upon the children! The "threads of steel" that we are permitting the tyrants to weave to-day, shall grow to chains upon the limbs of your son and mine,--chains that only the acid of revolution can dissolve!

Yours, &c., E. C. W.
"The above article appeared in the Boston 'Investigator' of Sept. 10, '84."

The Government's Relation to the Land.

It will be observed that it is through the sovereignty of governmental force that the land is held in fee simple. It is "the law" that prevents free occupancy; it is the sheriff who executes the law. What right has the government to the land? No more than anybody else. A deed to a piece of land is tantamount to a crime, an assumption necessitating nearly all other crimes. It was through crime that the government first got possession. Land monopoly and nationality are interconvertible terms; government and rent are almost father and child.

The domain of government is exactly counterpoint with geographical divisions. For instance, this is Russia, that is Bulgaria, because they have separate forms of government. This is France, in distinction from the German boundary, because of two governments. This is the United States in distinction from Mexico, not because of language or race, but because of a different form of government,--government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Under no natural or universal government, could there be these arbitrary, geographical divisions, for they do not subserve the convenience of persons, or of morality. A cutting commits a natural crime against a Mexican citizen under cover of the governmental jurisdiction of an imaginary line and Secretary Bayard prepares for war! Get into an express train at New York, bound due West, and in a few hours you will have committed hundreds of statutory crimes, according to the number of States one rides through. Take New York and Jersey City, St. Louis and East St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kan., El Paso and Paso Del Norte, and we have illustrations of government by geography,--let us not here make mention of the Canadian colony!

Only where there has been a nationality has there been a monopoly of land. The Indians and other people, who have had no centralized government, have had no monopoly of land. Its monopoly never could exist without law and a title deed in fee simple from some central head. The Cherokee Indians, to-day, have far more natural and intelligent ideas of land tenure than the sophisticated governmentalists. Any natural, and therefore universal government can have no jurisdiction over the land, for the reason that it is not concerned with land or property, but personal rights and only them, when they are assailed. These being preserved, property rights are included, but jurisdiction over land inevitably must destroy the rights of persons.

Therefore, the "nationalization" of the land, instead of being the cure of land monopoly, is its cause. Instead of the nationalization of the land being the destruction of land monopoly, its destruction must come through the de-nationalization, or individualization of government,--just the opposite. The only authority over land tenure is the equal liberty of all to its use. This does not come from a central head but from the simple, reciprocal wants and needs of individuals. Under a natural state of things, if there were unoccupied land, one would go and use it without ceremony. But now the government, as the original robber, usurps the simplest prerogatives of nature, by what it bestows, no less than by what it withholds.

When, therefore, national governments cease, and national boundaries disappear, there will be no power or jurisdiction to give title to the land, in fee simple. When no government can monopolize it, then no individual will be able to own it. When the origin ceases, this end will cease; we cannot appeal to the source of an evil to cure the evil. When the land tenure question is settled, the government will be at an end. When the government is at an end, there will be no land question to settle,--land titles will then be natural, not legal.--C. T. Fowler, "Land Tenure."

Natural Defenses.

While Passion Lapels movement in one person towards another, and tends to overleap *unnatural* barriers, its proposals are nevertheless subject to rejection; created and nourished by the object of attraction, it is toned by Love which generates, but never annuls moral obligations. If intrusive, passion is hurtful; but, the person assailed, has a natural right of resistance; and, if a woman or girl, her effort in self-defense will be reinforced by disinterested strength around her. If men do not rally to protect a woman thus imperiled, it is because their sense of right is distorted by an idea that women belong to men, and that the person of this particular woman is, somehow, the property of the man who can overpower her. Our applause of an example of Love measures the contempt which right-minded people feel for a man who imposes himself, or the unwelcome fruit of his passions, on woman. She is "safe" among men, not through laws which deny Liberty, but by prevailing knowledge of the fact that Nature vests in herself the right to control and dispose of her own person. If lovers err, it is due not to Liberty, but to ignorance, and the demoralizing effect of the marriage system. If too go wrong, disciplined by ideas, they will work out their own salvation in the school of experience. The Free Love faith proclaims the fact that persons recognized in law as capable of making a sexual contract are, when wiser by experience, morally able to dissolve that contract; and that passion is not so depraved as to be incapable of redemption and self-government. --E. H. Heywood, *Capital's Yokes*.

American Plunkism.

The thanksgiving of Americans in these "Jubilee Days" should raise the spirit of Liberty and Independence into a storm of purifying power! The sons of the fathers of our republic have too long apologized before the despots and aristocrats of Europe for the bloodiness of their ancestors. Instead of flags flying in honor of a Queen whose government in her reign, has spread misery, with its millions of victims, from Ireland to Hindoostan; instead of fulsome adulation to her from our President in the name of the United States--the People? let the voice of indignation and warning go from our people in their millions, passing the moral judgment of a public opinion that will be irresistible. That public opinion has been irresistible to slaveholders the world over, now let it strike the greater oppressors! The moral power of great masses of enlightened people in this age of international relations will be more powerful than armies. As conscience makes a coward of every villain, it will paralyze the arm of the despot. Slower it may be, but surer than dynamite. One Country must recover from its apologetic position and face the world it was founded to conquer and redeem by its moral power. --T. B. Wakeman, in *Free Thinkers Magazine*.

AN OPEN LETTER.

COMMON SENSE ON THE

Sexual Question.

BY H. W. HOOZER.

We have just received a good supply of this popular and meritorious little work, and hope to dispose of them soon to our true-seeking readers. Price 20 cts. Lucifer, Valley Falls, Kansas.

LUCIFER

VALLEY FALLS, KAS., July 15, 287.

MOSES HARMAN & E. C. WALKER

EDITORS.

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We date from the First of January, 1601. This era is called the Era of Man, (E. M.), to distinguish it from the theological epoch that preceded it. In that epoch the earth was supposed to be flat, the sun was its attendant Light revolving about it. Above was Heaven where God ruled supreme over all potentates and powers; on earth ruled the Pope as the viceroy of God; below was the kingdom of the Devil, Hell. So taught the Bible. Then came the New Astronomy, the astronomy of Copernicus, Galileo and Bruno. It demonstrated that the earth is a globe revolving about the sun; that the stars are worlds and suns; that there is no "up" and "down" in space. Vanished the old heaven, vanished the old hell; the earth became the home of man. Bruno sealed his devotion to the new truth with his life on the 17th day of February, 1600. During the 17th century Grotius wrote the first work upon international law. This was the herald of the Arbitration which is to supplant war in the settlement of national differences.

Carlyle says: "Tell me what a man thinks of this universe, and I will tell you what his religion is." When the modern Cosmogony came, the Bible and the Church, as infallible Oracles, had to go, for they had taught that regarding the universe which was now shown to be untrue in almost every particular. So we take the beginning of the 17th century as an appropriate and a convenient starting point from which to date the Era of Man.

The removal of our case to the Leavenworth court puts us to additional expense, it being further to Leavenworth than to Topeka and all but one of our bondsmen residing in the latter city. This is the dull season of the year for us, and so we have hopes that our readers will pardon us for again calling their attention to the fact that there are many delinquents upon our books and that we need, now, the money that is due us. And we hope that our friends will secure us all the subscribers that they can. LUCIFER should be read by thoughtful men and women, for the ideas which it is endeavoring to promulgate are fundamental to the entire Protestant and Republico-Democratic philosophy or science of human association.

Clasp hands with us, comrades, and help keep LUCIFER'S light burning. We are willing to work early and late, to economize and in every possible way conserve our means and use them all in this cause; but no reform paper can keep aloft upon the waves of conflict unless its subscribers, inevitably few in number, comparatively, take hold in earnest, recognizing it as an exponent of just principles and striving to make it known among the people at large.

Only those who have been in a similar position know what this postal fight is, its vexations, perils, and costs. But all can understand that our battle is the race-old struggle for Liberty, and they should be able to realize that the more earnest all are in demanding their rights the sooner the victory will be won.

How many of our subscribers and others who shall read this will send us lists of TRIAL subscribers, five issues for 10cts., three months for 25cts.?

Editorial Comment.

We hope our readers are keeping track of Moses Hull's report of his side of the Braden-Hull discussion held here at Valley Falls in April last. The *Register* of this place, soon after the close of said debate, published a series of articles by an anonymous and therefore irresponsible party, commonly understood to be a prominent clergyman of Valley Falls, professing to give an impartial report of both sides of the discussion, but which were throughout one-sided, so Bradenized, so to speak, that we asked the editor of said paper to insert a part at least of Mr. Hull's own report of his side of the debate. To make it easy for the *Register* folks we offered to furnish the matter ready set in our own type. This offer Mr. Gardiner declined.

The \$50,000 for the Lutheran college will probably be raised by general taxation, as a monster petition requesting the mayor and council to make the levy has been prepared. —Aitchison Cor. Kansas City Times.

How is this for secular government? It is our constant boast that in the United States there is no union of church and state—that no one is obliged to support a church, or an enterprise controlled by a church, unless he voluntarily chooses so to do. But here it is deliberately proposed to levy a \$50,000 tax on a city of 20,000 inhabitants, —\$2.50 per head—a very large portion of whom are Freethinkers or Sceptics, to build a sectarian school. The Secularists of Aitchison are not even allowed to express their dissent by going through the cruel farce of the ballot-box mockery. (Of course they could not consistently vote on any such question, since to do so would be to acknowledge the right of the majority to rule in questions pertaining to personal rights.) The church faction proposes to capture the city government by a "monster petition," and by this means put their hands into the public treasury and take the money of the Secularists to erect a college whose avowed object will be to build up a theologic system in which said Secularists have not only no belief but which they honestly believe to be highly injurious to the best interests of human society.

As the Lutheran church is probably one of the weakest, numerically, in the city of Aitchison, it will be thought strange that the other sects should be willing to have a Lutheran college built at the expense of the city. But to our thinking there is nothing strange in this. The churches everywhere are now uniting, as against a common foe—intrenching themselves behind the civil government in order to use that government to crush the growing Skepticism of the age. Each of the sects, doubtless, expects in its turn to be thus favored by municipal aid in building up its own denominational enterprises, and thus make the Secularists aid the very schemes designed for the overthrow of Skepticism or of Secularism.

That the various Protestant sects are ready not only to unite with each other, but even with their hereditary foe, the Roman Catholic church, in order to crush Secularism, take this from the *Christian Statesman*, organ of the God-in-the-Constitution movement:

Whenever they [the Roman Catholics] are willing to co-operate in resisting the progress of political atheism, we will gladly join hands with them.

The churches are worldly-wise enough to know that in no way can they so effectively resist the "progress of atheism," whether political or religious, as by controlling the educational institutions of the country.

It will probably be said that if the city of Aitchison should build a sectarian college it would scarcely be just to call it a union of church and state, since it is not the state of Kansas but the municipality of a single city that does this. Very true, but if municipalities can thus override the personal and property rights of the citizen, how long will it be before the State (which is only the larger municipality) will be doing the same thing?

And how much behind this proposed action of the city of Aitchison is the State of Kansas to-day? Does it not, in a multitude of ways, favor the introduction of theology into the public institutions? Every public institution of note, including

the State University, has its chapel for the recitation of prayers, and one of these, at least, requires the attendance of all pupils upon the daily services at the chapel. The highest officials of the State Universities of this and other states, are often, if not generally, clergymen, and the commencement exercises are usually preceded, if we do not mistake, by a "baccalaureate sermon." We have now before us a copy of the baccalaureate sermon of Pres. Fairchild, of the Kansas State Agricultural College, delivered on June 5th, '87, in which he took for his text this verse, supposed to have been spoken by that prince of sensualists, King Solomon:

Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment.

This sermon is in the usual theologic strain. Instead of teaching the young graduates the necessity of searching for themselves into nature's grand storehouse of wisdom and knowledge, President Fairchild points his pupils to the crude imaginings of the ignorant and superstitious Past. Instead of inculcating manly self-reliance and amenability to natural law, he teaches his pupils to rely on outside help, and preaches the doctrine of vicarious atonement, whereby they may escape the legitimate consequences of their misdeeds. That our secular readers may know what kind of instruction their money goes to pay for we give the two closing paragraphs of this sermon:

And I, the power, I would then present to your prayerful hearts the picture of the lowly Jesus, as he was alive on the hills of Palestine, as he died for the world on Calvary, as he is alive forevermore, a power in the world, and say, "Behold the man!"

God has given you these powers; he has left you this choice; he has set the high example; he has promised, to those who ask it, wisdom, and the end is inevitable. Can one having your opportunities fail to seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness? "Know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment."

While we stoutly maintain and defend the civil rights of Christians to hear and pay for such sermons as this, we most solemnly protest against the laws and customs that compel Secularists to hear and pay for what, to them, is the unscientific vapors, the false and pernicious teachings, handed down to us from the ignorant ages and rudimentary stages of humanity's evolution. II.

AT TOPEKA.

At 11 P. M. on Monday the 4th inst, the senior member of the arrested LIGHT-BRANES took the Santa Fe train for Topeka, intending to be early on the ground in order to interview attorneys and bondsmen before the hour set for our appearance; the junior editor and junior publisher to follow at noon next day. Arriving at the capital city a little after midnight we found the hotels and boarding houses full to overflowing with guests—immigrants, travellers and Kansans, who had been "celebrating" the national anniversary at the state capital. Until nearly one o'clock we tramped the sidewalk, carrying a heavy gripsack, in the vain search for a hostelry that had "room for one more," and had about concluded to go back to the station and sit in the waiting-room till daybreak, when mine host of the Jackson House remembered that there was just one bed in one of his "sky parlors" that did not have its full quota of occupants, and if the tired wanderer could "put up" with half a bed he could and would accommodate him. Gladly accepting the proffered hospitality we "registered" and were shown to a room occupied by a fresh-caught seion of Hoosierdom who cordially welcomed us to a share of his bed.

The rush of immigration to Kansas is said to be greater this year than ever before. Whether "Prohibition" and municipal suffrage for women have anything to do with this phenomenal influx is an open question. In our humble opinion these peculiar features of Kansas politics have little to do with the matter. The Railway companies, who are large owners of land in Kansas, have made tremendous efforts to spread the news that the "Great American Desert," as middle and western Kansas were once called, is now the garden spot of the world—that the climate is changing and that, instead of aridity and barrenness, the erstwhile wilderness now blossoms as the rose under the

fructifying influence of frequent showers and of irrigating ditches. It is mainly to the efforts of these interested land speculators, as we think, that Kansas owes her phenomenal growth in population, and while it is doubtless true that many immigrants have bettered their condition by coming to Kansas, it is also true that thousands have been financially ruined by giving credence to the wonderful stories told of this "land of promise"—this golden "Sunflower State."

But this is a digression. At nine o'clock we called at the office of Messrs. Overmeyer and Safford and by them were informed that Deputy U. S. Atty Hagan had decided not to present the charge against us to the U. S. grand jury at this its summer session. This decision left us nothing to do but to renew bond for appearance at the fall term of the U. S. court which meets at Leavenworth, Kas., Oct. 10th. Accordingly, at 2 P. M., in company with our bondsmen, N. H. Harman of Valley Falls, we ascended the lofty staircases of Uncle Sam's P. O. building, to the rooms of Commissioner Wilson, and there renewed our bond for appearance, our good friends Messrs. Smith, Bowman and Rigdon, of Topeka, kindly allowing their names to be continued on said bond.

And thus it came to pass that the LUCIFER band is again at work in the office as usual. No reason was given for the postponement—the presumption, however, is that on account of hot weather the grand jury preferred to make the session as short as possible, and to this end they decided to examine such charges only as stood against persons who were then in durance for lack of bondsmen. II.

NATIONAL HOLIDAY.

July 4th was "celebrated" at Valley Falls in the old, stereotyped way. Ringing of church bells, burning of powder, reading of "Declaration," display of cheap bunting, spouting of cheap rhetoric, and "fire-works" at night being the leading features.

The "orator of the day" was T. Dwight Thatcher, of Topeka, a prominent republican politician and journalist, and, for many years, state printer. Mr. Thatcher is an agreeable speaker and was listened to with marked attention by the large crowd of people assembled in the beautiful and commodious city park. The burden of his discourse was that this is a "free government"—that ours is the only country under heaven that guarantees and secures equality of rights for all. "No man," said he, is here allowed to infringe upon the rights of his neighbor." "Whoever says you shant do this and you shant do that is a transgressor," and much more to the same import.

As Mr. Thatcher belongs to the dominant political party and, as we are informed, takes his theology at a fashionable church (the Congregational), it is very probable that he has never known what it is to be deprived of his personal rights. And never having been told by those clothed with a little brief authority, "you shant do this and you shant do that," Mr. T. concludes that no one else has been thus deprived of his equal rights to do as he pleases so long as he does not infringe upon the equal rights of others. No doubt that the Puritans of the times of Cotton Mather would have indignantly repelled the charge that any one had ever been deprived of his equal right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. In Kansas to day the encroachments upon personal liberty are scarcely less marked, scarcely less atrocious than were the encroachments upon personal liberty under the reign of the Puritans in New England, and yet even such well-informed men as T. D. Thatcher declare, honestly no doubt, that ours is a free country, and that the principles announced in the Declaration of Independence are now faithfully carried out all over our broad land.

Comparing Kansas with the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, let us see: Massachusetts denied the right of men and women to choose their religion but allowed them to choose their own drinks. Rum, whiskey and hard cider were popular drinks, even with the clergy, in those days. Kansas allows men to choose their religion but prohibits them from choosing their beverages. The Puritans imprisoned men for blasphemy, but when did they persecute and arrest editors for printing plain talk against the abuses of women in the sex-relation, as the people of Kansas are now doing? The Puritans punished people that would not pay tithes to the church, but who ever heard

that under their sway a man and woman were imprisoned six months and compelled to pay the costs of prosecution for daring to marry themselves, and for neglecting to fee an officer for the right to mind their own business? The Puritans punished people who worked or travelled on the day called Sunday, and now the church party in Kansas is trying to enforce the same old Sabbatarian laws.

And yet Mr. Thatcher iterates and reiterates the statement that ours is a land of equal rights, and that the principles of the Declaration of Independence have been and are now practicalized!

ANARCHY.

Not only Mr. Thatcher but nearly every speaker that followed him had something to say in condemnation of "Anarchy." As these speakers all believe in Archism, or government by rulers, this is not strange, but that they should eulogize the Declaration of Independence, one of the most pronounced Anarchistic documents ever written, this is strange indeed! If Mr. Thatcher and the speakers that followed him, will read the address of Gen. M. M. Trumbull as published in pamphlet form by us, they will see that Thomas Jefferson, the reputed author of the Declaration so much praised by them, was an Anarchist and not a governmentalist, as that word is commonly understood.

"GRAND ARMY" RESPONSES.

The wittiest and most original address, to our thinking, of the occasion, was made by Capt. L. H. Gest, in response to the call for the "Grand Army of the Republic." "Cap." Gest, as he is familiarly called, is a plain, unpretending farmer, but his reminiscences of camp life were so well told that they "brought down the house"—no, we mean the grove!

And now in closing we would just say that while we most emphatically object to much that is usually said and done on this our most noted national holiday, we would by no means discourage the keeping of the 4th of July as a day set apart for general merry-making, recreation, relaxation and the cultivation of social and fraternal feelings. Less noise, less powder, less smoke, less parade and less vainglorious boasting; more quiet enjoyment, more time and attention given to the interchange of neighborly greetings and to the cultivation of social amenities—less of the military, the sectional and the so-called "patriotic," and more of the peaceful, the cosmopolitan, the humanitarian. II.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Mr. Chavannes avers that he regards marriage as the best solution of the social problem, so far found. But as he proceeds to say that marriage is primarily and chiefly a business association, his meaning is not clear. Whether he intends to be understood as claiming that the business partnership of a man and a woman is the best solution yet found of the social problem, or that the so-called monogamic relation is the best, or that compliance with the customs and laws of our time is the most desirable, I am unable to gather from his argument.

While it is very true that marriage, whether conventional or free, is, to a greater or less extent, a business association, I cannot regard it, either in its inception or essentially, as a co-operation for business purposes. There is evidently something more than a combination for money-making purposes in a union that always depends for its existence upon a difference in sex. Men form business partnerships with men, women with women, and even women with men, and they are nothing else. But sex-unions belong in a different class. Of course, it is true that there are numbers of mercenary marriages but they are, I think, rightly regarded as of the same nature as those temporary relations for a monetary consideration which obtain in the evil resorts of the cities and elsewhere.

It seems more than probable that the best possible results, both to the parties themselves and to their children, will be attainable only when each co-partner in the love-association shall be financially and industrially independent of the other. This does not involve separation of interests nor isolation; because two brothers are self-supporting, whether separated or associated, it does not follow that they must engage in different occupations. Whether they work together or each for himself will depend upon their tastes, desires, tempers, etc. So in the love-union; men and women may sincerely love and respect each other and yet prefer to keep their work and business separate. This is almost sure to be the case where their tastes

differ widely and they severally fancy occupations which cannot be agreeably or profitably conducted by the firm.

When people reach the plaus occupied by Mr. C., where they can see that love is not a just and valid ground for separation, the evil, which he thinks has its origin in the conception of marriage as a love relation, will be obviated. Men and women will no longer murder each other for so-called "infidelity," neither will otherwise happy homes or beneficial associations be broken up or dissolved because love has passed more than one arrow into the same heart. Here Mr. C. and myself are in accord, as I understand him.

We have a definition of marriage which differs from that of B. H. Tucker, A. Warren, and others, and now comes Mr. C. with one which is different from those of all the others. A large proportion of the disagreements among reformers grows out of this failure to put the same construction upon words. We declare marriage to be the love-union of the sexes; Mr. C. avers that it is the labor and business partnership of the same; while our ultra Anarchistic friends assert that it is wrong for radicals to call their sex associations by the name of marriage, asseverating that "marriage" can mean only legal slavery. Choose ye for yourselves.

Inasmuch as Mr. C. thinks that love should have some place in the sex-partnership, he cannot find great fault with us who announced that ours was a "love and labor union!"

Of course, promises to love are as absurd as would be promises to admire a picture that was pleasing to one's artistic sense, or to eat when hungry, or sleep when tired. It is the fact that is desirable and productive of happiness, not promises.

AN IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE.

Mr. Allison evidently fails to perceive the wide difference between a co-operative society, having certain definite aims and functions, and the present State, which presumes to meddle with or direct about every human concern. Membership in the former is voluntary, in the latter, compulsory. It does not seem to be necessary to do more than state this pregnant fact to enable a man of Mr. Allison's native judgment, and education, to see that there can be no comparison save that of contrast between the two.

Mr. Allison's proviso is a fatal one. He is willing to intrust his business to the voters in his own county, "provided they are men of the grade of intelligence that qualifies them to transact my business, I having had a voice in their selection, or having virtually employed them to transact it for me." But what guarantee have you that they will be men of the requisite grade of intelligence? Remember, it is not your brains that select them. You may think that your business should be conducted in a certain way, while your two neighbors think differently. You vote for a man to carry out your views; they vote for a man to carry out theirs. Two being more than one, their candidate is elected. Now, how can you say that this agent is virtually of your selection? You had a certain business; it was your right to conduct that business to please yourself; other men, however, assumed the right to dictate to you; being unable to help yourself, you submitted to the arbitrament of the force called voting; you were outnumbered and overpowered. It is the old *Test of the Duck*, with this aggravation of the wrong, that the numbers engaged are never equal.

Yes, we must all at times employ agents to transact our business for us, but outside of the business which the State assumes the privilege of controlling, we have the power of direction and discharge. Do not forget this. You may say that this is true of the agents selected by voting in the compulsory State. Is it? The only possible remedy you have is a purely negative one,—you may refuse to re-elect the agent. But the evil he has done will remain to plague and ruin you. But it is not at all certain that you can discharge him at the end of his term. He may be destroying your business and undermining your liberties, but unless you can convince the mind of the average voter that he is doing this and at the same time arouse his conscience in your behalf, you have no remedy. You are not in an association from which you can withdraw when you are dissatisfied with the management. Now you are the victim of a majority which it may take a generation to reduce to a minority, and you cannot get out of its clutches.

The only safe and logical position for Mr. Allison and every other true friend of Liberty and Justice to take is that the

present State is a colossal usurpation, assuming to itself rights and powers not possessed by its units, and that the purely police power of restraint of criminals is the sole function of any so-called civil power. Take away all but the natural right of protection, and what would be left of the existing national, State and municipal governments? The natural laws would then operate unimpeded by artificial and invasive statutes, and voting would be confined to the election of local agents for the preservation of personal rights and property interests in harmony therewith, i. e., for the restraint, not government, of the murderer, thief, rapist, and other invaders of the individual spheres.

Editorial Notes.

Socialism seems to be making much progress in Denmark. One of its organs, the *Social Demokrat* has a daily circulation of 22,000. Another, the *Karven*, is an illustrated journal, with fairly good cartoons, etc. The latter sends us a leaflet, in curious English, containing a brief account of the "Feast of the Socialists" on June 6th at Copenhagen. One hundred and thirty-five unions marched in the procession, and eighteen bands of music enlivened the march. The procession was two miles in length, and 30,000 men and women marched in its closely-packed ranks. There was one group of five hundred women with their own ensigns. 70,000 people in all assembled in the park. Genuine working-men presided and made the speeches. The best of order was preserved. Telegrams of congratulation were received from twenty-four unions in the country. At Aarhus fourteen unions and 8,000 men and women took part in the feast.

Not a peep regarding us had been heard from the *New Era* since we had requested it to publish six verses from the Bible until the week we went to Topeka to attend the U. S. Court. It had preserved a discreet and golden silence; but then it recovered courage enough to say:

"The Lucifer outfit went to Topeka Tuesday to appear before the U. S. district court on the charge of circulating obscene literature through the mails, but their case was continued until the October term."

I suppose that it is constitutionally impossible for Mr. Van Meter to speak of an opponent in a respectful manner. His favorite designation for us is "The Lucifer outfit," although it is fairly presumable that "The New Era outfit" would not sound as sweetest music in his ears. But why the latter is not as appropriate an appellation as the former it would probably be very difficult for Mr. Van Meter to show.

By the way, *apropos* of "the charge of circulating obscene literature through the mails," I must remind the editor of the *New Era* that there is a standing offer of \$10 to be paid him if he prints in his paper six verses from the Bible, selected by me. Until he accepts this challenge, insinuations from him concerning the alleged obscenity of any Free thought or scientific author are entirely out of order.

Dare Mr. Van Meter print and circulate all words found in his Bible? If not, does not that Bible come under the operation of the statutes against obscene literature? Should not the Bible Societies and others who send it through the mails be prosecuted? But if they should have immunity, why also should not scientific writers who are trying to instruct the people in the vitally-important matters of heredity and human rights? Is Mr. Van Meter enough of a man to quit flinging epithets and give these questions honest answers?

W. G. Markland has most forcibly presented in his postscript to the "Awful Letter" the issue which is now up for settlement. It has been a long time since I have seen anything that in so few words and so clearly showed the infamy of this entire attempted supervision of marriage, morals and literature as does his supposititious dialogue between the Legal Rapist and the Law. Read it once, twice, thrice. See fourth page.

A writer in the *Boston Beacon* is responsible for this brilliant thought:

"And when any person would go so far as to play cricket or any other game on Sunday, a day that is held sacred by the people of the highest morals, then it is that he does disregard the best feeling in a community, and therefore should be made to atone for his personal liberty, even though it does not directly or personally affect the happiness of others."

The illogis of this is equalled only by its pharisaical assumption of superiority. How does this writer reach the conclusion that Sunday is held sacred by "the people of the highest morals?" Morality re-

quires from the individual respect for the rights of all other individuals. One day is no more sacred than another; therefore, "people of the highest morality" will not attempt to enforce the observance of any day, for to do so would be to sacrifice the greater to the less, the rights of men to somebody's belief concerning a day.

Morality is the science of human relations; therefore, as a rule, the individual is moral in the ratio that he is educated—that is, educated in this science of human relations—and generally intelligent. Such men and women know that all this talk about Sunday being a sacred day is more twaddle; they know that there is no authority in the Bible for its observance, and what is much more important, that nature has not arbitrarily set apart any day as a day of rest and recreation.

The assertion that the people of the highest morals hold Sunday as a sacred day raises the question whether the most conspicuous advocates of Sunday legislation are sincere in their professions. Take the Protestant ministers, as examples, and examine their position:

1st. The better educated of them all know that their utterances on this subject are utterly unverifiable. They know that there is no authority, aside from that of the Catholic Church (which authority they repudiate), for the keeping of Sunday as the "Sabbath" day.

2nd. They earn the major part of the salaries which they receive by work performed upon this alleged-to-be sacred day.

Need more be said? What patience can a blunt, frank man have with such "moral teachers?" What faith in their sincerity?

The Pope has excommunicated McGlynn! Good! Now let the rebel priest exclaim:

"I held some slack allegiance till this hour But now my sword's my own," and "suit the action to the word" by excommunicating the Pope! Let all Catholics see that one man is no smarter than another when it comes to locking heaven's doors in the faces of people with whom he does not agree.

Dr. Shaw, of the *Independent Pulpit* hopes, "for the honor of humanity, the honor of womanhood, and the honor of Free thought, that Mrs. Slenker (is not guilty of this revolting offense) (obscenity), but thanks it "very strange that she has not even asserted her innocence. Dr. Shaw should remember that there is no standard by which we can judge what is or is not obscene. The obscenity is in the intent of the writer or artist and the mind of him who reads or inspects, not in the thing written or printed. This should be sufficient to explain Mrs. Slenker's alleged failure to deny the charge against her, for what she would pronounce fine and ennobling Dr. Shaw might call obscene and degrading, just as the piece of statuary or the painting in which he would delight would, by thousands of people, be adjudged revolting and indecent.

But Mrs. Slenker has denied the charge against her, for she has repeatedly said that she considered that she was engaged in a necessary and, therefore, good work. What more does Dr. Shaw want? So long as she and her correspondents are content to use words that exactly express what they desire to say, who is to sit in judgment upon them, and find and imprison them because they do not agree with their self-elected judges in the choice of words?

Dr. Shaw thinks that the whole affair is a "great mystery," for he had never seen anything in the works of Mrs. Slenker which had led him to think her other than an "honest, chaste, and refined lady." Our friend reasons very lamely. Was not Annie Besant prosecuted on the same charge? The "offending" work was the "Fruits of Philosophy." She and Mr. Bradlaugh were acquitted, while Edward Truelove was convicted and served a term in prison for selling the same book! What does an accusation of this kind prove regarding the character of the accused? Nothing. Were not Dr. Foote, E. H. Heywood and D. M. Bennett convicted under this same iniquitous law? And yet were they not all then and are not the two survivors now foremost among our best Humanitarian workers?

Our Texas editor is going to wait until he is assured that this attack upon Mrs. Slenker is "on account of her infidelity," when he will come to her defense! I suppose that if Dr. S. saw a

woman set upon by a band of tramps he would give her no assistance until he knew that she swore by his god, lest, perchance, the tramps might simply be "punishing her" for some infraction of their and his canons of good taste!

Mr. Shaw was a minister once and so much may be forgiven him. Doubtless a great deal of the old churchly fear and distrust of naked nature lingers with him, and so it is the easiest thing in the world for him to regard the plain facts of our sex nature and honest, plain words about them as indecent and obscene. It is to be hoped that he will yet grow into a saving knowledge of the truth that nature is not obscene and that lack of good taste even is not sufficient ground for a criminal prosecution.

The Valley Falls Debate.

Moses Hull's First Speech in Reply to Ed. Clark Braden.

Continued.
Gentlemen Moderators, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. Braden's Third proposition is more unfortunate, if possible, than the first. It does not reveal the "Universal Fatherhood of God." While that doctrine was taught among the heathen, the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, revealed exactly the opposite of that. The fatherhood of God, when limited at in the New Testament, is conditionally; see Matt. viii.

Jesus emphatically denies the fatherhood of God; he says to the Jews, "If God were your father ye would love me; for I proceeded forth and came from God." John viii:42.

Jesus preached the fatherhood of the Devil as much as that of God. To the Jews he said, "Ye are of your father, the Devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." John viii:44.

According to the fourth proposition laid down by the affirmative, "Christianity teaches the universal brotherhood of man and the infinite perfections of God." These sound well, but let us examine them:

The Bible, if it ever did teach the brotherhood of man, did not teach it until its authors learned it of the heathen. Paul is honest enough to give his authority for believing "God hath made of one blood all nations." He did not quote Daniel, Isaiah or Jesus, but the heathen poet.

Certainly the treatment that Moses recommended the Jews to give the seven nations around them was anything but brotherly. Was it brotherly to kill all the Midianites, even all the "males among the little ones," to save none alive except a certain class of females, and then only for base purposes? Let my friend read Num. xxxi and harmonize it with his "universal brotherhood" ideas if he can. When he gets through with this brotherly work let him try the tenth and eleventh chapters of Joshua. If brothers are generally to treat each other as Joshua treated the ten nations of his brethren, "universal brotherhood" will, in the future, be at a great discount with me.

In Deut. xvii:1-7 Moses gives his brethren commands as to how they must deal with their brethren and sisters of other nations. In the midst of the most horrid commands he says, "Thus shall ye deal with them." Among the commands are the following: "Smite them and utterly destroy them." "Make no covenant with them nor show mercy unto them." Why all this? "Because thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God. The Lord thy God he hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself above all the people that are upon the face of the earth."

If these are God's treasures I hope he will lay them all up in heaven or some other place; humanity is not safe among such men.

Jesus did not believe in the universal brotherhood of man. With him his own nation were "the children" and the Gentiles were "dogs." See Matt. xv:21.

The second part of Mr. Braden's proposition is, if possible, more unfortunate than the first. In that he twice asserts the infinite perfections of the God to be worshipped and imitated by this universal brotherhood.

This infinitely perfect God was a capricious and vacillating creature. He made man and repented of it; he grieved him at his heart. Gen. vi:6. He got in a rage at his "children" and thought he would destroy them, but Moses argued the case so eloquently that "infinite perfection" was convinced that he was in the wrong and changed his mind and did not do what he thought he would do. He was mistaken that time, sure. See Ex. xxiii:7-14.

He once thought he would destroy Nineveh but he repented of that and got Jonah into a scrape. See Jonah iii:10.

When he wanted to find out how wicked the cities of the plain were he came down to see. Gen. xix:20. Sometimes he got "cleared" with wine. Judges ix:12. This loving and merciful father occasionally required the sacrifices of his children. 2 Sam. xxi:1-14.

Moses Hull's Second Speech in Reply to Ed. Clark Braden.

Gentlemen Moderators, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You have now heard enough of Mr. Braden's arguments to be able to understand his affirmative position; the validity of his arguments will, of course, be developed as he proceeds. You must not expect me to re-

ply to his propositions as fast as he throws them out. It always takes longer to reply to the weak points in a proposition than it does to make them. Beside that my friend has the advantage of the education, or rather the lack of education, of the people. Many things, with him and the people, are simply taken for granted—things which it will be my duty to expose; all this takes time. He will be compelled to stop to reply to my replies, and to make some of his assertions good, this will afford ample opportunity for me to catch up. "Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all."

The substance of Mr. Braden's next proposition is, that Christianity has the exalted object in view of elevating all men into universal love and righteousness; and all this by the development in them of the moral likeness of God.

How the moral likeness of the anthropomorphic, capricious God of Moses can lead to universal love and righteousness he did not and probably will not attempt to tell you. This universal love and righteousness "hardened Pharaoh's heart" on purpose to lead him and his people to destruction, Ex. vi:21; set his righteous people, his "special treasure" to robbing the very people the heart of whose king he himself had hardened. Ex. xii:2. He set Joshua, as I showed you in my last speech, in "universal love and righteousness" to killing everybody except Jews, indiscriminately. Don't talk about the "moral and mental likeness" of this God; the world has had too much of it. I agree with my friend, however, that Christianity has "elevated" the world on to that plane. The history of the church has been a history of war, persecution and bloodshed from at least as early a day as that of Constantine down to the days of Anthony Comstock. A writer in the early part of this century said:

"An example [of Joshua's] butchery was followed on the ever memorable day of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572, when seventy thousand innocent subjects of the most Christian King of France were butchered throughout France at the instigation of his pious mother, Catharine de Medici. Mr. Higgins, a sincere Christian, thus concludes his beautiful work: 'Look at Ireland, look at Spain, in short, look everywhere and you will see the priests reeking with gore. They have converted and are converting pagans and infidels into a slaughterhouse, drugged with blood and tears.'—Taylor's *Digest*, p. 117."

My friend may deny that these people were Christians, but they are the oldest and largest Christian church in the world; they are the only church that can trace its genealogy without a fractured link right back to Peter. The sect to which my friend belongs only goes two steps to find itself in the bosom of this same church. Aside all this, this church believes and preaches every principle laid down in Mr. Braden's propositions.

Even Paul did not strive to "elevate all men into universal love." If a person preached anything different from Paul, he got very little "universal love and righteousness" from him. His language was, "Let him be accursed." If any one "love not the Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema maranatha"—accursed when the Lord cometh.

I acknowledge that Jesus taught love, even to enemies, but of his enemies he said: "But thou, mine enemies, that would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me." Luke xix:27.

[To be continued.]

All Sorts.

In two stanzas of Kenneth Lamar's poem, published last week, typographical errors crept in which seriously mar the sense, and so we reproduce the stanzas here that those of our readers who desire to preserve the poem in their scrap-books can have it complete:

Tiger, tiger from the forest,
And the cloud and wind and men,
Atoms mingled in my blood,
And the life they have from me;
And those forces separated
By infinity of years—
Met and left me desolated
In their death-march through the spheres

Tiger, tiger! this is life
Through the wide sweep of the spheres;
All the things that live and move,
With these tragedies and tears;
And the gladder song upswelling
From the gayest hearts to-day
Brings them back to the killing,
And the coffin-worm and clay.

We liked the "Little Lessons" very much. My oldest boy, when he finished reading it, said he had but one objection to Elmina's book—that was, that it was not half big enough. The style in which it is written makes it comprehensible to the young, and interesting and instructive to big folks, as well as little ones.—Lottie Griffin, *Melior, Kan.*

W. S. Bell's List of Lecture Engagements.

Creston, Iowa, July 17; Herman, Neb., 21; Stanton, Neb., 23; 21; Burnet, Neb., 23; Clearwater, Neb., 26; David City, Neb., 30; Osceola, Neb., Aug. 2, 3; Seward, Neb., 4, 5, 6; Lowell, Neb., 8, 9, 10; Plum Creek, Neb., 12; Fairbury, Neb., 15, 16, 17; Salem, Neb., 19, 20, 21; Palmyra, Neb., 22.

I have read Elmina's "Infidel School Teacher" and her "Darwinism" and "John's Way." I cannot praise these books too much.—D. O. Ames, *Liberal, Mo.*

S. A. Underwood says: "Mrs. Slenker bids fair to become the novelists of Liberalism. While inculcating less of a morality and thoughtful freedom, in addition to scientific facts, 'The Drivins' never becomes prolix or tedious."

A SONG OF LIBERTY.

AIR—"Bonnie Doon."

Hail, sacred light! auspicious morn,
We hail thy coming once again,
That stirs the soul of Freedom born,
The glorious, great, immortal FAIR.
Awake, ye sons of Liberty!
Arise from city, moor, and plain,
And send the shout of Freedom's strain,
Of Freedom's great assertion, FAIR.

Come from the anvil, glow and loom,
With anvil and hammer, come,
From anvil and hammer, come,
And lift on high the praise of FAIR.
Come, freemen, join the Freedom song,
Exult, expand the glorious strain,
Let every nerve and tongue be strong,
To celebrate the worth of FAIR.

By him was Freedom's flag unfurled!
By him she first commenced her reign,
While wonder-struck the astonished world,
And tyrants feared the name of FAIR.
We come, we hasten, far and wide,
To stamp the name of Freedom's strain,
We come, we hasten, far and wide,
To stamp the name of Freedom's strain.

When despots banished Freedom hence,
Who raised the darling's head again?
The magic power of "Common Sense,"
Which by thee, unquenched FAIR,
Shone, shining, about the Freedom's strain,
To face the tyrant's scourge defied,
Great founder of our Freedom, FAIR.

While "Reason's Age" and "Rights of Man,"
To illumine our hearts and minds remain,
We'll laugh at every plot and plan,
To shake our confidence in FAIR.
We'll laugh at every plot and plan,
To shake our confidence in FAIR.
From field and forest, moor and plain,
A boundless, vast, unnumbered band,
To sing of Liberty and FAIR.

FREE PLATFORM.

Friend Walker: I am busy and have not time for a lengthy reply, neither do I deem it expedient, considering your immediate interests, to take up space in your paper to further discuss the question at issue. Thank you for space already given my matter, and ask no more favors in that line until you have had your say in your own defense in another matter. But I assure you that I shall continue to "vote" until I discover that it is possible for members of a "co-operative" society to act on any measure, however trivial or unimportant, without voting upon it, or assuming an attitude in regard to it equivalent to voting. You must ballot, say "yes" or "no," not assent, shake your head, smile approvingly or in derision, or express by some other outward sign intelligible to beholders, your sentiments, convictions or position on every question or measure brought up for consideration in your society. You cannot conceal your true convictions—they must find expression in some form or other; and whether by "bits of paper put into wooden boxes" or by yes, no, smile, nod, wink and sometimes even silence and inaction, the result is the same, and the affairs of millions may thereby be "prudently and righteously directed." I am willing to "entrust my business to voters in my county," and would expect to suffer no inconvenience whatever, provided they are men of the grade of intelligence that qualifies them to transact my business, I having had a voice in their selection, or having virtually employed them to transact it for me. You and I, and all find it necessary to employ an agent to transact our business or some portion of it at times, or in other words, must have some one to represent us and protect us and promote our interests.

We may make a bad selection sometimes, but that fact does not set aside the necessity for representative men.

I should not fail to commend the kindness of spirit which characterized your reply.

Truly,
W. S. ALLISON.

Marriage and Free Love.

So long as E. C. W. and J. H. were suffering from the unwarranted interference of the Kansas authorities with their private affairs, I had not wanted to express opinions which were a criticism upon their own actions, but now that they are free once more, I want to state how and why I differ from the "Free Lovers," so-called.

And first I must say that I have long ago ceased to set up a standard of my own, to judge my own or any body else's actions. I acknowledge the presence of a power which we call Nature, and whatever Nature approves I encourage, and whatever Nature prohibits, I try to avoid, such rewards and punishments being measured by the increase or decrease of personal happiness. It matters little to me whether Moralists or Reformers approve or condemn Free Love or Marriage, the only question before me is to find out if Nature rewards one more than the other. Nor do I believe that Marriage is the result of man's will, but rather the result of the development of the social problem, and at the present time the best solution found, like everything else, it is the result of the law of Progress and has been subjected to the law of the survival of the fittest.

Applying these facts to marriage, I find that the co-operation of individuals is an element of strength which enables them to more successfully accomplish the ends they desire, and that the reproduction of the race and the comfort of living are more easily attained when men and women unite than when each strives for it independently, and I find also that the more permanent these unions are, the greater are the prospects of success. The peculiar nature of the ends sought for in marriage is such that every change of partners greatly endangers the result, and stability is one of the conditions of success.

These are self-evident facts and will be admitted by almost all Free Lovers, who, as a body, are far from advocating perpetual change, only claiming the right to change when it is thought best by the parties concerned, but where I differ with them is as to the validity of the cause which they make pre-eminent in compelling changes.

They make of marriage a love-association where the indulgence of the loving faculties is the principal object, and according to them whenever love diminishes or is transferred to another party the association must cease and be dissolved. I entirely dissent from that doctrine, and I hold that while no one will willingly enter into such connection without being somewhat attracted by the other party, yet marriage is not a love association, but a business association for well defined purposes, and no passing fancy ought to be allowed to dissolve it.

Nature never rewarded yet the man or woman who associated with a partner competent to fulfill his share of the compact, and willing to fulfill it, yet breaks the association because their love has travelled to some new object. Such conduct, while it may give some enjoyment at first, usually leads to the failure of the attainment of those means which are most essential to the happiness of our lives.

It is not free love, but the abject submission of the individual to love, and ought to be called love-slavery, for the individual follows wherever love leads him.

And right here I want to criticize E. C. W. and J. H. If I understand their contract right, it is only good as long as love lasts, and a diminution of love is sufficient to annul it. It is a love association and not a marriage in the true meaning of the term, and while I have no fault to find with love associations, for a day, a month, a year, or while love lasts, and I wish there were more of them, especially among the young and inexperienced, yet I protest against calling them marriage, autonomous or otherwise.

For the same reason, while I believe it perfectly right and natural that in a love association each party should keep their own name, yet I believe that in marriage it is best for the man and woman to go by the same name, for it is an element of strength and a bond of union for father, mother and children to be known to all persons as the members of the same family. In protesting against calling love associations marriage, I do not take into consideration the etymology of the word or the legal meaning of it, but claim that it is the actual and practical definition as given by the people among whom we live. While at first the marriage of most persons may be called a love union intended to last through life, in less than six months the love has usually dwindled to a very small modicum, and the perquisites of home comforts and the care of the family become the bond which holds the parties together through life. Even in these few marriages where love remains, its intensity diminishes and the union of material aims greatly increases.

I would not have any one infer from what I have written that I believe that the marriage relation has attained perfection, and cannot be improved. Very far from it. There is no institution which has room for more improvement and whose defects cause more misery to mankind.

But improvements can only be found by a clearer knowledge of its aims and of the best means to attain them.

Let it once be recognized as a business association for special aims and it will be left to the best judgment of the parties concerned to enter or leave it, that is, we will have free marriage and free divorce. As a business association, both parties will have equal rights, and woman will have the same position as her husband. Both parties will qualify themselves beforehand for the duties which will fall to their lot, and the foolish idea which now prevails, that if there is only love between the parties, no matter how incompetent they are, their happiness is assured, will no longer induce love-struck individuals into partnership for life. In a business partnership, the foolish promises to love each other and be faithful to each other will have no place.

And more important than all, by disconnecting the idea of marriage from that of love union, it will open the way for love association among the young, so that they will learn to know each other, get that experience which will enable them to enter the marriage relation understandingly, and it will no longer be necessary for them to rush into matrimony to enjoy the happiness offered by sexual love.

In sexual associations, ceremonies have no place, it is no one's business what our love relations are, but in a business association it is best to let the world know of the organization of the new firm and of the plan on which it will do business with the public.

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