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THE PASSING SHOW.

The Perfidy of Social Democracy.

Everyone at all conversant with the Mexican Revolution knows that Madero betrayed the cause of his comrades for the opportunity to change places with Diaz. Every true friend of the international proletariat has branded him **Traitor**. Capitalism boldly acclaims him a hero.

Where do the socialists stand?

We had heard much about the degeneracy of the party and its leaders, still were skeptical regarding the truth of these allegations. But the opportunity was now at hand for a test of its real attitude toward the international labor movement. It would have to stand either with Madero and bourgeois reform or with Magon and revolution. With Wall Street it stood by Madero.

As soon as that traitor's success was assured the socialist press began a cowardly and Jesuital attack on the Mexican Liberal Party, the party of the workers, that is fighting with Madero now, the Revolution it started against Diaz, the party Madero betrayed, the party whose battle-cry is "Land and Liberty."

The easiest way to discredit a man in the public eye is to cry "Anarchy" at him, because the capitalist press and politicians have carefully educated the public eye to see in anarchy a social monster. The socialists descended to the capitalistic depths, dug up the slimy bogy and stood it up outside the door of the Liberal Party. This was a diabolical act, and can be defended only on the theory that all meanness is fair in war.

But why are the socialists at war with the Mexican Revolutionists? Why did they attack the Revolution when Madero ascended to the seat of power? Why should socialists turn on the class whose cause they pretend to champion? There is but one answer to this question: They are opposed to revolution, especially in Mexico, for there is much evidence of a deal between them and Madero whereby the latter has promised them his support in return for their aid in the suppression of the revolution.

Debs let out the secret when he advised them to lay down their arms and join the Socialist Party, a most preposterous and silly proposition, yet right in line with the policy of the party.

To show the change of front made by Debs, I will quote from a letter written by him to Magon under date of April 15:

"Now the question that arises is would the revolution subside with the overthrow of Diaz and the installation of a successor under practically the same conditions? I do not believe it. The causes of the revolution are too deeprooted, and the spirit of the revolution has too firm a grip upon the millions who have been tortured, beaten and driven into this uprising as a last resort to escape the hell of slavery to which they have been so long doomed. You may be assured that what I can do to help the revolution on this side will be done with all my heart."

Why did Debs change front and repudiate

his words three months later in the Int. Socialist Review? It is plain that the Socialist Party made a deal with Madero, and the gal-

lant Debs had to literally swallow himself.

The Appeal to Reasons' perfidy went even further than the publication of deliberate lies about the Junta and editors of Regeneration. It resorted to private correspondence in order to vilify Magon. Some of these letters have been turned over to the editor of Regeneracion. These letters assert that Magon has got into the hands of the Anarchists, and further that he is not legally married to the woman with whom he lives.

Such low-lived truckling to popular prejudice is beyond the power of words to describe

With Berger's epithet of "Bandits" and the N. Y. Call's cry of "Traitor" added to the above, the socialists' cowardly betrayal of the Mexican rebels needs no further proof—only every socialist should know it.

This is not the work of the rank and file of the party. It has been engineered by the bourgeois bunch who handle the party's affairs. The better element among them will repudiate this dastardly betrayal of the working class. No socialist with a spark of manhood in him will swallow this sell-out to Madero. If there is a man in the party who will say he wants the workers of Mexico held in slavery so the socialist party may preach the class struggle to him, I want to hear from him.

Fanaticism and the I. W. W.

Frank Bohn, in the July Int. Socialist Review, laments most grievously at the action of "the anti-political fanatics in the I. W. W." Frank is not a fanatic. He sees more "than one thing." But he sees some things larger than others. Politics looms larger in his eye than Direct Action. He is, therefore, impatient with the fellows whose vision is reversed. He thinks the I. W. W. should go arm in arm with the political actionist, and he is especially hard on the I. W. W. organizers for carrying their propaganda into the Socialist party.

We have it on his authority that "the antipolitical agitation is not a movement. It cannot develop an organization of its own. It is not industrial Unionism. It is not revolutionary." He denounces it as a chair-warming sect that sits around the spitoon. And he modestly concludes that if this element is in the majority the I. W. W. "is not dying—it is dead."

Now this is all very interesting to us poor lowly dubs who have been drinking deeply at the refreshing spring of anti-politics. We have been laboring under the impression that the I. W. W. was founded on the failure of craft unionism on one hand and labor politics on the other. But we must have been dreaming; for Bohn shouts "fanatic;" and that is a mighty disreputable word.

It is true that political action was referred to in the original draught of the preamble; and the only thing that saved it at the first convention was "Father" Haggerty's interpretation.

When asked on the floor of the convention to explain that clause, he referred, dramatically, to the Russian Revolution, and said: "That is Political Action." And his utterance was greeted with a round of applause that surely would have frightened the wits out of Bohn had he been within a block of the hall, and started him on his crusade against the spitoon fanatics much earlier in his career.

Later, the clause was stricken from the preamble, because of its misinterpretation by the ballot box element.

Now, the convention that abolished that clause must have had a majority of anti-politicians; and the rank and file that ratified the action of the convention was surely of the same breed.

So, according to Bohn's theory, the I. W. W. is as dead as Balaam's ass. Yet, like Banqua's Ghost, it will not down, but still continues to worry the politicians.

Instead of lamenting, Bohn should rejoice. For, instead of a ghost, had his S. P. a real live wire to singe it, what would happen to his pet.

A Long Strike Ended.

The famous Westmoreland coal strike, that has been in progress for more than eighteen months, has come to an end. The power of capitalism again asserted itself. Bravely as these men, women and children fought, there was a limit to their power of endurance. Their comrades stuck bravely to them, but the real cause of the defeat was the all-too-plain fact that not enough of the working class properly regarded them as comrades.

This strike was a failure materially, but there is a liberal education in it. Will the miners and other toilers who followed the progress of this strike note that if a boycott was put on the coal that scabs dug from the Westmoreland mines, and that boycott vigorously pursued, the strike would have been won in a month.

The whole bunch of bosses and scabs should have been completely isolated and starved into submission.

Only the new spirit could do that. The new spirit of Industrial Unionism. The spirit that wipes out craft lines and sees not the tailor or the miner, but the man. The spirit that ties all together in one unbreakable union.

If the miners and other fellow workers will learn that lesson from the Westmoreland strike, that strike will go down in history as the greatest victory labor ever won.

The long and closely guarded secret as to where John D. Rockefeller keeps his hord of stocks and bonds has been discovered. Johnny has two hundred millions in stocks and bonds stowed away under the New York Produce Exchange. This information is no use to you, for there is a lock too large for your pick on that vault.

What good will these paper titles be after the Social Revolution when stocks and bonds will be abolished?

John's heirs will be allowed to retain them, no doubt, or they may be induced to give them to a museum where they would be a splendid relic of the madness of an age that looks upon J. D. as a great genius.

JAY FOX

THE AGITATOR

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And he who would be a creator in good and evil: Verily, he must be a destroyer and break conventional values in pieces.—Nietzsche

DEBS SIDES WITH THE REACTIONISTS.

Eugene V. Debs has written for the "International Socialist Review" an article entitled "The Crisis in Mexico." Trying to place myself in the position of the Mexican worker, and regarding this question solely from the standpoint of his welfare, I consider Debs' article the most pernicious that has yet appeared. Its pith is to be found in the closing sentences, wherein he says: "The workers (Mexican workers, of course) should be organized as speedily as possible within one great industrial organization and at the same time united politically within the Socialist Party." There is the milk in the cocoanut.

The danger of the article lies in the air of friendliness it assumes; in its professed fear that the workers have undertaken a task beyoud their strength; in the appeal to prudence. and in the development of an argument calculated, from its first line, to shake confidence and weaken resolution. Debs does not openly attack direct action, for his own record, past and present, makes that impossible. He professes himself convinced of the necessity of an economic revolution in Mexico, and hopes that the "substitution of Madero or some other landed aristocrat and bourgeois political reformer" will not "placate the people." Having thus won his reader's confidence, he draws the very picture Morgan would delight in and argues as slave-owners have argued since slav-

Incidentally Debs maligns the Mexican Liberal Party Junta by representing them as concealing their creed. This he does by raising the question of Anarchism, which has been worked to death ever since Magon denounced Madero; being dragged hither and thither as a red herring, to divert the workers from the trail.. With tedious repetition the Magons, and others who have espoused their cause, have declared that they are not theorists; that this is a straight question of millions of the disinherited trying to win their economic freedom with the best weapons at their command; that it is not a party or even a national question, but the very heart of the social problem which knows no boundaries and soars far above the logic-chopping of "schools."

Nevertheless, Debs expresses himself thus. respecting the manifesto issued by the Mexican Liberal Party: "Direct action, so-called, is relied upon for results. Reading between the lines I can see nothing but anarchism in this program, and if that is what the leaders mean they should frankly say so, that there may be

no misunderstanding as to their attitude and program."

That is, at the least, an insinuation that the Magons and other members of the Mexican Liberal Party have not been frank with the public. It is an insinuation certain to do them infinite harm, and Debs must have known that when he wrote it. It is an absolutely false insinuation, for it is impossible to imagine men more outspoken than the Mexican Liberal Party writers have been. Their strength lies precisely in the fact that they never prevaricate and that whoever reads their literature knows precisely what they want. It is this which has brought them so devoted a following, and made them, on the other hand, most bitter enemies. There is no surer proof of influence.

Debs writes that the "battle-cry of the Mexican Liberal Party is 'Land and Liberty,' and its leaders declare that 'the taking away of the land from the hands of the rich must be accomplished during the present insurrection." On that plain statement he passes hostile comment, saying: "If the land can be taken from the rich in this insurrection, so can also the mills, factories, mines, railroads, and the machinery of production, and the question is, what would the masses in their present ignorant and unorganized state do with them after having obtained them? It would simply add calamity to their calamities, granting that this impossible feat were capable of achievement." that is his comment!

In other words, he tells us that until the peasant has been educated he should remain without access to the soil; tells us that until the peon has been drilled and disciplined he should be the inalienable property of every child of man tells us that until he has been taught the tricks of organization it will "add to the calamities" to be given a place at the generous feast nature spreads daily for the inhabitants of Mexico. He rehashes the argument of the French aristocrat, the Russian Grand Duke, the Irish landlord, the slave-holder the wide world over—and he poses as a revolutionist!

Outside of, at a liberal estimate, two hundred to three hundred thousand persons the people of Mexico are engaged in agriculture and kindred pursuits. You may put the population at about 15,000,000 and you will not go far wrong. How long will it take Debs and the Socialist party to organize that vast mass, 'economically and politically"? What will you do with them when you have organized them according to your superior wisdom? What COULD you do with them except urge them to get back their land-the very thing they have been doing most effectively NOW, and without your aid? Will some one please speak up and report on the progress Socialism has made within the last fifty years in organizing the peasantry of Europe?

During the centuries it will take you to bring these people up to the Marxian standard, what, pray, will the monopolists be doing—the men who have seized land by the millions of acres, cornered Mexico's mineral wealth, and added territory to territory, that they may be alone on the earth? They have laid the foundations of one of the most powerful plutocracies on record, and all they ask is time to complete the structure. Do you think they will sit idle while you are dilly-dallying along, from generation to generation, with the higher education? What has happened in your own United States,

education and orating about the "sovereign" voter, monopoly has been gathering the resources of the country into its clutches and developing poverty and crime at a pace that leaves your petty reforming efforts hopelessly out-distanced? If Debs has meditated seriously on America's problems he will know that what I say is true. If he is the least acquainted with the literature of revolution he will know that delay is the one thing fatal to emancipation movements.

Debs says "there is no short cut to economic freedom." That may sound well from the platform, but it is a sophistry of the most deadly type. There is exactly one road, and only one, to economic freedom; but unfortunately it takes courage to tread that road. You may organize sheep until the crack of doom and they never will muster up the pluck to venture on it. But the Mexicans-ignorant, unorganized, and much below the mark from the "scientific Socialist" standpoint-have suddenly amazed the world by taking their freedom in their own hands and triumphing over their former masters from one end of the country to the other. For the moment they have been euchered; and, if they listen to the gospel of delay so smoothly preached by Debs, euchered they will remain.—Wm. C. Owen in "Regeneracion."

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MILITARISM.

I.

What is Militarism? There may be various interpretations of this term, the point of view depending upon the heredity, the immediate environment, and the social and economic position of the individual defining it. To the antimilitarist it means but one thing, the power back of the exploiters in their conflict with the workers. That is the sense in which it shall be used in this discussion, in which I shall endeavor to trace all too briefly the various forces that brought into being the economic mal-adjustment in society.

The war lords of the whole world and their dear old friends, the jingoists, are clamoring for larger and larger increase in both the naval and military forces of their respective nations. Under such circumstances it is but natural that among the more enlightened of the workers, there is increased activity along the lines of anti-militarist propaganda. But unfortunately too many of these make their appeal on sentimental grounds, basing it on the supposed aversion on the part of the masses to murder and bloodshed of all kinds.

It is true that the human race is moved by its feelings; man is but a bunch of conflicting emotions, and those feelings that happen for the time being to be the most powerful, govern all his actions. The desire to live is the supreme passion, hunger must be satisfied before all else. When a man is starving he will act desperately and blindly, and is deaf to reason, but let his hunger be even temporarily satisfied and it becomes possible to make suggestions as to the means of obtaining and maintaining economic security in the future.

Moral sentimentalizing may make him sympathetic, but it can not accomplish much, if anything, in the long run. When we contemplate on the actions of the powers that be, it is hard to remain cool and rational, but nevertheless experience shows that what we need is a campaign of education conducted by clear

IN ROTTEN ROW

I took a walk in Rotten Row, Where carriages are gilt and fine And full of millinery go A-streaming past, in gorgeous line.

While sitting on the benches were
Some other lines, but far more plain;
There dirt and rags, disease and pain,
All unashamed, did sadly stare.

"Ours was the tribute," plainly said
Those crowded benches; "we have paid
With brain and body for your lust;
A little, now, and we are dust.

"Hail, Caesar! we about to die, Salute thee!" Thru me ran that cry. I looked then on the carriage throng, And saw things not to speak in song:

Hypocrisies and idle dreams;
Deceit and self-deceit, and dearth
Of thot; beneath perplexing streams
Of sham and falsehood, truth burst forth:

"Twas said of old that for the poor
In spirit, open is the door
Of Paradise; we grant you that;
Rejoice, then, in your pains the more!"

"Tame as of old, 'twere best submit
To us who own you, bought and sold;
If 'twas your toil that brought us gold,
See, slaves, how well we squander it!"

J. G. P.

thinking, calm and collected men and women who are thoroughly acquainted with all the turns and ins and outs of the game on both sides of the field, and who appeal solely to the self-interest of the individual.

Such a course of proceedure as I have hinted at would eliminate all protest against militarism on the ground that it is cruel, inhuman, murderous, etc., but would reduce it to the simple proposition that militarism and industrialism are incompatible in a community where people would be free to enjoy the full and undiminished products of their toil.

Glancing back over the various stages of the evolution of the human race, from the jungle period up to the present, one characteristic stands out in bold relief—the instinct of selfpreservation, the struggle to obtain the means of subsistance. Dame nature is a creature of moods and can be extremely cruel and careless at times. Instead of maintaining an even balance between the means of subsistence and the increase of population, she went at her work in a happy-go-lucky sort of way, showering the earth with a lavish hand where it was not needed and stinting where the need was greatest. Confronted with such a state of affairs, our primordial ancestors could recognize but one law—the law of necessity, the law of tooth and fang. In this fierce struggle we find the makings of civilization.

Experience was their great teacher and as they developed a capacity to learn, they accepted her teachings and acted upon them, so that in the first glimmering of commercial life, we begin to see the fight becoming less fierce and that there is a faint recognition of the mutual value of living in groups. As intelligence slowly manifests itself more and more, we also find that there is a crude attempt to subdue and utilize the forces of nature.

The struggle with nature, as far as the means of subsistence are concerned, has practically been won. Now, with the aid of his inventive faculties, he devised means and methods of supplying his needs at a minimum expenditure of energy. Yet—considering that he has become a highly sensitive creature as compared to his more remote ancestors — the struggle to

gain economic security is as fierce as ever.

NEW BOOKS

"Socialism and Individualism," (The John Lane Co., New York, 75c net, postage 10c).

This is a neat little volume of 102 pages containing four of the famous Fabian Essays as follows:

"The Difficulties of Individualism," by Sydney Webb.

"The Impossibilities of Anarchism," by Bernard Shaw.

"The Moral Aspects of Socialism," by Sidney Ball.

"Public Service Versus Private Expenditure," by Sir Oliver Lodge.

Mr. Webb's "Individualism" is that of the present system, and his arguments against it are well reasoned and clearly set forth from the Socialist viewpoint. Real socialism, he thinks, is yet very far off, but by the gradual development of society we are approaching nearer to the goal.

Mr. Shaw's essay is perhaps the best criticism of Anarchism in print. He is always at his best in controversy, he delights in it. It brings out all his native flow of wit and humor, and, indeed, he is well charged with both.

He takes several well directed flings at the individualism of the so-called Tucker School of Anarchism, which he thinks is economically impossible in practice. When he considers Anarchist-Communism he has a more difficult problem. He says:

"The main difficulty in criticizing Kropotkin lies in the fact that, in the distribution of generally needed labor products, his Communism is finally cheap and expedient, whereas Mr. Tucker's Individualism, in the same department, is finally extravagant and impossible. Even under the most perfect Social-Democracy, we should, without Communism, still be living like hogs, except that each hog would get his fair share of grub. High as that ideal must seem to anyone who complacently accepts the present social order, it is hardly high enuf to satisfy a man in whom the social instinct is well developed. So long as a vast quantity of labor has to be expended in weighing and measuring each man's earned share of this and that commodity—in watching, spying, policing and punishing in order to prevent Tom getting a crumb of bread more, or Dick a spoonful of milk less than he has a voucher for, so long will the difference between unsocialism and socialism be only the difference between unscientific and scientific hoggishness. * * But we will not have any great reason to stand on the dignity of our humanity until a just distribution of the loaves and fishes becomes perfectly spontaneous, and the great effort and expense of a legal distribution, however just, is saved. For my own part, I seek the establishment of a state of society in which I shall not be bothered with a ridiculous pocketful of coppers, or have to waste my time in perplexing arithmetical exchanges of them with booking clerks, bus conductors, shop-men and other superfluous persons before I can get what I need."

Still he cannot reconcile himself to the idea that mankind is not too hoggish for the practical application of such a state of society.

His weakness lies in that he does not sufficiently recognize certain of the fundamental characteristics of man in society, one of which is his readiness to obey custom and public opinion. Like the rest of the Fabian School he can see only the gradual absorption of the industries and public utilities by the state.

"Communism must grow out of Collectivism, not out of Anarchic private enterprise. That is to say it cannot grow directly out of the present system."

This is, in fact, the difference between Shaw and the Anarchist Communists. He thinks we are too dishonest for Communism.

J. F.

CRANKY NOTIONS

You should always assume that you are much superior in wisdom and uprightness than others. It isn't dignified to admit error. You should never consider that you have learned anything from another. Only the great can do these things. Many of those accounted great have been classed among the insane and imbecile, neither of which is nice. See!

The overbearing in authority is always a belly-gutter in servitude.

JO. LABADIE.

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PERSECUTION IN HOME

To me as an outsider, a student of social phenomena. Home is the most interesting place I have ever visited. To know what social life was in the past one must delve into the literature of antropology, ethnography, ethnology, travel, evolution, history and general literature. To know social life as it is today, one need but look at the big city massed with its teeming herds of high, low and middle life. To get a glimpse of the future one must seek the little out of the way groups of individuals. whose philosophy has led them away from the common herds of conventional society, where they can in some small degree at least live their lives as they have decreed life should be lived. Such a place I have found Home to be, and I am delighted at the opportunity to live here for a short time.

Opposed to the exploitation of the workers, believing that no man should profit by the labor of another; believing that business of all kinds is legalized robbery; believing that government is the instrument of the business or exploiting class. a large club held over the head of labor, while the thieves in broadcloth go through its pockets; believing all this and being opposed to the brutality and gross inhumanity of the present order of society, the people of Home sought to evade contact with it as much as possible.

True to their broad humanitarian and libertarian principles, they have put no restrictions upon membership in their colony. Every one has been free to live here without regard to creed, color or opinion. This liberality has been the cause of much trouble here lately.

A few unprincipled persons have recently engaged the services of the state to carry out their nefarious spite against the colony for some imaginary wrongs.

"Vengeance is mine saith the Lord."

In modern times the state has taken the place of the Lord, and the miserable creatures who sought its aid to wreak their cowardly vengeance on a crippled woman got a quick response.

I am not a partial observer, I look with the eye of one outside both the colony and the state. I have read the anarchists' criticism of government, I have heard it from the mouths of its ablest exponents and I questioned it. But when I saw here the great State of Washington swing open its jail doors to incarcerate the frail, rheumatic body of Stella Thorndale, at the behest of ignorant creatures seeking private vengeance, I must set up and take notice, for there is nothing so convincing as a bald-faced fact.

The private vengeance seeking set alleged they were shocked by the sight of nude bathers. It was on this allegation they sought and got the state to take up their cause. I studied the movements of those queer creatures during their efforts to get shocked, and I wonder if it were not a phase of sex perversion I was watching. I am convinced that were an alienist to have seen what I saw he would pronounced it such. I saw them prowling along the beach early and late. I saw men, like tigers seeking their prey, hiding in underbrush awaiting the "shock" of women bathers.. I saw a low-browed, brutal looking man photograph nude female children, six to eight years old, while bathing, and I remembered having read of perverted minds who gloat in secret over the sight of such pictures.

I saw women convicted on ridiculous evi-

dence by an old justice who trembled at the sight of the states attorney. I have witnessed farce trials and seen justice outraged, but never so glaringly as in this instance.

Evidently it is impossible for a person associated with unpopular ideas, let them be ever so noble, to get the faintest show of fair play in the courts. Men cannot overcome their prejudices.

The persecution of the Home people is a monstrous outrage. It is practical example of the theories held by these people. If there were any waverers here this latest example of the state has served to completely convince them.

I am not sure of my own ground any longer. I have cherished the hope that the state might be made a useful instrument of society. But I fear it is in the hands of an element that will turn the masses away from it long before the reformation can be accomplished. If such outrages upon justice and fair play are continued, the state will eventually bring itself into such discredit that the people will abolish it.

A VISITOR.

THE INTOLERANCE OF LIBERALS

There are but two kinds of liberals—those of the head and those of the heart. Those of the head have the letter; those of the heart have the spirit of liberalism. To feel the things you believe you spontaneously live them. To live the things you believe, if a liberal, excludes the possibility of class consciousness, of the many petty snap judgments so common in even our little world of so-called free spirus.

The other day in conversation with a "head" liberal, I called attention to the splendid editorials appearing in one of our local papers. "Yes, but why are those articles being published?" asked my friend. "Not from any love of justice or freedom. The tricks of politics makes it a good policy. It's good business, that's why. What does that paper or its owners care for our cause?"

The "head" liberal scoffs at the church fanatic who holds so tenaciously to his denomination and fails to see his own fanaticism in excluding every one who does not wear his label or join his little bunch.

The littleness, the narrowness, the backbiting, the slander of the "head" radical makes him a tyrant, who sits in judgment on the actions, the life of his fellow, and for puritanical pettiness puts to shame the anathematized church member.

The Liberal (?) who goes to law—who calls in their common enemy to gain an advantage over a fellow liberal is perhaps the acme of cussedness, and all the glibness of speech, the logical discussions on this or that phase of liberalism, but makes that professed liberal more reprehensible. The head may be right, but the heart is still entwined with the poisonous ivy of capitalist justice and capitalist morality.

S. T. HAMMERSMARK.

A CORPORATION LAWYER'S EPIGRAMS

- "I care not who writes the laws of a nation if I write delays."
- "A judge is a lawyer who has been promoted for inefficiency."
- "No great lawyer ever thinks of going into court in these days. A man who really understands the meaning and uses of the law is as much bored by arguing a case before the ordinary judge as Paderewski would be by teaching the five-finger exercise to a blacksmith."

"A lawyer's first business with the law is to find the hole in it. His second business is to remember where he found it. His third business is to pull somebody through it."

"A business lawyer should reflect that organization is but the necessary first stey toward reorganization."

"When an enterprising man comes to me for advice, I tell him what he can do with safety, what he can do with risk, and what he can do with danger. If he is the right kind of man he does the dangerous thing—and comes to me again."—From "In the Interpreter's House" in The American Magazine for July.

Natural History Lessons.

The skunk is a "bird." He (or she) has an all-pervading flavor, especially when stirred up by—something! The skunk has his place in the economy of nature, or he wouldn't be there. Natural law provides for that. Nothing is known to willingly associate with skunks—except skunks—for they are essentially offensive and destructive in their nature and instincts. If they had reasoning powers it is conceivable that they would not remain skunks, but evolve a higher position in the economy of nature. Being skunks, however, without any desire to be anything else, they naturally remain skunks. Who would be a skunk?

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