

John Henry Mackay

Dear Tucker

The Letters from John Henry Mackay

to Benjamin R. Tucker

Edited and Translated by

Hubert Kennedy

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## Introduction

The nearly 200 letters and postcards from John Henry Mackay to Benjamin R. Tucker, which are preserved in the New York Public Library, demonstrate the depth and extent of the friendship between the foremost representatives of individualist anarchism in Germany and the United States, respectively. They clearly show the warmth and devotion felt by Mackay toward Tucker; alas, the letters from Tucker to Mackay were all destroyed<sup>1</sup> so that Tucker's feelings cannot be directly seen, but Mackay's letters furnish ample evidence of their mutual regard.

According to Mackay's American biographer<sup>2</sup> our two anarchists met in Europe in the summer of 1889, probably being introduced by Robert Reitzel,<sup>3</sup> editor of the anarchist paper *Der arme Teufel* in Detroit, with whom Mackay had corresponded the previous winter about his collection of anarchist poems *Sturm* (1888). Tucker was thirty-five years old and had been publishing his journal *Liberty* for eight years; Mackay was ten years his junior and still not widely known as an anarchist (*Sturm* was published anonymously). But Mackay was already working on his book *Die Anarchisten* (The Anarchists) and must have spoken of it to Tucker. (In fact, the Haymarket affair, which occupies a chapter of the final book, had already been described by him in a brochure published in Zurich in

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1. Following Mackay's own wish, all letters in his possession were destroyed after his death. Friedrich Dobe, *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), p. 86.

2. Thomas A. Riley, *Germany's Poet-Anarchist John Henry Mackay: A Contribution to the History of German Literature at the Turn of the Century, 1880–1920* (New York: The Revisionist Press, 1972), p. 78.

3. For the life of Robert Reitzel, see Ulrike Heider, *Der arme Teufel: Robert Reitzel - Vom Vormärz zum Haymarket* (Buhl-Moos: Elster Verlag, 1986). The discussion there of Mackay, on pages 100–104, needs revision however.

1888.)<sup>4</sup> It is likely that Tucker suggested at that time the possibility of publishing an English translation of Mackay's book, and this he did in 1891, the same year as its publication in German. Their personal friendship was further cemented during Mackay's three-month trip to the United States in the fall of 1893, when Mackay visited Tucker in New York (where he also met the communist anarchist Emma Goldman)<sup>5</sup> and his translator George Schumm in Boston. He also went to Detroit to see Reitzel (already ill with tuberculosis of the bones, from which he died in 1899) and on to Chicago, where he visited the graves of the Haymarket martyrs.

The letters from Mackay kept by Tucker date from 1905. They reveal that Tucker twice visited Mackay in Berlin, probably for the first time in 1904. After Tucker moved to Europe permanently in 1908, Mackay several times visited him in France and Monaco. Contact between the two was broken by the First World War, but was resumed immediately afterwards and then continued until Mackay's death in 1933.

Born on 17 April 1854 of old New England stock, Benjamin R. Tucker was educated at the Friends' Academy in New Bedford, Massachusetts, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for three years.<sup>6</sup> In 1874 he was five months in France, where he studied the works of Proudhon, and in 1876 he published his own translation of Proudhon's *What Is Property?* The following year he began his quarterly *Radical Review*, but it lasted only one year. His most famous journal was *Liberty*, which appeared regularly from 1881 to 1908. Much of each issue was written by Tucker himself, but he allowed a wide variety of opinion—commenting, of course, on views that differed from his own. He also published books under his own imprint and kept a catalog of “advanced” literature for sale.

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4. *Acht Opfer des Classenhasses: Leben und Sterben der verurtheilten Chicagoer Arbeiterführer nach der Berichten der “New Yorker Volkszeitung”* (Zurich: Mitgliedschaft deutscher Socialisten, 1888).

5. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1970), 1: 129.

6. Biographical information on Tucker is taken from: James J. Martin, “Benjamin Ricketson Tucker,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 22 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 669–671; James J. Martin, *Men Against the State* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles Publisher, 1970), chapters 8–9.

Although Tucker never learned to read German, he claimed (in his unpublished and incomplete autobiography)<sup>7</sup> to have learned of Max Stirner's philosophy of egoism at the age of thirty, i.e., around 1884. He probably learned about Stirner from James L. Walker, who published in *Liberty* in the years 1886-1887 under the pseudonym Tak Kak (Russian for "as" or "since") a series of articles on Stirnerite egoism. Walker had already worked out his own ideas and read Stirner's masterpiece only in 1872. "But believe me that I devoured it so soon as I got hold of it. There for the first time I saw most plainly stated, my own thought, borne out by illustrations that will test the nerve of every professed Egoist."<sup>8</sup> Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* (1844) was first published in English by Tucker in 1907 in the brilliant translation of Steven T. Byington. It was Tucker, however, who gave it the title *The Ego and His Own*.

Following the disastrous fire in January 1908 that destroyed Tucker's New York establishment (without insurance coverage), he settled in France, living on funds inherited from his mother's estate. In 1926 he moved with his wife, Pearl Johnson, and their only child, Oriole, to Monaco, where he remained until his death on 22 June 1939.

Because of the one-sided nature of their surviving correspondence, its interest is primarily for the figure of John Henry Mackay. Son of a Scottish marine insurance broker and a German mother, Mackay was born in Greenock, Scotland, on 8 February 1864. He was only nineteen months old when his father died; his mother then returned with him to Germany where he grew up with German as his mother tongue. He later learned to speak and read English, and even made poetic translations from English, but he never wrote it well, as the letters to Tucker show. After completing his schooling, he was briefly an apprentice in a publishing house and then a university student for five semesters, but only as an auditor. An allowance from his mother gave him financial independence; he traveled much and selected for himself the career of a writer, at first of lyric and narrative poetry.

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7. "The Life of Benjamin R. Tucker, Disclosed by Himself, In the Principality of Monaco, At the Age of 74," Benjamin R. Tucker Papers, New York Public Library.

8. James L. Walker, *The Philosophy of Egoism* (1905; reprint, with a foreword by James J. Martin, Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles Publisher, 1972), p. 62.

The years 1886–1888 were crucial for Mackay’s personal development. In 1886 he began to come to terms with his homosexuality,<sup>9</sup> and in 1887–1888, in a year spent among the German political exiles in London, he developed his philosophy of individualist anarchism. This was the period of Bismarck’s anti-socialist law (1878–1890) when various “socialist” activities were forbidden in Germany, so that the city was full of political exiles—and all kinds of camp followers. Mackay’s book *The Anarchists* gives a vivid picture of that side of London during his year there, which also included the execution of the Haymarket martyrs in Chicago. Mackay described that affair and the subsequent demonstration in London. The book may be read as a work of fiction, but it presents, without naming them, various living personalities, such as Gertrud Guillaume-Schack, Peter Kropotkin, Otto Rinke, William Morris, Charlotte Wilson, and of course Mackay himself.<sup>10</sup> By the time the book appeared in 1891 the anti-socialist law had fallen and so the book could be openly distributed in Germany. It was the subject of much discussion there and made him famous overnight.

Mackay’s next big project was the biography of Max Stirner. He had come across the name during his London year and read Stirner’s book shortly after. He could have said, as James Walker did in 1872, “I devoured it so soon as I got hold of it. There for the first time I saw most plainly stated, my own thought.” He spent ten years preparing Stirner’s biography, which was then published in 1898. By then he had already begun (in 1895) publishing a series of anarchist propaganda booklets, the first being Tucker’s *State Socialism and Anarchism*, which was put into German by George Schumm, who had earlier put Mackay’s *The Anarchists* into English.

Mackay was at the height of his fame as a writer in 1901, the year he published *Der Schwimmer* (The Swimmer), one of the first literary sports novels (and still of importance for the history of competitive diving). But the death of his mother in 1902 brought on a

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9. This process is well described in his autobiographical novel *Fenny Skaller*. See John Henry Mackay, *Fenny Skaller and Other Prose Writings from the Books of the Nameless Love*, translated by Hubert Kennedy (Amsterdam: Southernwood Press, 1988).

10. See Hubert Kennedy, “Some Personalities in *The Anarchists*,” in *The Anarchists* by John Henry Mackay, edited by Mark A. Sullivan (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 1999), pp. xix–xxi.

depression from which he was delivered only by his dedication to a new cause, that of championing “the nameless love,” as he called it. His literary campaign for homosexual emancipation, particularly for the right of men and boys to love one another—Mackay himself was most attracted to boys in the ages from fourteen to seventeen—was carried out under the pseudonym Sagitta (Latin for “arrow”). He wrote his Books of the Nameless Love, as he said, “in the years in which people thought my artistic powers extinguished.”<sup>11</sup> Mackay’s legal and personal concerns during this time are poignantly described in his correspondence with Tucker.

That campaign was ruthlessly crushed by the state. And the interest in his writings under his real name did not revive. Thus Mackay was already having financial difficulty before the onset of World War I. As bad as the war years were for him, the years afterward were worse, for the runaway inflation of 1923 wiped out the value of the annuity he had purchased with money inherited from his mother. The revival of his fortunes with the appearance of a “millionaire” patron in 1927 proved illusory and his final years were spent in relative poverty. Mackay died in Berlin on 16 May 1933, shortly after the Nazis came to power.

Portions of the letters dealing with Mackay’s Sagitta project have already been published with an excellent commentary by Hakim Bey.<sup>12</sup> Here is the entire collection. It is a powerful testimony to the warmth of the lasting friendship between the two individualist anarchists, as Hakim Bey wrote, “an exemplary friendship, beautiful to contemplate as it unfolds” in these letters. The letters are, at the same time, a historical witness to the ruthless power of the state to crush individual liberties and a strong argument for the need to be eternally vigilant in resisting its crushing force.

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11. John Henry Mackay, *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1979), 1: [491].

12. “‘The Veil of Sagitta’: Letters on the Nameless Love from John Henry Mackay to Benjamin R. Tucker,” introduced and edited by Hakim Bey, *The Storm!*, nos. 16–17 (1986–88): 14–22.

In the notes to the letters I have mainly tried to identify the various persons mentioned by Mackay or the publications to which he refers. The Name Index includes names mentioned in the letters and in the notes.

Mackay very frequently underlined words in his letters. I have put those words in italics.

A further comment about Mackay's use of English may be helpful. While I have occasionally corrected misspellings I have made no attempt to "correct" his grammar, which in word order and especially in punctuation often follows German rather than English norms. Mackay also had difficulty selecting the right English translation for a German word if more than one choice was possible. For example, the German word "wenn" can mean "when" or "if." The result was that he often wrote "when" but meant "if." Similarly, he sometimes wrote "become" for "receive" and "from" for "of."

This edition contains all the letters and postcards from John Henry Mackay to Benjamin R. Tucker which are preserved in the Benjamin R. Tucker Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. They were transcribed from a microfilm furnished by the Research Libraries of the New York Public Library, whose permission to publish them is gratefully acknowledged. I am also grateful to the Special Collections Library, University of Michigan, for permission to include in this ebook edition photographs from their Labadie Collection.

Finally, I wish to express my particular gratitude to Mark Sullivan, secretary of the Mackay Society (New York), who first called my attention to the Mackay letters. He read the entire manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.<sup>13</sup>

Hubert Kennedy

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13. *Dear Tucker* was first published in 1991 (Peremptory Publications, San Francisco) in a very limited edition (ten copies!). In 2000 a German translation was made by Paul Jordens, who (along with his editor Uwe Timm) brought new insight to the reading of Mackay's letters and made many additions and corrections to the notes. They have been incorporated into this new American edition—with my heartiest thanks!

## List of Letters and Postcards

Dates enclosed in brackets [thus] have been assigned on the basis of internal and/or external evidence.

No.	Date	Persons named in letter and/or notes
1	26 Feb 1905	Avrich, Born, Firle, Swartz, Tufts
2	8 Dec 1905	Born, Firle
3	21 Dec 1905	Nettlau
4	7 Nov 1906	Born, Byington, Schmidt
5	8 Feb 1907	
6	28 May 1907	Badcock, Parker, Reeves
7	24 Jun 1907	
8	Jul 1907	Ballerstedt, Schmidt
9	1 Jul 1907	Bey, Sagitta, Schumn, Schuster, Volkmar
10	15 Jul 1907	Firle
11	22 Jul 1907	Schuster
12	16 Nov 1907	
13	22 Nov 1907	
14	1 Dec 1907	Cohen, Collin, Edgerton, Mencken, Proudhon
15	2 Dec 1907	
16	24 Jan 1908	Spooner
17	16 Feb 1908	Cohen, Edgerton, Sagitta, Thoreau
18	11 May 1908	Lehmann, Pearl Johnson, Sagitta, Oriole Tucker, Zack
19	22 Jun 1908	Born, Brand, Friedlaender, Harden, Moltke, Sagitta, Schumm, Zack
20	28 Jul 1908	Friedlaender
21	13 Aug 1908	Firle
22	5 Sep 1908	Sagitta
23	28 Oct 1908	Fischer, Sagitta, Schumm, Zack
24	27 Nov 1908	Nordau, Shaw
25	21 Dec 1908	Sagitta, Sexauer
26	18 Jan 1909	Pickle
27	27 Jan 1909	
28	18 Feb 1909	
29	7 May 1909	Sagitta, Zack
30	17 May 1909	Sagitta
31	7 Jun 1909	
32	19 Jun 1909	Sagitta
33	30 Jun 1909	Sagitta
34	24 Jul 1909	Dobe, Sagitta
35	30 Jul 1909	Sagitta
36	5 Sep 1909	

37	7 Sep 1909	Andrejeff, Scher
38	13 Sep 1909	Avrich
39	18 Sep 1909	Scher
40	22 Sep 1909	Bouhélier
41	28 Sep 1909	Andrejeff
42	12 Oct 1909	Andrejeff, Sagitta, Zack
43	15 Oct 1909	Bouhélier
44	22 Dec 1909	Hirschfeld, Landauer, Proudhon, Stegemann
45	28 Jan 1910	Landauer, Proudhon
46	27 Mar 1910	Johnson, Kempinski, Sagitta
47	[Apr 1910]	Firle
48	10 Apr 1910	Firle, Johnson
49	15 Apr 1910	
50	[May 1910]	
51	20 May 1910	
52	8 Jun 1910	
53	10 Jul 1910	Firle
54	2 Aug 1910	
55	9 Aug 1910	
56	21 Aug 1910	
57	[Sep 1910]	
58	25 Sep 1910	Meulen, Zack
59	26 Sep 1910	Johnson, Meulen, Sagitta, Zack
60	[Oct 1910]	
61	23 Dec 1910	
62	4 Feb 1911	Johnson, Sagitta
63	7 Feb 1911	
64	18 Feb 1911	
65	22 Feb 1911	
66	3 Mar 1911	Fifield, Johnson
67	12 Mar 1911	Heider
68	18 Apr 1911	Firle
69	22 Apr 1911	
70	21 Jun 1911	Landauer, Proudhon, Solneman, Zack, Zube
71	27 Jun 1911	Johnson, Solneman
72	1 Aug 1911	
73	10 Aug 1911	
74	2 Oct 1911	
75	23 Oct 1911	Johnson
76	21 Nov 1911	
77	29 Dec 1911	Firle
78	21 Feb 1912	
79	15 Mar 1912	
80	22 Mar 1912	Zack
81	31 Mar 1912	
82	4 Apr 1912	Fifield

83	9 Apr 1912	
84	12 May 1912	Zack
85	25 May 1912	
86	16 Jun 1912	Firle
87	17 Aug 1912	
88	9 Sep 1912	
89	7 Oct 1912	Pickle
90	25 Oct 1912	Clemens, Sagitta, Twain
91	19 Nov 1912	Neider, Pickle, Sagitta, Twain
92	21 Dec 1912	
93	6 Jan 1913	
94	10 Jan 1913	
95	20 Jan 1913	
96	25 Feb 1913	
97	20 Mar 1913	
98	8 Apr 1913	Sagitta
99	16 Apr 1913	Billy, Zack
100	25 Apr 1913	Péron
101	20 Jul 1913	Marsden, Parker
102	29 Jul 1913	Sagitta, Smith
103	10 Aug 1913	Sagitta
104	27 Sep 1913	Sagitta
105	11 Oct 1913	
106	24 Mar 1914	Armand, Juin, Parker, Reclus
107	24 May 1914	
108	7 Aug 1918	
109	14 Aug 1919	François, Kretschmer, Snijders
110	1 Nov 1919	Schumm
111	18 Nov 1919	Kretschmer, Schumm, Zack
112	12 Jan 1920	
113	22 Feb 1920	Clemenceau, Zack
114	21 May 1920	Dobe, Schumm, Steiner
115	5 Nov 1920	
116	1 Dec 1920	
117	2 Dec 1920	Schumm
118	4 Jan 1921	Schumm, Swartz
119	20 Feb 1921	
120	16 Mar 1921	Bakels, Haig
121	19 Mar 1921	
122	10 Apr 1921	
123	15 Apr 1921	
124	18 Apr 1921	
125	19 Apr 1921	
126	20 Apr 1921	
127	22 Apr 1921	
128	28 Apr 1921	Wilhelm II, Wilson

129	22 May 1921	Marnoni, Schumm, Swartz
130	23 May 1921	
131	8 Aug 1921	Cohen, Swartz
132	1 Dec 1921	Gesell, Schumm, Swartz
133	2 Jan 1922	Schumm
134	25 Feb 1922	Labadie, Maisel, Schumm, Swartz
135	5 Jul 1922	Cohen, Swartz
136	25 Aug 1922	Swartz
137	1 Nov 1922	
138	4 Feb 1923	Cohen, Dobe, Sagitta, Swartz
139	28 Apr 1923	Mencken, Schumm
140	13 Apr 1924	Sagitta, Schilling, Schumm
141	22 Sep 1924	
142	30 Sep 1924	
143	12 Dec 1924	
144	1 Feb 1925	Frecot, Reiss, Schaukel
145	3 Mar 1925	Armand, Carione, Reiss
146	6 Jun 1925	Reiss, Weber
147	28 Aug 1925	Dobe, Reiss, Stirner
148	3 Feb 1926	
149	15 Feb 1926	Avrich, Bax, Reiss
150	17 Mar 1926	Reiss
151	13 Aug 1926	Kasarnowski
152	15 Aug 1926	Kasarnowski, Schumm
153	22 Feb 1927	Schumm
154	9 Mar 1927	Davidovsky
155	24 Mar 1927	
156	29 Mar 1927	
157	2 Apr 1927	
158	8 Apr 1927	
159	13 Apr 1927	
160	19 Apr 1927	
161	[Jun 1927]	
162	10 Jun 1927	
163	13 Jul 1927	Ida, Kasarnowski, Sagitta, Schumm, Zakel
164	22 Jul 1927	Baginski, Goldman, Kasarnowski, Kempinski, Reitzel, Schumm
165	30 Jul 1927	Schumm
166	5 Oct 1927	Schumm
167	18 Oct 1927	Kasarnowski
168	12 Nov 1927	Davidovsky, Fifield, Kasarnowski
169	22 Feb 1928	Davidovsky, Fifield, Kasarnowski, Sachs, Woodhull
170	2 Apr 1928	Davidovsky, Kasarnowski
171	30 Apr 1928	Davidovsky, Kasarnowski
172	10 Jul 1928	Davidovsky, Kasarnowski
173	23 Aug 1928	Avrich, Kasarnowski, Martin, Nordau, Shaw

174	9 Sep 1928	Davidovsky, Sachs, Shaw
175	29 Nov 1928	Merlin
176	2 Dec 1928	Kasarnowski, Woodhull
177	17 Dec 1928	Blood, Claflin, Kasarnowski, Martin, Woodhull
178	1 Mar 1929	Kasarnowski, Woodhull
179	10 Mar 1929	Andrews, Holmes, Reitzel
180	22 Sep 1929	Armand, Swartz
181	1 Jan 1930	
182	30 Jun 1930	
183	12 Feb 1931	Avrich
184	28 Mar 1931	
185	18 Apr 1931	
186	27 Apr 1931	Armand
187	8 Jun 1931	Swartz
188	22 Jul 1931	Armand, Swartz
189	18 Dec 1931	
190	17 Apr 1932	
191	19 Apr 1932	Schumm
192	23 Sep 1932	
193	[Mar 1933]	Sagitta, Szittyta
194	[24 Mar 1933]	
195	19 May 1933	Dobe, Heinrich, Keilson-Lauritz
196	17 Jun 1933	Dobe, Hannemann, Heinrich, Lemcke, Maurischat



Benjamin R. Tucker

## The Letters from John Henry Mackay to Benjamin R. Tucker

### No. 1

28 February 1905

Dear Tucker,

Excuse me: but as you told me that it was Swartz,<sup>1</sup> who has filled up the whole book of *Liberty*, and not seeing your handwriting on the wrapper I thought that *he* sent the number to me and that I had to thank to him. I *now* do it to you!

Why did you send me No. 28? I have got it in both of my copies and I did not ask for it. Fearing that I have made a mistake I give you again a list of the lacking *whole* numbers. Perhaps you will find the one or another.

I like the new form of *Liberty* *very* much! If you will send me about 25 copies, I will send them to 25 people here in Germany with the hope of good use.

Mme. Firlé<sup>2</sup> and I have been at Schreiberhau<sup>3</sup> for 2 days now. We are all right here and at Dresden.

I hope so are you!

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1. Clarence Lee Swartz, contributor to *Liberty*, author of *What Is Mutualism?* (New York, 1927), and editor of Tucker's *Individual Liberty* (New York, 1926).

2. Luise Firlé (1865–1942), actress, active in the Dresden Schauspielhaus 1898–1931 (the year she retired). She appeared in Berlin before going to Dresden in 1898.

3. Schreiberhau (today, Szklarska Poreba, Poland) was a village and climatic health resort in the then Prussian province of Silesia. Now a winter sports center, it is situated in the eastern Karkonosze Range, at the foot of Mt. Szrenica. Mackay's house there, which he called "Haus zur Freiheit" (Freedom House), is mentioned several times in his letters.

With cordial greetings to Helen<sup>4</sup> and you.

As ever yours

Mackay

Liberty. Lacking Whole Nos.

First Copy:

4.26.33.47.52

Second Copy:

1.3.4.5.6.7.10.16.17.18.19.26.29.32.33.39.47.51.52.84.85.134.300.

Can you send me to complete a second copy:

Everything of volumes I, II, IV and X

No. 99 of vol. III

No. 3 of vol. VI

Nos. 1.5.15.22.23.33.35.41.44.48.49.50.51.52 of vol. IX

Lacking numbers of my own copy:

Vol. I: 4.25

II: 7.21.26

IV: 6.7.9.11

Mackay

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4. I am unable to identify this Helen or the Mrs. Born mentioned in later letters. As Paul Avrich wrote, Tucker had "several love affairs" before he met Pearl Tucker. Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 148.



Clarence Lee Swartz

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 2**

6 December 1905

Berlin-Charlottenburg, Berlinerstrasse 144

Dear Tucker,

I learn from Liberty that you arrived in your old house and have gone into the battle again. I hope you have found nice rooms and Mrs. Born too, so you may be satisfied.

I am writing with some part to study [?] following your intention, to ask for the lacking numbers in my copies of Liberty.

We are here all right, and my friend in Dresden too. I shall pay a visit to Mme. Firlé at Xmas.

I hope you still sometime think of your long trip, and don't exclude Berlin of it

and your old friend

John Henry Mackay

My best to both of you!



Luise Firle

**No. 3**

21 December 1905

Dear Tucker,

You should send – and perhaps reprint in *Liberty* – an article of Dr. Max Nettlau,<sup>5</sup> which he has just sent to me, in *London “Freedom”*: vol. XIX, No. 202, November-December 1905: Anarchism in England fifty years ago, telling about a pamphlet, which seems to be *very* rare, perhaps even unknown to you, and – as I think – of great interest especially for us.

I wish you and your sweetheart a good new year, and every success to “*Liberty*” and everything, you undertake.

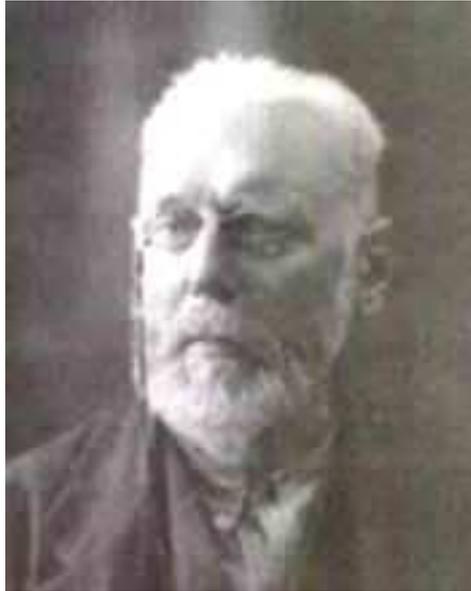
Cordially

as ever yours

Mackay

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5. Max Nettlau (1865–1944), author of *Bibliographie de L’Anarchie* (Paris and Brussels, 1897) and *Der Vorfrühling der Anarchie: ihre historische Entwicklung von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1864* (Berlin, 1925). Mackay received only one paragraph in Nettlau’s *A Short History of Anarchism*, translated (from the Spanish text of 1932–1934) by Ida Pilat Isca (London: Freedom, 1996).



Max Nettlau

#### No. 4

7 November 1908

Dear Tucker,

It is very kind of you, that you do such a good helping for my purpose. I am sure there will be no lack of money, and if it should be, there are now friends of Stirner<sup>6</sup> here, who will do their best.

Will you be kind enough, to advertise in “Liberty”, that I have a copy of it to sell for the best of our cause. All details you find in this advertisement. It had no success. I will sell the copy now for 200 marks = 50 dollars. We will print old and new pamphlets for it. I hope I will have success in America with my offer.

So you have separated from Mrs. Born and are a bachelor again. I should like very much to see your apartment and am glad to hear that you feel comfortable. So do I in my rooms, which you know. At last my dining-room is finished now.

If you see Mrs. Born give her my best, if you please.

The articles of this year on Stirner were very poor, and I have found no paper to print the article[s] of him, which I found at Trieste years ago.<sup>7</sup>

Astonishing and – a shame!

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6. Max Stirner (pseudonym of Johann Caspar Schmidt, 1806–1856), philosopher of egoism.

7. In late 1904 Mackay discovered eight articles by Stirner in the *Journal des österreichischen Lloyd* (1848). These were published serially in the Berlin journal *Morgen: Wochenschrift für deutsche Kultur* beginning in vol. 2, no. 12 (20 March 1908), on p. 345. See Mackay, *Max Stirner: Sein Leben und sein Werk*, 3rd ed. (1914; reprint, Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1977), p. xiv.

But far the best news is that your edition will now be ready.<sup>8</sup> I congratulate you and am eagerly looking out for the first proofs, which I hope to get from you.

My own old book is going on very slowly.<sup>9</sup> But I don't despair to finish it some day.

Liberty is my joy, and your letters too.

Cordially your old friend

Mackay

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8. Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (1844) was translated by Steven T. Byington (1868–1957) and published by Tucker in 1907 as *The Ego and His Own*.

9. "I hope to write someday a continuation to *The Anarchists*. I wish to describe the psychological development of a single individual from slavery to freedom." Mackay to George Schumm, 14 February 1883, Labadie Collection, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. But Mackay did not complete *Der Freiheitsucher* until 1920.



Max Stirner

This sketch was made by Friedrich Engels in London in 1892,  
recalling his acquaintance with Stirner fifty years earlier.



Steven T. Byington

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 5**

8 February 1907

Berlin-Charlottenburg  
Berlinerstr. 166

Sehr geehrter Herr [crossed out, next line by hand]

Dear Tucker,

[added by hand:] enclosing 2 dollars of your old

Indem ich Ihnen einstweilen den Empfang Ihres Beitrages –

[by hand:] 15 dollars = 62 Mark 71 Pfg.

– für die von mir veranstaltete Sammlung zur Anbringung einer Gedenktafel an dem Geburtshause Max Stirners in Bayreuth dankend bestätige, mache ich Ihnen heute die vorläufige erfreuliche Mitteilung, dass das Erträgnis der Sammlung durchaus genügt, um Ihres Zweck zu erfüllen.

Die Anbringung der Gedenktafel wird, ohne jede unnötige Uebereilung, im Laufe der nächsten Monate erfolgen, und habe ich die Ausführung der Firma Wölfel & Herold in Bayreuth übertragen.

Den eingehenden, definitiven Bericht erhalten Sie voraussichtlich Anfang Mai.

Mit ausgezeichneter Hochachtung [crossed out and remainder added by hand]

Cordially yours

Mackay

Will you kindly distribute the enclosed 12 letters? (mailed in 4 letters to you today.)

\* \* \*

[The following is a translation of the original form letter. HK]

Dear Mr.

I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your contribution of \_\_\_\_\_ to the collection arranged by me for the erection of a memorial plaque<sup>10</sup> on the birthhouse of Max Stirner in Bayreuth, and I am pleased to announce today that the amount collected is entirely adequate for this purpose.

The erection of the plaque will take place, without undue haste, in the course of the next month; the execution has been assigned to the firm Wölfe & Herold in Bayreuth.

It is expected that you will receive a final report at the end of May.

Respectfully

---

10. The plaque, erected on 6 May 1907, read:

Dies  
ist das Geburtshaus  
Max Stirner's  
\* 25. Oktober 1806

The house has been remodeled and the plaque, formerly facing the street, is now on a side alley.

**No. 6**

28 May 1807

Haus zur Freiheit

Mittel-Schreiberhau i.R.

Siebenhäuser 180

Dear Tucker,

*Very* glad to have you once more in Europe, and soon at Berlin!

No, I don't think, that you will have any trouble at the frontier. But passing myself the Belgian-German frontier seldom and long ago, I can't say anything *sure*; if you will be *quite* safe, you better send the copies to me to Berlin, where I keep them for you.

I shall be back in a few days, and I am awaiting you with eagerness between the 5th and 10th of June. (Shall I take a room for you at the Hotel de France, before you come?)

Please address me to Berlin-Charlottenburg 166.

When you come to London and see Reeves,<sup>11</sup> will you kindly ask him once more about a translation of the "Anarchists" in England?

Hoping that you will enjoy the free hours between your work at Paris

cordially as ever

your old friend

Mackay

Can I do *nothing* for you to help you in your business?

---

11. Probably William Reeves, a London publisher of radical and anarchist literature, including the first edition of *Slaves to Duty* (1894) by John Badcock, Jr. (? – 1926?). See S. E. Parker's introduction to *Slaves to Duty* by John Badcock, Jr. (1894; reprint, Colorado Springs: Ralph Miles Publisher, 1972).

**No. 7**

24 June 1807

[postcard addressed to:] Hotel des [—], Monte Carlo

Dear Tucker,

I have *not* got the promised line from you till today, the 24. What is the matter? I hope you are well!

Ever yours

Mackay

**No. 8**

July 1907

Dear Tucker,

You will receive from me:

A. a copy of the first German edition,<sup>12</sup> carefully revised for the English translation, but containing only slight alterations, which may be easily made in the translation already finished;

B. all the clichés needed, as well as all the facsimiles etc.

C. in Manuscript:

a) title

b) short instructions for the English edition

c) preface to the second edition (which will be published in English *before* the German second edition)

d) the “Nachschrift” itself.

This is all which makes the second edition.

---

---

12. Mackay's *Max Stirner: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (1898). Tucker's plans to publish an English translation ended with the fire that wiped out Tucker's composing room and nearly the entire stock of his publications on 10 January 1908. By chance, the manuscript of Mackay's second edition (German) was saved and returned to him. See Mackay, *Max Stirner: Sein Leben und sein Werk*, 3rd ed. (1914; reprint, Freiburg/Br.: Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1977), p. xii.

I hereby send you, that you may see, how I want to handle the matter:

D. 1) title

and 2) short instructions.

Please keep it carefully.

It would very much help me for the second *German* edition, if you would send back to me – *after your work is wholly done!* – *everything*, except B.

Mackay

The English edition will contain

to B.: 2 more illustrations (2 houses at Berlin) and probably about 3 or 4 new facsimiles:

1) of Stirner

2) " " (with words, 3 lines) 1854

3) stepfather of Stirner (Ballerstedt)<sup>13</sup>

4) Stirners *mother* (pretty interesting!)<sup>14</sup>

---

13. Heinrich Friedrich Ludwig Ballerstedt (1761–1837).

14. Sophia Elenora (Reinlein) Schmidt (1778–1857).

**No. 9**

1 July 1907

Dear Tucker,

I was glad to get your letter from Milano and hope you will finish your trip as well as you began it.

×

I talked over the matter with Schuster.<sup>15</sup> He allows me to give you the MS. of the “Appendix” before the second German edition of my biography, and he will also give you all the “clichés” of the book. But he does not want to bring out the second German edition later than one year after *yours*: that is, not later, than in spring 1909, if yours appears in spring 1908. For that purpose he has already to sell 250 copies, and he thinks, it would be a great help to him, if you could sell in the meantime 100 of them in America. He will give you these 100 copies with 50%, that is for 2 months each, instead of 4 months. (Of course indirectly, not through Volkmar.) He does not make this a condition for his allowance, but he thinks, you will help as much as you can, if he allows me to give you the German MS. before *he* gets it (he has a right to get it, as you know, by contract with me.) If you and he agree, I will make the MS. ready for November and December

×

I will look out for the “[—] libere”. But I doubt if I can find a copy of your N.A.R. here.<sup>16</sup> Can’t you send me the number mentioned for a short time?

I will send you everything of importance on Stirner I get.

×

And now, my dear old friend, let me tell you again, how much I enjoyed your visit once more! What good days for me! But with still greater joy I take of your plan, that you will spend your later years in Europe. To think, that I shall have the pleasure, to spend a

---

15. Schuster, of Schuster & Loeffler (Berlin), publisher of Mackay’s *Max Stirner: Sein Leben und sein Werk*.

16. N.A.R. = *North American Review*.

part of them here with you, gives me a feeling of intense delight now, when I have to hide *nothing* more before you.<sup>17</sup>

×

Let me know how you are finishing your travel.

As every yours

Mackay

I just got the answer from the paperman. Schumm<sup>18</sup> may have [—] for you.

---

17. Apparently Mackay had discussed his Sagitta project with Tucker. This aspect of their relationship is discussed in “‘The Veil of Sagitta,’ Letters on the Nameless Love from John Henry Mackay to Benjamin R. Tucker,” introduced and edited by Hakim Bey, *The Storm!*, nos. 16–17 (1986–1988): 14–22.

18. George Schumm, translator (into English) of Mackay’s *Die Anarchisten* (1891) and (into German) of Tucker’s *State Socialism and Anarchism* (1895).



George Schumm

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 10**

15 July 1907

Haus zur Freiheit

Dear Tucker,

I have just got your letter from Paris. No doubt my publisher will be pleased with your proposal. Will write soon to New York.

Today, before you leave Europe once more, goodbye! And à revoir at Paris, if the Gods are graceful to us!

Goodbye!

Mrs. Firlie joins me in the best wishes.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 11**

22 July 1907

Haus zur Freiheit

Dear Tucker,

Schuster accepts with thanks your offer, but, of course now can't think on the *German* second edition of my biography before 1910, for there will sell not more than about 50–60 copies a year in Germany.

Why, you see, that I began the work for your [—] the papers I send you herewith.

Can't you give the publisher's name of the more expensive [—] Spanish [?] translation of "Der Einzige?"

×

I hope you arrived safely in your good humour at home.

The weather here is abominable: cold as in autumn and rainy as in spring.

Cordially yours

Mackay

**No. 12**

16 November 1907

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Today I mail to you a parcel, containing all the clichés (13) ready for print. The complete ms. of the second edition will follow in about a week.

Yours

Mackay

**No. 13**

22 November 1907

Dear Tucker,

I mail today to you per book-post – registered – the complete ms. of the second edition of my book on Max Stirner for the purpose of your English translation.

The ms. contains:

- 1) 14 pages “Vorwort”
  - 2) 226 pages of the book printed, with short alterations
  - 3) 41 pages “Nachschrift”
  - 4) 24 pages “Anhang”,
- with whole 305 pages.

Please let me know at once by postal card if you have got the ms.

The ms. is in complete order.

—

I should be glad to hear how you are going on with your new bookshop.

Cordially as ever

yours

Mackay

**No. 14**

1 December 1907

Berlin-Ch.

Dear Tucker,

A man, *Ernst Collin*, writes to me: he wants to visit me; has a friend that knows you: Henry Mencken;<sup>19</sup> and wants to do what he can for our cause.

*But he gives me no address whatever.*

Do you know his address or the address of his friend? Then give them to me.

By the way: Henry Cohen<sup>20</sup> and his lady-friend<sup>21</sup> have *not* visited me. I have heard nothing of him. Do you know: why not?

Yours

Mackay

---

19. Probably Henry Louis Mencken (1880–1956), American writer and editor, who later advised Mackay on the sale of his periodical collection. See also no. 139.

20. Henry Cohen, contributor to *Liberty* and author of *Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem* (New York, 1927).

21. Mrs. Edgerton. See no. 17.



H. L. Mencken



Henry Cohen

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

BERLIN - CHARLOTTENBURG

Berlinerstrasse, 166

166

1. XII. 07.

Dear Tetter,

A man, Ernst Jollin,  
writes to me: he wants to visit  
me; has a friend, you know  
you: Henry Meentzen; and  
wants to do what he can  
for our cause.

But he gives me no  
address whatever.

Do you know his address

Or the address of his friend!

Then give them to me. -

Maybe say:

Henry Cohen saw his  
lady-friend has not visited  
me. I have heard nothing  
of him. Do you know; why  
not? -

Yours

Wm. L. G.

**No. 15**

2 December 1907

Berlin-Ch.

Dear Tucker,

Don't be angry about my many letters.

Will you tell me:

Do you know a person there who will and can translate your *Instead of a Book absolutely satisfactory*, that is: without any faults and mistakes into the German? And when you know: what will be the conditions of this person for the translation?

I don't think, that I will find here someone who will do the work, as it must be done.

Let me have 2 copies (unbound) of your book: I will continue to find a publisher.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 16**

24 January 1908

Berlin

My dear friend,

Your letter makes me sick! But knowing your wonderful courage, I am sure you will go over this terrible accident.<sup>22</sup> As far as I can see from your letter, all losses, as terrible they may be, can be redone by money and time, except Spooner's MSS!!<sup>23</sup> And so is this the most terrible loss, the only one which never can be made again and never good!

Don't worry yourself at all about the copy of the biography. It is an easy thing for me, and nothing worth mentioning to send you another, with all corrections etc., as soon as you want it. More difficult it would have been for me to rewrite the new MS., but this too would not have been impossible for me. But don't let us talk about this!

Of course the next thing you will do, is, to reprint "Instead", and "The Ego." For these two works we never can miss!

But what a big capital all this will need! And the stock, the plates, and the printing material – really, I feel sick in thinking of it!

Why are we not rich!!

I don't see how I could help you. But if there is anything I can do, let me know.

Just today I was mailing to you the work of my last two months. But now sad thoughts accompany it.

I told you by postal card, how great my delight was, to get your excellent photo. Thanks again!

If you find time let me know what you are doing. If you would give up the bookshop, it would be – so far as I may dare to judge – still more terrible!

---

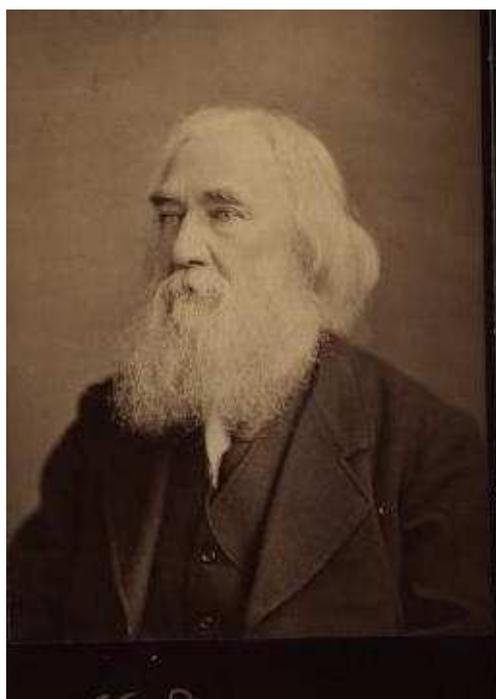
22. Tucker's book shop and publication offices were destroyed by fire on 10 January 1908. See no. 8 (notes).

23. Lysander Spooner (19 January 1808 – 14 May 1887), American anarchist writer.

More as ever I wished to press your hand.

Sadly your old

Mackay



Lysander Spooner

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 17**

16 February 1908

Berlin-Ch.

Dear Tucker,

You know, that I think it better, the little I can do, to do for our German propaganda here, which has no help at all and from no side.

Then the other cause, of which you know, has taken very much in the last years.<sup>24</sup> For these people are quite so lazy and stupid as the “others” are so I had to divide... [*sic*]

But in this case I am willing to give you 15 dollars out of the price I got for “Liberty”, if you want to have them, and I leave the decision to you, if you think these 15 dollars more useful for our cause in America as here. Let me know.

I will publish Thoreau’s “Duty” in the spring.<sup>25</sup>

I shall be glad to see your acquaintance and will give him a good dinner. But I hope he will come, and not, as Cohen and Mrs. Edgerton did, stay away.<sup>26</sup> I did not hear a word from them. Do you know why not?

I wrote to Schumm<sup>27</sup> the other day.

---

24. The “other cause” of Mackay was his Sagitta-project. See Hubert Kennedy, *Anarchist of Love: The Secret Life of John Henry Mackay*, revised and expanded edition (New York: North American Man/Boy Love Association, 1996); in German as *Anarchist der Liebe: John Henry Mackay als Sagitta* (Berlin: Edition AurorA/Verlag Jochen Knoblauch, 1988).

25. Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862). His best-known essay was first printed in 1849 as *Resistance to Civil Government*, but was later called *Civil Disobedience* or *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*. Mackay probably planned to publish it in his series of “Propaganda des individualistischen Anarchismus in deutscher Sprache” (9 pamphlets, 1895–1922), but this was not done.

26. See no. 14 (notes).

27. See no. 9 (notes).

Shall I make other clichés for you for the Stirner book? And when?

I am very glad to hear of the plan of our friend and hope it will succeed. (How egoist I am, for if it succeeds, I will not have you here so soon!)

Ever yours

Mackay



Henry David Thoreau

**No. 18**

11 May 1908

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I am very glad, to hear, that I can hope, to see you here even sooner as I dared to dream. The aspect, to see you every year from now is a great joy to me. Tell your sweetheart too, that I shall be very glad to see her here, and the little anarchist she will bring with her.<sup>28</sup>

But I wish, that you tell her, *before you come*, exactly, who I am. I have decided now, to break off all old acquaintances, who don't care so much for me, that they do not learn to understand my love as I try to understand theirs; and I will not make any new ones (more intimates, of course) who join the common judgment without judging for themselves.

---

28. Tucker's "sweetheart" was Pearl Johnson, twenty-five years Tucker's junior (she died in 1948); the "little anarchist" was their daughter Oriole Tucker (1908–1974).

You have not acknowledged the receipt of the pamphlet I sent you, and I know, that you don't like to hear from these things.<sup>29</sup> But being my friend, and before the fact, that this love and my battle for it, influences my personal life to the highest degree, I can't avoid to tell you, that this pamphlet as well as Sagitta's two books are suppressed by the police,<sup>30</sup> that two accusations are brought against us, and that we can't foresee, how these affairs end and how much they will influence my personal liberty, and at the same time our forthcoming plans, so dear to me. I could not leave Berlin the whole winter, being in an endless stream of unexpected and spiteful events. (I shall never give up this battle.)

Now to Bruno Lehmann. You know well with what great joy I try to welcome *every* comrade of ours, when I have the rare opportunity to do so. And there was no one, whom I did not like more or less, and no one, with whom I had the least trouble. But this man is as impudent, as he is mean – of an unparalleled impudence and of great meanness. You know too, that I would not say this, if I had no reasons for it.

I hope you will republish Stirner and Instead. As soon as I know a translator worthy to translate it, I will publish your book with Zack.<sup>31</sup> But only then.

---

29. Although Tucker later asked for more information about Mackay's love (see no. 62), he also continued to distance himself from the subject: "The year before his death in Monte Carlo, thinking probably of posterity's examining his library, he wrote on the title page of each of the first two Sagitta publications: 'My subscription to this work shall not be taken as evidence of sympathy with its contents. Benj. R. Tucker. Principality of Monaco. Aug. 14, 1938'" (Thomas A. Riley, *Germany's Poet-Anarchist John Henry Mackay* [New York: Revisionist Press, 1972], p. 111).

30. Sagitta was Mackay's pseudonym for his man-boy love writings. The pamphlet was *Gehoer! Nur einen Augenblick! Ein Schrei*; the books were *Die namenlose Liebe: Ein Bekenntnis* and *Wer sind wir? Eine Dichtung der namenlosen Liebe*. All three are in vol. 1 of John Henry Mackay, *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1979). The pamphlet and the first book are in English in John Henry Mackay, *Fenny Skaller and Other Prose Writings from the Books of the Nameless Love*, trans. by Hubert Kennedy (Amsterdam: Southernwood Press, 1988).

31. Bernhard Zack (1868–1945), Berlin publisher, in particular of Mackay's Sagitta books as well as his anarchist propaganda.

If you would have sometimes a little line for me in the next time I should be glad. For this is a hard time here.

I, too, will try, to better up, my French, before I see again Paris – and you.

As every yours

Mackay



Pearl Johnson Tucker

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 19**

22 June 1908

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I will answer your pleasing letter of June 12 at once. First: will you tell Pearl (if I am allowed to call her so in my letters to you) that I expect with great pleasure the day, when I shall see her at Paris. I am sorry to say, that this will not be before you live there, for to go now to Paris is almost impossible for me. I hope you will find a nice house now and I think it an excellent idea of you to look out for this house now and not later on.

You must not take Sagitta's first book<sup>32</sup> as anything else as a short preface. If you don't find time to go over the pamphlet with Schumm I hope to be able to give you an English translation by and by. Nothing better, and almost all in short words, I can say about this love I have said in this pamphlet.

The facts are these in regard to the authorities: there are two accusations made against Zack (they don't know yet who Sagitta is):

- 1) for having offended a clergyman having sent him the pamphlet;
- 2) for publishing "immoral" books.

The first is settled; he was freed. The second we still await. The books and the pamphlet are forbidden and suppressed.

---

32. *Die namenlose Liebe: Ein Bekenntnis* (1906).

If Zack is sentenced for prison, then I will say that I am Sagitta. Till then it is absolutely useless. This winter was the hardest time we ever had. The people here are absolutely mad after the proceedings in the trials Brand and Moltke-Harden.<sup>33</sup> In the meantime I finish the III. and IV. book. The waiting-time is a very tiresome one, as you will understand, and we all hope it may come soon to a decision.

If we fail then Zack goes to Switzerland and we will publish the books there; if we are the victors then I will distribute the pamphlet in thousands of copies.

Mr. Schumm<sup>34</sup> was kindly invited by me to supper. We had it and he talked 2½ hours of himself. The most intimate and unwelcome things. Then he wrote the *most* impudent letter (many pages) to me, mean and ridiculous. I never saw him again and never want to see him any more. If we see us I will go again in the nasty matter.

I had this winter – now – a second very severe attack of gout, binding me at the house for weeks again, and I am not satisfied with the aspect, that this will repeat itself every year. Would you bring me over 2 bottles of the tablets you used with Mrs. Born, when you were here, as it is so very expensive to have them ordered from New York?

By the way: have you got the un-printed pamphlets of yours, I sent you?

And the little book which must have left at last a good taste on your spoiled tongue?

Then:

Is there any hope, to publish Stirner and Instead through a publisher there?

---

33. Adolf Brand (1874–1945), Berlin publisher of the journal *Der Eigene*, which began in 1896 as a Stirnerite journal (der Eigene = the self-owner), but was from 1898 of explicit homosexual interest. Maximilian Harden (1861–1927), editor of the Berlin weekly *Die Zukunft*, in which he implied that the emperor's friend and adviser, Count Kuno von Moltke was homosexual. Moltke sued Harden for libel; and Prince Bernhard von Bülow sued Brand on a similar charge.

34. This Mr. Schumm cannot be George Schumm, the translator of Mackay's *Die Anarchisten* who is mentioned earlier in this letter. Mackay's letters to George Schumm in the Labadie Collection (University Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan) show that Mackay, who met Schumm personally in 1893, continued to be on friendly terms with him.

Of course, the biography is given up. This being so don't you think it better to send back to me the MSS?

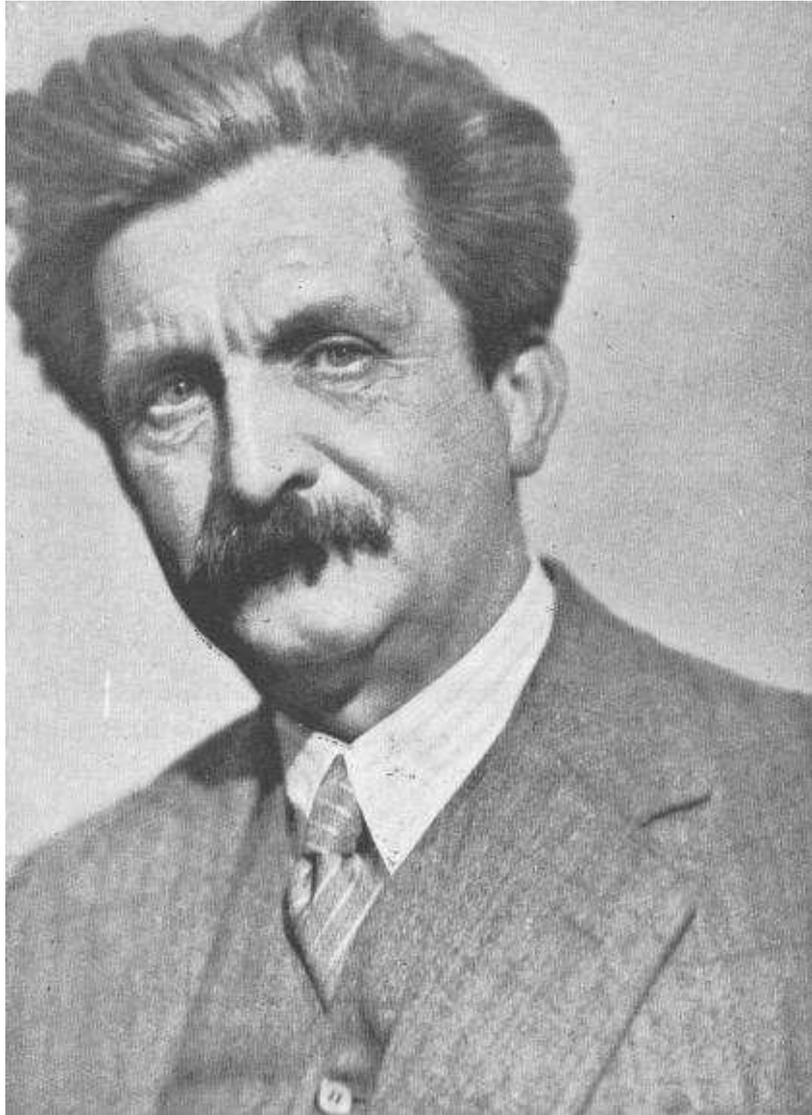
This morning is a new one; I learn that Dr. Benedict Friedlaender,<sup>35</sup> whose name is not a strange one to you, has killed himself, after 2 years of severe illness and without any hope of recovery. He was a quite uncommon man.

With cordial greetings to both of you  
your old  
Mackay

Let me hear from you – pretty often – when you are here!

---

35. Benedict Friedlaender (1866–1908), financial contributor to Mackay's Sagitta campaign and author of *Renaissance des Eros Uranios* (Berlin 1904). He shot himself the night of 21/22 June 1908.



Adolf Brand



*Benedict Friedlaender*

Benedict Friedlaender

**No. 20**

28 July 1908

Haus zur Freiheit

Dear Tucker,

So you are here again! – glad, to know it! I hope you will enjoy your Paris and find a nice home!

If you can spare that bottle please send it to me *as parcel* and to the above address. I think it is the cheapest way.

When shall I see you? I mean to say, when will you come over to stay here? First you talked of autumn, now you speak of winter. Surely it will not become spring?

The troubles here are going on, and no one sees an end. It is very tiresome. If there are any facts of importance to tell, I will do so. And I will tell you the whole story, when we see us. Friedländer's death has made the things worse for me, as they were.

Let me hear from you and give my best to Pearl (when I am allowed to call her so).

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 21**

13 August 1908

Haus zur Freiheit

Dear Tucker,

Of course I remember that glorious day at that wonderful terrace, where we had lunch! How much I should like to see it again with you and your love!

Best thanks for the bottle. Being yesterday in the neighborhood at the post office, I sent you 12 marks by postal order – two marks less as I ought to do, reading your letter now again. Excuse the mistake, I will give you the rest, when we see us.

I hope, Pearl is all right again. I think, it must be one of the nicest things, to stroll over the surroundings of Paris, and look for a nice home. I should like sometimes to accompany you.

Mme. Firlé is here. We have each day long walks. She sends her best regards to you.

Don't forget to remember me to Pearl, and do write me sometimes a card from Paris.

Cordially as ever yours

Mackay

Will you kindly answer me these questions and not be angry for having put them in this form on you? It is simply for your convenience.

**No. 22**

5 September 1908

[addressed to New York]

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I heartily congratulate you and – me, for having a home now at Europe. So we have got you here at last!

I think, it must be a charming place, this Le Vésinet.<sup>36</sup> The first thing I did, getting your letter, was, to overlook Baedeker, what he says about the place. I think the rent you pay is *very* low.

Troubles here go on and I don't see, when they will end. The trial is on October 14. But this of course is no decision.

May it be, as it will, nothing shall keep me from looking to my visit at Paris as one of my greatest pleasure.

Give my best greetings to Pearl. I hope she is all right.

As ever yours

Mackay

---

36. Le Vésinet, a suburb west of Paris, near Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

**No. 23**

28 October 1908

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Schumm will translate this circular and you will see that the trial<sup>37</sup> is postponed: very tiresome, indeed!

Better news I hope to tell you at Paris.

I have bought *all* my books from Fischer<sup>38</sup> and Zack is now my only publisher. I have many plans. So I will edit as soon as the old edition of Stirner is sold out a new one: please let me have all of the MS., I sent you, of course registered and on the safest way.

I am very glad, that everything is all right with you and Pearl. How often I think of Paris, and of a little house at Le Vésinet, I can't tell.

Now, when we see us again, all will look better.

I am trying now to make of a little fellow – very clever! – a big anarchist, and I hope you are not against this.

Give my very best to Pearl and the Schumms. The same to you.

Yours

Mackay

---

37. The first session of the “Sagitta” trial took place on 14 October 1908, but was postponed until 9 December. The decision was not conclusive (see no. 25), however, and an appellate court sent the case back for retrial. Thus the main trial did not take place until 6 October 1909 (see no. 42). Mackay’s account, “The History of a Fight for the Nameless Love,” is in his *Fenny Skaller and Other Prose Writings from the Books of the Nameless Love*, trans. by Hubert Kennedy (Amsterdam: Southernwood Press, 1988), pp. 134–166.

38. Samuel Fischer (1859–1934), Berlin publisher of Mackay’s *Menschen der Ehe* (1892) and later works.

**No. 24**

27 November 1908

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Do you know already the answer of Nordau,<sup>39</sup> I found by accident and which I enclose? Sure you will have the right answer to his impudence in *Liberty*. Of course you know “März” where appeared Shaw’s article *with* his preface, which you have not yet got.<sup>40</sup>

I have sent to Nordau the number 400 and 401 of “*Liberty*” (marked) as well as our pamphlets. But I doubt if he will *now* believe in the existence of “*Liberty*”. Let me have two other copies of the numbers.

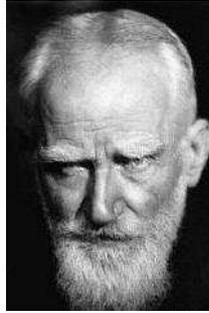
As ever yours

Mackay

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39. Max Nordau (1849–1923), popular author on, among other subjects, “degeneration theory”; later Zionist.

40. George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), British (Irish-born) author and socialist. At Tucker’s invitation, Shaw wrote a review of Nordau’s *Degeneration* that was published in *Liberty* on 27 July 1895. It was reprinted in book form as *The Sanity of Art* (New York: Benjamin R. Tucker, 1908).



George Bernard Shaw



Max Nordau

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

No. 25

21 December 1908

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

It is with an extraordinary feeling that I welcome you *this* time in Europe: for *this* time you come over to stay here, and I am enjoying the thought, to have you here and to be able to reach you in 20 hours instead of in 200.

If you have not got the card, I wrote to you in getting your last letter, let me congratulate Pearl and you once more! I hope everything is all right and I expect a line, when you are at Paris and at your new home.

Things here look a little better, but still very gloomy. For the trial is over, but the judgment “free” is such a curious one in its power [?], that we can’t enjoy it.<sup>41</sup> It will probably last three or four months longer, till we look quite clear. The books are still suppressed, and troubles go on and on, and Heaven knows, when they will end.

I have been in Italy for some weeks. Mr. Sexauer has not yet called on me or written. I shall be very glad to meet him.

Give my kindest regards to Pearl. I hope it will not last very long, till I see her.

Eagerly awaiting a line from you from Paris.

Yours

Mackay

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41. See no. 23 (notes).

**No. 26**

18 January 1909

Berlin

Dear tucker,

I am glad to hear from you, that you are here, and I hope, that you may soon be able, to leave your hotel, though comfortable it may be, and change it with your new house, which in any case will be a thousand times more comfortable as any hotel in the world can be.

No news to tell. As soon as I can tell you such I will do.

Weather here is too abominable. (All of us had better to stay at Italy.)

Let me know when you have settled and when I can expect a new number of Liberty.

With all good wishes for all 4 of you<sup>42</sup> – as ever

yours

Mackay

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42. The fourth person is perhaps the Miss Pickle mentioned in nos. 89 and 91.

**No. 27**

27 January 1909

[postcard addressed to le Vésinet, 4 rue Ernest André]

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for MS. and card. I wrote to you about 8 days ago, of course to your hotel. Ask for the letter there. Hope, you will soon be over all troubles.

As ever

M.

**No. 28**

18 February 1909

[postcard addressed to Le Vésinet]

Dear Tucker,

Are you settled?

And do you feel comfortable in your new house, and in Europe? Let me have some-  
times a postal card.

I am alright.

Yours

M.

**No. 29**

7 May 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Pardon me, that this time I am so late in answering. I always hoped, to give you a good and precise answer to your kind invitation, an answer, which depended on two reasons: first, if I could let my house in Schreiberhau; and then, how this trial ended. So I waited from one day to another, and today I am not wiser at all: my house is unlet, and the trial seems never to end, for the cause will again come before the judges: when, nobody knows! I have decided now, to publish in the meantime another book of *Sagitta*,<sup>43</sup> and in a few days, when the “Einladung” will be sent out, I had answered you.

Now, I thank you and Pearl heartily for your most kind invitation. It was the first real joy for me in a long time. Be sure, that I will come, as soon, as I *can*. But you see: if I can't let my house, then I have to stay there myself for a time; and as long as the new book is not out, I can't leave Berlin for a day, for I am doing everything myself, and Zack gives only his name. Would it suit you, if I would come in September or October?

But now to the troubling news of your card: how is your baby? Please let me know at once with a word, if it is better. What it is? And is there real danger? I hope, all trouble will be overcome, if this letter reaches you.

I have to thank Pearl for a kind greeting on a card. I do it herewith and will answer as soon, as I can find an equally nice one. And I have to thank too for the picture of the three of you, an excellent little picture, which is on my desk before me since weeks.

Excuse me again, dear Tucker, but you know, that I am exact in answering, when I can. I need not say, that I look to the weeks with you and your friend as on the only peaceful weeks, which I will have in these last years.

Again: let me have *soon* good news on regard of your babe.

---

43. *Am Rande des Lebens: Die Gedichte der namenlosen Liebe* (1909). The “Einladung” was the subscription invitation for it.

With best hopes and wishes for Pearl and you,

as ever yours

Mackay

**No. 30**

17 May 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I am very glad to hear, that your little one is better. Let me have further good news about Oriole. (But don't you think, that your Le Vésinet doctor made a very bad mistake? It seems so to me.)

×

Be quite sure, that I will come, as soon as I can! Don't doubt in an Egoist, that he will follow his dearest wishes, if he can! I will write as soon, as things allow a decision. And I thank you in the meantime again for your kind invitation.

×

You will get with this letter the new "Einladung" of ↗.<sup>44</sup> Your knowledge of German will easily allow you to understand it, and it tells you everything.

Will you give my kindest regards to Pearl. If I find an extraordinary nice postal card, I will send it to her, thanking her for the one, she so kindly sent me.

As ever your old friend

Mackay

These days decide, if I have five years of work in the ↗-cause for nothing or not.<sup>45</sup>

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44. See no. 29. "Sagitta" is the Latin word for "arrow"; hence Mackay's use of the arrow sign.

45. At the end of April the appellate court sent the case back for retrial, but the main trial was delayed until October. See no. 23 (notes).

**No. 31**

7 June 1909

[postcard addressed to Le Vésinet, Villa Perolita]

Dear Tucker,

I had a pretty bad attack of gout again, but hope to go to Schreiberhau this week. As soon as I have let my house and can come to see you, I will give you notice.

I hope your little one is quite well now. I should like to have a word from you. Address me Charlottenburg.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 32**

19 June 1909

[postcard with photo of Haus zur Freiheit]

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for your letter. In about 10 days I will be able to decide: the trial will be over and I will know if I can let my house. I sincerely hope that your little one will overcome now the weakness and steadily grow! Please give my best to Pearl! I am going back to Berlin in about 6 days. I am better and I hope, that *at last* these troubles come to an end.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 33**

30 June 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I was very much pleased by your last card, which told me, that your Oriole is now quite out of danger.

I have let my house till September 15. But the trial, which was fixed for June 25, has postponed *again* – these troubles will never end!

Would you allow me to come *in August*, and even if I can't come for more than a *fort-night* this first time? Anyhow, it is better than nothing, and at least I have seen you, your friend and your new house. Don't be angry, but you will realize, that I am bound by all these things.

I think too, that I will publish the second edition of my Stirner biography on my own account still this year.<sup>46</sup>

Let me know, if I can come. Best to all of you!

Yours as ever

Mackay

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46. The second edition of Mackay's *Max Stirner: Sein Leben und sein Werk* appeared in April 1910. See no. 48.

**No. 34**

24 July 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I was away from home for one week (a new attack of gout brought me back yesterday).

In this time all my letters were sent by stupidity of the Post instead to Baumschuleweg<sup>47</sup> to Braunschweig, and from there of course back to their senders.

Please let me have your letter again as soon as possible.

Would it suit you, if I come about the 15th of August for two weeks?

I had written to you sooner, but these troubles (which *never* end) let me have no decision on my own affairs. But I am pretty sure, that in the last weeks of August there will be some rest.

Cordially yours

Mackay

---

47. Suburb southeast of Berlin, now in the district Berlin-Treptow. Mackay's friend Friedrich Dobe recalled in 1944 that Mackay owned a rental house in either Neukölln or Baumschulenweg. Friedrich Dobe, *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), p. 19.

**No. 35**

30 July 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I just hear, that the trial has postponed till September 30. This suits me well as far, as I am now quite free to visit you, on the date: about August 15th, which we fixed. I will let you know the exact day and the train. But don't trouble to come to Paris, if it is not convenient to you I will find the way to Le Vésinet and the Bread- and Water-Villa!

I know the paper you mention, will bring all the numbers yet out and tell you everything I know about. Do you want to have the numbers at once?

I hope your little one is now all right.

Give my best to your friend.

A revoir!

Yours

Mackay

**No. 36**

5 September 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Let me say you once more, how such I enjoyed the days at Le Vésinet. How often I will think back to them in this winter, till I am allowed to come again to the Villa Perolita!

The meal you gave me in the parcel, was a great surprise and the nicest one, I ever had on a train. The whole compartment looked at me, as on a big gourmet (but I did not divide it!)

I am still living with you and things here seem strange to me yet. How is Oriole?

Give my very best to Pearl; and tell her, how much I am pleased to know her now personally. If you don't write I hope she will let me have sometimes a word on a postal card. With all good wishes for the whole Villa Perolita.

Yours

Mackay

**No. 37**

7 September 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Was last night at Scher's.

The edition I sent you (of 1909!) is the *first one appeared in Russian*. There are several more in Russian, but all of *this* year and *later*, than this one. Andrejeff has given his original MS. to this editor here at Berlin first. There is no doubt on these facts, for the man at Scher's telephoned at once with the publisher here.

I hope very much, that this will not trouble you. Let me know, please.

Thank you very much for your letter and the picture. Very glad, to hear, that Oriole is better; I hope the changing of the food will do her very well.

My best to all of you!

Mackay

**No. 38**

13 September 1908

[postcard addressed to: Mrs. Pearl Johnson]<sup>48</sup>

[dated “Frankreich” but postmarked “Berlin”]

Kindest regards and once more many thanks for all the good days at Le Vésinet.

Your friend

John Henry Mackay

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48. Mackay always addressed her thus. According to Oriole Tucker, her parents “were never legally married.” Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 150.

**No. 39**

18 September 1909

Haus zur Freiheit

Dear Tucker,

I wrote at once to Scher and get this answer:

that the first *Russian edition* of the book appeared on *November 23, 1908*.

I am here since last night.

Very glad to hear that Oriole is better. I never liked her cold hands and feet, and I too think, that it is a sign of improvement, that she has lost them.

Excuse my hurry.

My very best to the whole Villa Perolita!

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 40**

22 September 1909

Mittel-Schreiberhau i.R.

Dear Tucker,

Will you be kind enough to translate for me into English the enclosed letter as well as the lines of Bouhélier?<sup>49</sup> It would be very helpful for me. I hope it will not trouble you too much.

With all good wishes for all of you.

As ever yours

Mackay

Address me as above, please. We have got splendid days here.

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49. See no. 43 (notes).

**No. 41**

28 September 1909

[postcard with photo of Haus zur Freiheit addressed to Le Vésinet]

Dear Tucker,

Many thanks, to you for the translation<sup>50</sup> and to Pearl for the card. I thought that your teeth-trouble was long gone and am sorry, to hear, that it still lasts. So Oriole goes on and I hope she is now all right. Tell Pearl, that the medicine has had no effect at all till now. But I only had *one* bottle. Have you got difficulties with Andrejeff?

Best to all of you.

Cordially yours

M.

---

50. See no. 40.

No. 42

12 October 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

As you asked in some of your last letters for the end of the trial, I tell you today, that on Oct. 8 the Jury declared the books as well as the pamphlet of Sagitta for “immoral” and should be destroyed. Zack was sentenced for “offence” to 600 Mark and the costs of about 1000 Marks. If they had known, who Sagitta was, they had to sentence me logically for prison, for they said, that Zack only escaped that on promise [?] of his education.<sup>51</sup>

That means, that *everything*, I did as Sagitta, is absolutely destroyed and stamped out. The work of years is lost and, besides, it costs me about 6300 Marks loss.

What I still have to say, I will say in a circular<sup>52</sup> in about 2–3 weeks. Then *this* thing has ended.

×

How are you? How Pearl and the child?

Have you got any trouble with your Andrejeff-translation?

I hope not.

I have been 14 days at Schreiberhau, but the weather was very different.

As ever yours

Mackay

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51. “With a clarity not to be misunderstood, the publisher was advised in the pronouncement of the sentence that any further step in the fight in this cause would be for him at the same time a step into prison.” John Henry Mackay, *Fenny Skaller and Other Prose Writings from the Books of the Nameless Love*, trans. by Hubert Kennedy (Amsterdam: Southernwood Press, 1988), pp. 149–150.

52. This circular is in *Fenny Skaller*, pp. 153–156.

**No. 43**

15 October 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Bouhélier has sent me the original of his article, the only copy left.<sup>53</sup> Comparing it with your translation I learn that you have left out some sentences, which deal with persons.

I asked him today, if he will allow me, to leave out those lines in my translation too. For I agree with you, that the article will only gain, when these lines are not translated.

But you know as well as I do, that the Social Democrats will furiously attack me, if they learn, that I have left out something about their leaders, and charge me with falsehood etc.

Let me know, if you think it proper and suitable, to leave out the sentences even if Bouhélier allows me to do so. If he does not allow any alteration, of course, I have to obey him.

As ever yours

Mackay

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53. The article “Die Tyrannei der Sozialdemokratie” of Saint-Georges de Bouhélier was published in 1909 as the 7th in Mackay’s series of pamphlets “Propaganda des individualistischen Anarchismus in deutscher Sprache.”

**No. 44**

22 December 1909

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I want to know how you are going on: is Oriole all right now, and how are you and Pearl?

Landauer<sup>54</sup> wants to take the volumes of Proudhon,<sup>55</sup> you kindly offered for 2 marks (or 2 francs?) the volume, if you can reserve them for him for the time of one year. For he is unable to take them *now*. He too wants to know if you have too the “Oeuvres posthumus.”

I probably will accompany Dr. Stegemann<sup>56</sup> in January to Italy. He is ill.

I am all right. Give my very best to Pearl! Hope, she has not quite forgotten me.

With all good wishes for the Villa Perolita.

Your old friend

Mackay

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54. Gustav Landauer (1870–1919), anarchist writer, murdered by soldiers during the suppression of the Munich Räterepublik.

55. Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865). Tucker’s translations of Proudhon’s *What Is Property?* and *System of Economical Contradictions; or, The Philosophy of Misery* were published in 1876 and 1888, respectively.

56. Dr. jur. Herbert Stegemann (1870–1945), a leader of the 1907 secession from the Scientific Humanitarian Committee. (Founded by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1897, the Scientific Humanitarian Committee was the first organization for homosexual emancipation.) Stegemann wrote a literary appreciation of Mackay in *März* (1912).



Pierre Joseph Proudhon



Gustav Landauer

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 45**

28 January 1910

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I hope you are not drowned?

I did not quite understand Landauer: he wants to have all your Proudhons now and will pay you in the limit of one year. I will guarantee you, that he does so, for he is an honest man.

So: if you agree, please send the whole lot to

Gustav Landauer

Hermsdorf in der Mark, Germany<sup>57</sup>

I am all right.

Stirner is in print.

I did *not* go to Italy. Perhaps I can in April. But I will go for some time to my little house.

It is very kind to await you in May and I look with great pleasure to the days with you! Perhaps I can come on returning from Italy. I hope all of you are well, and Oriole prospers. With best to Pearl and you.

Yours

Mackay

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57. The following typed address was apparently also enclosed with the letter:

Gustav Landauer

Hermsdorf in der Mark bei Berlin

Kaiserstrasse 21

Allemagne

No. 46

27 March 1910

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Excuse me, that the answer to your last letter has delayed for some days.

I thought I could make it possible, to answer your kind invitation for the 1st of May, or some days earlier, with “yes”.

But now I must ask to be kind enough to take me even a little later.

I intended to go to Schreiberhau before Easter, to be free afterwards. But I couldn't. The Stirner-Book is not ready before April 15; on 1st of April I must take a new “Fräulein”, because my old one is sick and going home; I *have* to go to Schreiberhau, in order to take steps, that I can let [the house] in summer; the Sagitta-trouble, which never ends, causes me new labour. And so on.

Now, coming from Schreiberhau back to Berlin, I have to stay here some time, and can't go *at once* away again. For all these reasons I ask your kind permission, to come perhaps in the middle of May, or even a little later, so that Mrs. Johnson<sup>58</sup> has arrived already. Would it suit you?

×

And now another question, which troubles me (not much, but just enough, to ask you). We are old friends enough, that I can put it on you; without to fear, to be misunderstood. *Can I accept your kind invitation so often?* Is it not too much for you? I know that both of us have to live in a modest way. Of course, I can visit you another time. But will it not be a burden for you, if it happens so often? And I am not able, to invite you, and you [are not able], to come to Berlin or to Schreiberhau?

And *this* time, have you got room enough, to have me in the same house with another visit[or]?

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58. Florence Hull Johnson, mother of Pearl Johnson.

Don't be angry about this question, but really, you will understand, that it troubles me to accept so much, where I can give so little or nothing.

×

Very glad to hear, that Oriole is all right. Give my best to Pearl. How often I think of the Villa Perolita!

All right with Landauer. If he has not paid you on March 15, 1911, I will do so. But he will.

As ever, your old friend  
Mackay

Kempinski is dead, but his restaurant is living.<sup>59</sup>



Berthold Kempinski

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59. Berthold Kempinski (1843–1910), opened a spacious restaurant in the Leipziger Str. 25 in 1889. He died on 14 March 1910. (In 1928 a new “Kempinski” was opened on the Kurfürstendam.)

No. 47

[no date; postmark illegible]

[postcard with photo of Haus zur Freiheit]

Dear Tucker,

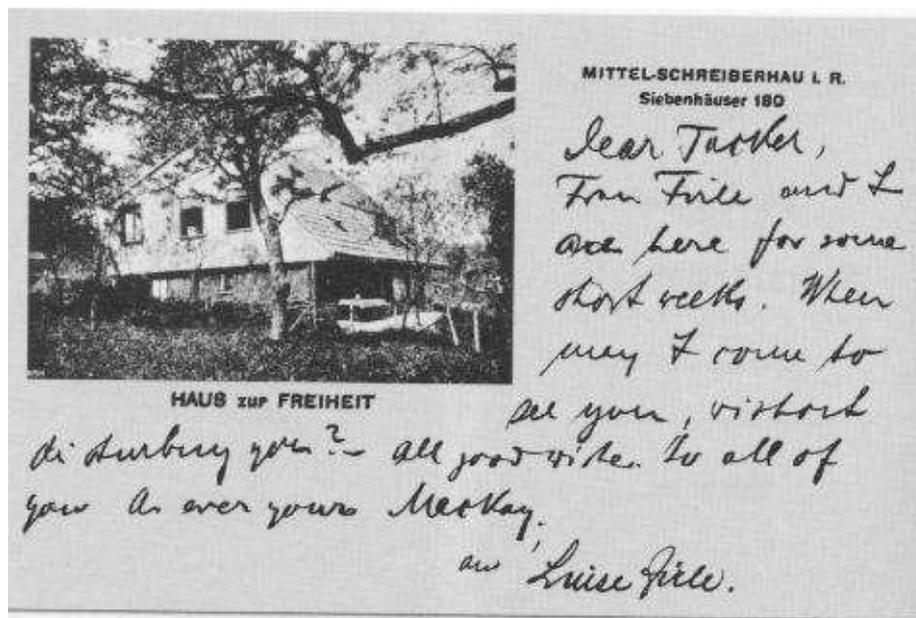
Frau Firlé and I are here for some short weeks. When may I come to see you, without disturbing you?

All good wishes to all of you.

As ever yours

Mackay

[added in her handwriting] and Luise Firlé



**No. 48**

10 April 1910

Charlottenburg

Dear Tucker,

I have to ask you for your kind permission to come in August or September instead of now in May. I am very sorry, but I can't help it. I am not well and the doctor says it would be good for me to go away for a while and at once. I can't go to Schreiberhau now, for it is too early for the mountains, and I have therefore decided, to go to the south of Italy in about a week. Coming back I am forced to go to Schreiberhau to make arrangements for letting my house for the summer. In July is the *only* time to see Mme. Firlé a little (I did not see her more than 2 days the last year!)

All this makes it impossible for me to follow your kind invitation for now: of course I am *vexed* by the idea, that I trouble you, but I hope, you will understand my reasons. I am sorry too, not to see Mrs. Johnson.

Will you pardon me? And have me in August as well as now? I really am not very well, and I feel, that the sun of the south, which so often did good to me, will help me this time too.

Stirner<sup>60</sup> is ready in about 5 days. You will get the first copy. Then I am free to go.

With my best regards to Pearl and you

yours

Mackay

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60. The second edition of Mackay's *Max Stirner: Sein Leben und sein Werk*.

**No. 49**

15 April 1910

Charlottenburg

Dear Tucker,

I am sorry to hear, that I have disturbed your plans with other guests, you expected – please never take regard on *me*; if you will have me, I will be more than glad, and come, if I can.

So now this year. Of course, I leave it quite to you, to fix the time after Italy. I don't need to say, how much I would enjoy to see you and your friend and child as often as possible and how much I regret, that I can't come now, as I expected.

I was astonished on your new plans for the time after 1912, and very much interested in them. I think it an excellent idea to spend the cold months in the South.

Stirner goes today to you; and I am going tomorrow night to Italy. I will let you know, where I am by those famous postal cards. But if there should be anything of importance do write to my address at Charlottenburg.

With best regards to all of you.

Yours

Mackay

**No. 50**

[no date]

[Italian picture postcard: Pesto – Il Tempio di Nettuno e la Basilica]

The dogs have gone, but men still are here, worse than dogs.

Cordially yours

Mackay

**No. 51**

20 May 1910

Dear Tucker,

I am back at Berlin. I want to know, if you have got the second edition of Stirner, which I sent you five weeks ago, and how you like the book. Are you all well?

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 52**

8 June 1910

[postcard: Haus zur Freiheit with photo]

Dear Tucker,

I am here for a fortnight, to see, if I can let my house in the summer. As soon as possible, I will tell you, when I am able to come. Do you still remember this little house? Hope, all of you are well. Best to Pearl and you!

Ever yours

Mackay



Haus zur Freiheit

**No. 53**

[postcard, postmarked:] 10 July 1910 [?]

Dear Tucker,

Will you not tell the people at Vésinet, that none – and the most important – articles of “Instead” are already translated and published? If they will undertake to translate the whole book, of course it would be a good work [?]. But why publish pamphlets in German, which are already published?

It is very kind of you to leave it to me when I can come. I shall fix the date *as soon as I can*.

I am going back to Berlin as Mme. Firlé has no more time to stay here.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 54**

2 August 1910

[postcard: Haus zur Freiheit with photo]

Dear Tucker,

Could it suit you and Pearl, when I come about September 1, and stay about 3 weeks, till September 20 or 21?

I am here again for 2 weeks; I shall be back at Berlin on August 15.

Cordially as ever yours

Mackay

**No. 55**

9 August 1910

Mittel-Schreiberhau

Dear Tucker,

All right: I will await your decision at August 21, at Charlottenburg, if I can come or not. Please let me know too, if there is at Paris a kind of Express Co., which forwards the baggage from the Gare du Nord to Vésinet. Like your American Co's, or our Packetfahrt at Berlin. My best to Pearl. I hope all of you are well.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 56**

[postcard, postmarked:] 20 August 1910 [?]

Dear Tucker,

I shall be very glad to accept your and your fiancée's kind invitation for September 1, and shall be about this time at Le Vésinet again. I will write the exact day and train, as soon, as I have fixed it, but I eagerly ask you this time not to come to the station at Paris, for I know now the way.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 57**

[no date]

Dear Tucker,

I will be at Paris Friday September 2, at 4 o'clock (Gare du Nord). I will start at Thursday and stay the night at Cologne.

Please don't trouble to come to the station, if you are not at Paris anyhow, for I will find the way to the Villa Perolita.

A revoir!

Yours

M.

**No. 58**

25 September 1910

Dear Tucker,

Just when I was going to write to you this morning, to tell you, how much I enjoyed the last weeks and to thank you and Pearl once more for all your kindness your letter arrived.

I can't answer it, without having seen Zack and knowing, what the contents of the conversation with Meulen<sup>61</sup> were. I will go to him as soon as possible: today or tomorrow. Then I will answer your letter *at once*. I send back to you today the book you kindly lent me. Let me know if you have got it.

As ever yours

Mackay

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61. Probably Henry Meulen [1884?–1979], who was Secretary of the Personal Rights Association in England and editor of the Association's journal *The Individualist*.



Henry Meulen

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 59**

26 September 1910

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I have seen Zack last night. He remembers, that he had a talk with Meulen on Anarchy, but he does not remember, that he talked with him on the question of "Homosexuality" at all! In any case, he has given Meulen *not the least opportunity* and possibility, to think, that I am the author of books, regarding to this subject. In this respect I trust in Zack absolutely. So it is sheer phantasy and clash<sup>62</sup> of Meulen, when he bases his opinions on that, which Zack has told him.

Of course, I can't help if people clash and speak on me, as little, as I can help it, that they "admire" or despise me for that, what I have done. But I should think, that those, who call themselves Anarchists, should have an higher appreciation of personal liberty, as they show, in going around, and talk from one house to the other about that, what they call "sexual life" and of what they do not know anything at all!

But I have no respect for those people, and I do not want to have anything to do with them, even then, if they call themselves "Anarchists".

Coming back to our special case, I can't see, why Pearl could not say, if ever the question would be put on her, that she was bound by promise, not to tell the truth. But as you ask me, and because I can hardly say "No," when you ask me something, I will free you and Pearl of the promise given to me *in regard to Mrs. Johnson*.

I will add one word more. The question, which people call "homosexuality" will never be understood, if they insist, not to talk freely and without prejudices on it, and always behave, as if this was a mysterious and dreadful thing, which ought to be covered by silence and night. And they will never understand it, as long, as they continue, to see *only* sexualism in it, instead of love, like any other love. If they would first clean out *their*

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62. By "clash" Mackay is probably thinking of the German word "Klatsch". The verb "klatschen" not only means "to clap", but also "to gossip, spread stories".

dusty phantasy, they would be able, to talk about this question, as they ought to do, as a question of love, and leave out “sexualism,” leave it there, where it belongs: in the most private life of the Individuals, which Anarchists should respect higher than all other men, because they defend it in all other regions of life!

As ever, my dear Tucker,  
your old friend  
Mackay

**No. 60**

[postcard, postmarked:] October 1910 [?]

Dear Tucker,

I intended to answer your last letter today. But reading about the strike I will wait, till it is over. I suppose, you are not much troubled by the strike, as you don't need to go to Paris.

I am here at Schreiberhau. The autumn is simply beautiful!

Give my best to all of you!

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 61**

[23 December 1910]

[postcard, with picture and “Fröliche Weihnachten!”]

Mrs. Pearl Johnson

To the whole villa Perolita from its friend and guest

John Henry Mackay

**No. 62**

4 February 1911

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Your plan has not very much surprised me. I congratulate you and I envy you. So you are now in Monte again! If I can I would like very much to come in March and April and stay in some place near you, so that I could have the pleasure to see you.

I am glad to hear that your affairs have come to a satisfactory end.

As to the other contents of your last letter, dear Tucker, I think it the best, we talk the matter over, if we are together again. I always thought, you did not like to talk at all about the subject. But as I see out of your letter – much to my surprise – that you *want* to hear from me more and more particular details of this question, I will be only too glad to give them to you, to show you, that this love is precisely a love like your love, sexual of course, but not *only* sexual, and not a vice or an illness or a crime.

×

Will you do me the favour, to post the enclosed letter there and put a stamp (25 cts.) on it? Will you be so kind too to ask too for a letter with address as given at the enclosed slip of paper at the Post Office at Monte Carlo? And send me the letter?

I hope all of you are well and enjoying the sun and the South, and especially, that Mrs. Johnson will feel, that the sun gives back to her her strength. Best to all of you!

Ever yours

Mackay

**No. 63**

7 February 1911

Dear Tucker,

Will you be kind enough, to post this letter too there at Monte Carlo and put a stamp on it? I am sorry, that I can send you only 2 French stamps, but I hope, you can make use of those.

You would very much oblige me, if you would ask sometimes on the post office there, if there is a letter for the address, I enclose again, and send me the letters.

Many thanks!

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 64**

18 February 1911

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

In the last week I have sent you to the Hotel de l'Europe, Monte Carlo, Monaco *two* letters. Each of these letters contained another letter. I asked, to be kind enough, to post these two letters there. I asked you too, to ask at the post office there for letters for the enclosed address. I have got no answer from you yet.

Please excuse me, making you so much trouble. Excuse me when I ask you once more to go to the post office there and ask for letters.

If there are *none*, please let me know this by a word on a postal card.

I wrote you too, that *perhaps* I am able to stay in spring some weeks near you at the Riviera.

I hope, all of you are well, and you enjoy the most wonderful things, you have got there.

Many thanks! And, please, excuse my impudence in troubling you!

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 65**

22 February 1911

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I got your letter of Febr. 19 and thank you very much for your troubles. Of course, I don't mean, that you should trouble you and *go* to the post office. But if you just pass it and have nothing to do, please stop in and just ask for a letter. They will give you the letters, because they are *not* registered. If nevertheless they should *not* give them to you, please leave them there and let me know.

I am glad to hear, that all of you are well. Don't take it for granted, that I can come to Monte Carlo: it *all* depends on my income, which is very *small* now, and if you don't find a cheap pension for me (8–10 francs a day) I don't come at all.

What do *you* pay?

Many thanks again. Please do ask at the post office once more.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 66**

3 March 1911

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Thank you very much for sending me the letter. I will give back to you all the stamps, when I see you next time.

But when will it be! I fear, it is only a wish, to come to Monte Carlo. Money lacks. That is all, but a good reason. Perhaps I can make it. Perhaps not before autumn. All depends on my income of my books and of the Haus zur Freiheit now. If these incomes don't come, I can't travel.

Fiefield<sup>63</sup> sends me your new series. I am very glad, to see it, very glad indeed.

How good it is, that all of you feel the influence of the sun and the sky, especially Mrs. Johnson, who needs it most.

All good wishes to you, all of you!

Your old friend

Mackay

I am putting the rest of my wealth on "rente-viagère",<sup>64</sup> as you advised me to do.

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63. Here and later Mackay wrote "Fiefield," but this is certainly A. C. Fiefield, publisher of Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* (London, 1912) and Tucker's *State Socialism and Anarchism* (London, 1911).

64. The "rente-viagère" (life annuity) was purchased from Nordstern for 30000 marks. See no. 99.

**No. 67**

12 March 1911

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for your informations. But the question is settled: Stirner<sup>65</sup> goes into print and of course I can't leave Berlin, before everything is done with the utmost care. The call to my subscribers (I asked them to subscribe another copy or to get another subscriber) has been answered pretty satisfactorily and I can dare it. It will become a wonderful book.

I am sorry, but I hope [to see] you surely this year, perhaps in autumn.

Of course I [—] your postscript.<sup>66</sup> It interested me highly and of course I will add it to a new German edition. But till then there have to be sold still many copies of the old one, and everything here goes very, very slowly.

May I trouble you once more in asking for a letter at the post office? Occasionally, of course, if you stop in on your road to your nice Italian restaurant (how much I would enjoy it, could I walk with you and Pearl!). There will be some letters for a "Mon. A. H. [?] Heider [?]" about the 16th or 17th. Please send them to me. And many thanks!

Best to all of you!

Yours

Mackay

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65. Mackay's own edition of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*.

66. Tucker's postscript to *State Socialism and Anarchism*, dated 6 January 1911. See also no. 70.

**No. 68**

18 April 1911

Dear Tucker,

I have so to thank you for sending me the last letter. Best!

So you have decided to stay the summer there. It will be very hot. But then: how beautiful!

I have been with Mrs. Firlie a week at Schreiberhau. Stirner goes into print by and by.

As ever yours

Mackay

Kind regards to all of you.

**No. 69**

22 April 1911

Charlottenburg

Dear Tucker,

I already posted a card to your new address. If you have not got it, it is of no importance: I thanked you for sending me the letter, and hoped you are all right.

Kindest regards to all of you!

Yours

M.

**No. 70**

21 June 1911

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

How are you going on?

Landauer and the Communists attack your “Postscript” to “State-Socialism” furiously. But, of course, you have foreseen that. They call it the bankruptcy of individualistic Anarchism. Of course! Zack is answering them pretty well. [illegible]<sup>67</sup> may translate to you the whole business, if it interests you at all.

Has Landauer paid you [for] the Proudhon books at last?

I am busy. Stirner is in print [i.e., is at the printer]. It will be a fine edition and I hope, not only you will be satisfied with it. It will be ready in about 8 weeks.

Let me have a postal card, telling me, that all of you are well, and enjoying the good days at the Riviera. My best to all!

As ever yours

Mackay

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67. Apparently the illegible name was circled and the letter returned by Tucker, for the following letter, explaining that the name was “Solneman,” is on the same page. The identity of this Solneman is unknown. The pseudonym K. H. Z. Solneman was used by Kurt Zube (1904–1991), author of *Der Bahnbrecher John Henry Mackay: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1979) and secretary of the Mackay-Gesellschaft founded in 1974, but Zube did not meet Mackay until 1926.

**No. 71**

27 June 1911

Dear Tucker,

The word means “Solneman.”<sup>68</sup> Yes, my handwriting is horrible. Glad about the good news, especially those containing Mrs. Johnson. Best again to all of you!

Yours

Mackay

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68. “Solneman” read backwards is “Namenlos” (= Nameless). This recalls Mackay’s statement that his love was “namenlos”:

But how shall I name you, my life’s love?!

Each name that has named you until now has become as term of abuse in the dirty mouth of the vulgar, a misunderstanding in dull minds, which is worse than all insults; and none names you correctly.

You still have no name.

So let me call you—*nameless!*”

John Henry Mackay, *Fenny Skaller and Other Prose Writings from the Books of the Nameless Love*, translated by Hubert Kennedy (Amsterdam: Southernwood Press, 1988), p. 116.

**No. 72**

1 August 1911

[postcard, Haus zur Freiheit with photo, addressed to: Mrs. Pearl Johnson]

Dear Pearl,

I am very much pleased with the photos of Oriole, you kindly sent me: what a difference between these and those I got two years ago from le Vésinet! Thank you very much!

Please tell Ben, that the Stirner will be ready in about 3 weeks. I hope that your mother has quite recovered in the sun of the Riviera, and that all of you enjoy it. My very best regards to you and the others.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 73**

10 August 1911

Berlin

Sehr geehrter Herr,

meiner Zusage gemäss mochte ich Ihnen als einem Subscribenten auf die von mir geplante Privat-Ausgabe von: Max Stirner, Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum – heute die Mittheilung, dass mein Plan sich jetzt verwirklicht hat.

Der Apell an den Egoismus der bisherigen Subscribenten ist es vor Allem gewesen, der bei einem Theil von ihnen einen so erfreulichen Anklang fand, dass ich mich schloss, die Ausführung zu wagen.

Das von Ihnen subscribierte Exemplar wird Ihnen in vierzehn Tage von heute an, also am 24. August d.J., in einem Postpaket zugehen. Sollten Sie es bis dahin nicht vorgezogen haben mir den unten specificirten Betrag einzusenden, erfolgt die Zusendung unter Nachnahme desselben. (Im Auslande wohnende Subscribenten mochte ich zu Erleichterung der Zusendung und Vermeidung der hohen Nachnahmespesen in jedem Falle um vorherige Einsendung bitten.)

Ich brauche wohl nicht zu sagen, dass es für mich von grossem und besonderem Interesse wäre, von Ihnen zu hören, ob meine Ausgabe Ihren Erwartungen entsprochen hat: oder in welcher Weise sie diesen Erwartungen etwa nicht entspricht.

Mit dem nochmaligen Ausdruck meines Dankes für Ihr an dem Zustandekommen meines Planes bewiesenes Interesse bin ich in ausgezeichnete Hochachtung

Ihr ergebener

John Henry Mackay

Sie haben subscribiert: auf 2 Exemplare zu Preise von 20 Mark, so dass der einzusendende Betrag zuzüglich der Kosten der Uebersendung auf 40 Mark 80 Pfg. lautet.

[the following written by hand]

Dear Tucker,

This means, that you will get your 2 copies at August 24 and that you have to pay to me 40 Marks 80 Pf.

I am very sorry for the letter, but I can't help it!

Cordially yours

M.

I wrote a card to Pearl.

\* \* \*

[The following is a translation of the original form letter. HK]

Dear Sir,

As promised, I wish to announce today to you as a subscriber to my planned private edition of Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, that my plan has now been realized.

The appeal to the egoism of the previous subscribers found such a happy echo in the case of part of them that I decided to dare the undertaking.

The copy subscribed by you will go into the mail in fourteen days, i.e., on 24 August of this year, by parcel post. If you have not sent me the specified amount by then, it will be sent C.O.D. (To simplify the shipment and avoid the high costs I would like to ask subscribers living abroad to send their contributions to me ahead of time in any case.)

I probably do not need to say that it would be of great and special interest to me to hear from you whether my edition corresponds to your expectations or does not correspond to them in some way.

With thanks once again for the interest you have shown in the realization of my plan, I am

Respectfully yours,

John Henry Mackay

You have subscribed to 2 copies at a price of 20 marks, so that the amount to send, including the costs of shipment, is 40 marks 80 pfennigs.

**No. 74**

[postmark:] 2 October 19[..]

[postcard, with picture and “Gruss aus Schildhorn, Restaurant Hans Ritzhaupt”]

Mrs. Pearl Johnson

The cards, you kindly sent me, reminded me of a pleasant afternoon, a beautiful place and a charming company. I hope all of you are well. Tell Ben, that I will answer his letter soon.

With best

yours

Mackay



No. 75

23 October 1911

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I don't know, if I can come this year to see you and Pearl at Menton.<sup>69</sup> It all depends now on the sale of Stirner: if I sell some copies, it may be. But it looks very gloomy: everybody finds the book superb, but nobody buys it. In about two weeks the complete edition<sup>70</sup> of my work too will be finished (after a pretty hard summer of labour) and then I am dependent on a small income every year, and the sale of my books and the Stirner. I have no more money to put in new things and will be till the end of my life on a fixed scale. Excuse me to trouble you with these explanations, but they are necessary, that you may understand, how I have to live hereafter. If I can't come this year, *perhaps* next year, but all now is very uncertain. You see, I have quite to live as you do, only more modest.

Have you found a nice Hotel at Menton? Could I get there a quiet room and a pension for about 8 francs the day?

I hope you are all well and Mrs. Johnson, the elder, has profited for her health during the stay at Europe. I take it as granted, that Oriole is prospering.

I could not let my house in Schreiberhau this summer. This too was very bad for me, for I am forced to let it (or to sell it, what is still more difficult). The last years were bad omens. I hope there will be some better ones.

As ever your old friend

Mackay

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69. Menton, on the French Côte d'Azur between Monaco and the Italian border.

70. *Gesammelte Werke*, 8 vols. (Berlin-Treptow: Verlag B. Zack, 1911). See no. 76.

**No. 76**

21 November 1911

Dear Tucker,

Your invitation is very kind and I thank you very much. But how *can* I come? My “Collected Works” in 8 volumes and 5 separate new editions are *quite* ready, and I bring the whole day, because I have everything to do now alone. If I could come, be sure I would do it. But it is simply *impossible*: I *hope* to come *after Xmas*, but it is necessary, to make some money till then.

Why have you dismissed [?] your [—]? I hope you had less trouble, than I have. In haste with thousand good wishes.

Yours

M.

**No. 77**

29 December 1911

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Will you let me know, where you go in the next time?

Of course, I should be pleased, to come and stay with you or near you for some weeks, and I still hope, that I will be able, to do so in February or March. It is just not possible for me now. You will fully understand, that a man can't leave his business, for going on pleasure trips and I have got a business now. I did a good deal of work this year. Besides the Stirner the complete edition of my works and 5 separate new editions. Now we have to do the propaganda, but I hope if this is over too, that I am now free man [?] hence [?].

I have not seen Mrs. Firlie this Xmas. She too was too busy in her theatre.

And how are you? Very well and happy, I think. Are you never go to Monte Carlo?

Oriole will be quite a big thing, I suppose. Is Pearl all right?

Have all good wishes for the coming year!

As ever your old

Mackay

*Nobody* is buying the Stirner: I did not sell a single copy for 5 weeks!



Frau Firlé als Res'l in „Der Herrgottschnitzer von Ammergau“

## Luise Firlé

as Res'l in “Der Herrgottschnitzer von Ammergau” by Ludwig Ganghofer.

**No. 78**

21 February 1912

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Yes, you are right: these books have cost me the last years of labour and a big capital. I have got no more capital now: everything has gone into these books and Stirner, a house<sup>71</sup> and a rente-viagère<sup>72</sup> (as you advised me to do). I have to live upon these incomes, but the worst is, that the books and Stirner don't sell at all.

I am eager to see the new English Stirner. Till now I hoped, to see you still this spring. But now you are going to Toulon, my hope goes. For too difficult to reach for me is Toulon, and too expensive the travelling. But I think it must be a very interesting place. Now, we will see each other without doubt before this year ends.

I have let my house at Schreiberhau for the winter at a very small sum. Now I have to let it too for the peak vacancies [i.e., vacations] in the summer.

I hope you will have a good time at Toulon and then in your Villa Perolita. Let me always know, where you are, please.

A little kiss to Oriole, and hands to you and to Pearl!

Yours

Mackay

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71. See no. 34 (notes).

72. See no. 66 (notes).

**No. 79**

15 March 1912

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

It is *perhaps* possible that I come to Toulon for the last weeks you stay there. But I can't *promise* it. All depends on some sums, which may come in or not.

Will you be kind enough to answer me these questions?

Could I have in your hotel a nice, clean and small room and at what price?

I learn from Baedeker, that your hotel is in the center of the city. Of course, having been now so long at Berlin, I should prefer, to stay outside a big city. Are there rooms near Toulon, quite near, where I could see a little green from the window?

To go to Toulon via Genoa would cost about 90 marks each way. To go there via Genève-Lyon-Marseille *and back* via *Paris* would cost about 200 marks. Of course, it would be very nice (if it suits you) to stay with you till April 15th, and then return via Paris, and stay still a week at Paris itself, having the opportunity, to see you at Le Vésinet sometimes.

Please let me have a short answer. I would be pleased if I could come at last to see you, Pearl and Oriole.

How do you like Toulon? How your hotel?

As ever your

Mackay

**No. 80**

22 March 1912

Dear Tucker,

I am forced to give up Toulon: a paper, which had accepted a little work<sup>73</sup> from me, offered me 60 marks instead of 180, which I expected and wanted; that means 120 less.

I thank you very much for your letter. I now hope, to see you at Paris, in mid or after the mid of May, when Paris is in its glorious state.

Do you already know, where you will stay at Paris? And how long? Of course, not less than 4 weeks? Do you go to Le Vésinet at all in the summer?

Excuse me, that I trouble you so much with all these questions, but be sure, that I had come, if it had been possible for me. Don't forget, that I am no more the independent man I was before, and that everything here is as bad as it can be: for months I did not sell a single copy of Stirner, and the selling of my own works is like nothing (= 0).

I hope you enjoy still Toulon and we will see us at last at Paris!

With best to all of you.

Yours

Mackay

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73. Probably the short story "Die Stimme" (dated: Haus zur Freiheit 1912).

Zack has married again; a Jewish girl. He seems to be in Heaven. But Heaven always comes before Hell.<sup>74</sup>

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74. Zack married Berta Treumann (1891–1966); their daughter Nora was born in 1912. Although Zack’s second wife was Jewish, the couple lived mostly undisturbed during the Nazi period. The house in which they lived was destroyed in 1945, in the last days of World War II, killing Zack. But the house was rebuild shortly after and his widow continued to live there until 1966. See Manfred Herzer, “Max Spohr, Adolf Brand, Bernhard Zack – drei Verleger schwuler Emanzipationsliteratur in der Kaiserzeit”, *Capri* 1991, no. 1, pp. 15–30.

Nora and her husband Charles Alexander translated Mackay’s *Der Freiheitsucher* into English (*The Freedomseeker: The Psychology of a Development*, Freiburg/Br.: Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1983).

**No. 81**

31 March 1912

Dear Tucker,

Be sure that I will do everything I can to meet you at Paris. I intend to leave here on Monday evening, the 15th, and hope to be at Paris at the 16th, in the afternoon. Have you already chosen your hotel at Paris for the first days? Perhaps we could stay in the same one. If so, let me know the name of the hotel. After April 10th I will address you in care of Monroe.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 82**

4 April 1912

Dear Tucker,

My very best thanks for your letter and the new *Stirner*:<sup>75</sup> it is an extremely nice and attractive edition for such a price. I am awaiting the success of this translation in *England* with more eagerness, than that of any other translation.

At April 15th, in the afternoon, I hope to be at Paris. I am still awaiting your answer to my last card. Can I do anything, when I am at Paris, before you arrive?

Cordially yours

Mackay

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75. *The Ego and His Own*, published by A. C. Fifield (London 1912).

**No. 83**

9 April 1912

Dear Tucker,

As it is insufficient if I reach Paris on the 15th or 16th, I have not yet decided, when I start.

In any case, I hope to be at Paris on the 16th, 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Please let me know by a postal card, addressed: Hotel des Colonies, *with which train* you come on the 16th.

A revoir!

Yours

Mackey

**No. 84**

12 May 1912

Dear Tucker,

I am back and look with pleasure on the hours, I could spend with you and Pearl once more.

If you leave Paris let me know where you go. I will stay here till June 15, when I go to my little house.

Zack has sent no more letters.

With all good wishes.

Yours

Mackay

**No. 85**

25 May 1912

[postcard, with picture and “Fröliche Pfingsten”, addressed to: Mrs. Pearl Johnson]

Thank you for your card. I hope you enjoy your days at that beautiful and unique city!  
Let me know, please, where you go.

Kindest regards to all of you.

Your old friend

Mackay

**No. 86**

16 June 1912

[postcard, with picture of Dresden]

Mrs. Pearl Johnson

Kindest regards!

Mackay

[also signed, in her hand:] Luise Firle

**No. 87**

17 August 1912

Dear Tucker,

That must be interesting towns, you have seen, since we left!

Will you tell Pearl, that I wish her a good time in America and a happy return to you.  
Let me know, where you will stay in her absence.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 88**

9 September 1912

[postcard: Haus zur Freiheit with photo]

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for your letter. I am here in my house for a fortnight. *Where are you now?*

I am glad, to hear, that the "Ego" sells well. Next year I hope to be able to subscribe to the paper you mentioned to me.

Best regards!

Yours

Mackay

**No. 89**

7 October 1912

Dear Tucker,

Thank you very much for the picture, you sent me: but where are *you* on it?

I hope, you have found nice quarters at Vence.<sup>76</sup> I remember, what you have told me about.

Of course, you are awaiting Pearl and your little one eagerly. Will Miss P[ickle]<sup>77</sup> be again with you at their return? Nothing new from here.

As ever your old friend

Mackay

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76. A small town west of Nice.

77. See no. 91.

**No. 90**

25 October 1912

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Pearl has sent me an article of Mark Twain,<sup>78</sup> which undoubtedly you have seen too. It is simply *splendid!* I translated it at once. Do you think that I can publish it? I would like to publish it first in a paper, and then make it a pamphlet of our propaganda. No doubt, it will create mention [?] and be the *very best* work for our cause. I am more than thankful to Pearl for sending it to me. I always thought Mark Twain a very free thinker, but I never imagined he would go so deep and so – far!

Another question: the Copyright People at Washington have declined to copyright 4 of my latest editions, namely 1) Stirner, 2) The Anarchists, 3) die Menschen der Ehe, and 4) The Swimmer, without to give yet any reasons, why. What do you think about? Have they a legal right to refuse? It is ridiculous: “The Swimmer”! Why?!

Have you found nice quarters for the winter?

I am very happy to finish the Sagitta-work<sup>79</sup> at last. I wished I had gone over with it.

If I had money and time, I would come to see you. But how could I?

With all good wishes,

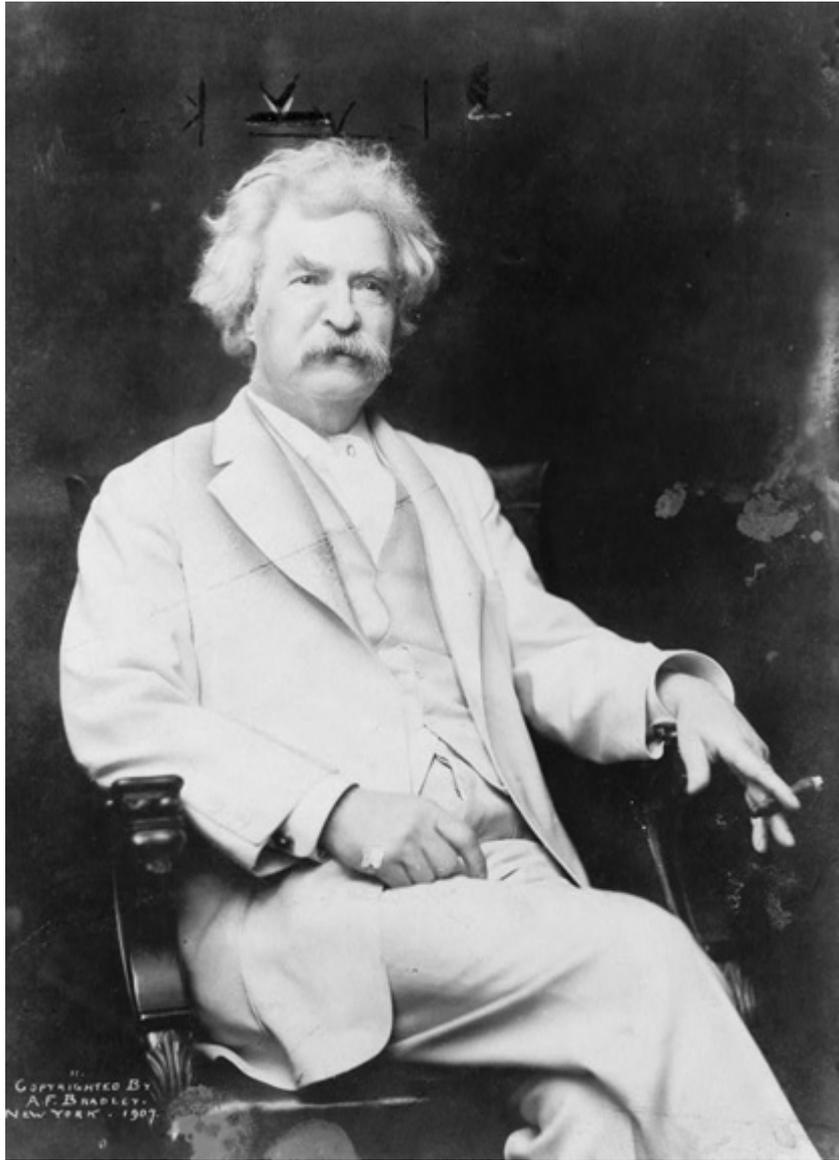
yours

Mackay

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78. Mark Twain, pseudonym of Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835–1910). The article is apparently “What is Man?” See no. 91.

79. *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta* was published in one volume in 1913. See no. 102.



Mark Twain

**No. 91**

19 November 1912

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Thank you very much for your advice: of course I know all about the new discoveries (which *partly* are none, but pretty interesting).

Thank you too for your last letter. But I have some more questions about Twain:

1) Can the book “What is man?” be obtained?<sup>80</sup> (I understand it is oppressed.)

2) Please let me see your letter to the Truth Seeker by all means. If you get only one copy, I will send it back at once to you registered, as soon as I have read it, if you will let me have it for some days.

3) Of course: what the Truth Seeker printed of Twain is only a *short extract*, is it not?

I think you are right, that the copyright affair has nothing to do with the contents of my books (as I first thought).

Glad to hear, you have found nice quarters for the next time. When will Pearl be back? Will Miss Pickle stay with you again? Or someone else?

I am all right and busy with finishing at last the ↗-books.

I am longing for sun and brightness. Happy man, you are, to have both again.

As ever your old friend

Mackay

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80. “What is Man?” (1906) is in *The Complete Essays of Mark Twain*, ed. Charles Neider (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co.), pp. 335–399.

**No. 92**

21 December 1912

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

I hope you have joined Pearl and Oriole and are happy again together!

I should like very much to avoid this long winter for some time. Now, tell me frankly: would it disturb or trouble you, if I could come for some weeks to your place or near to it? Could I find there in a hotel or pension, not too expensive, or rather better a room? I learn from Baedeker, that at Vence is a Hotel [—], pension 8 francs, but my Baedeker is pretty old. I should like to come in the middle of January and stay till the end of February, taking a return ticket for 150 marks to Genova [Genoa]. Perhaps, too, I could stay at [—], being near you. Is there a tramway now from [—] to Vence?

I don't know if I can manage it. But I dreamed of this plan for the last weeks.

I wish you "a happy Xmas" and a good new year. Give my best to Pearl and a little kiss to Oriole.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 93**

6 January 1913

[postcard to: Mon. B. R. Tucker, c/o Mme Veuve Clement, Quartier d'Aspras, Vence]

Dear Tucker,

Have you got that letter, I wrote you about 14 days ago, to Monroe & Co.?

Ever yours

Mackay

**No. 94**

10 January 1913

Dear Tucker,

Thank you very much for your letter, just got. I shall probably come in the first days of February, and am looking forward with great pleasure to the time, being with you. I shall write again.

*Very* sorry, to hear, that you are not on the top of your health! Hope, you will be all right again, when we meet. Best to all!

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 95**

[postmark: 20 January 1913]

Dear Tucker,

Much obliged for your two last letters. I followed your advice, to write to the two hotels. If I *can*, I will come – in the beginning of February. Never mind the dull nights – I will go asleep at 6½! If it is too much sleep for me, I will fly to Monte Carlo or somewhere. First: I want to see you again and Pearl and Oriole.

Will soon write again.

Best to all!

**No. 96**

25 February 1913

Charlottenburg

Dear Tucker,

Are you *very* angry with me?

Yours

Mackay

**No. 97**

20 March 1913

[postcard, addressed: c/o Monroe & Co., Paris]

Dear Tucker,

I did not hear from you since a long time.

Are you at Paris now?

Do you stay there the whole summer (at Le Vésinet?) – Or what are your plans?

Ever yours

Mackay

**No. 98**

8 April 1913

Charlottenburg

Dear Tucker,

Will you tell Pearl, how *very* sorry I am, to hear of the death of her mother. It must be a great consolation for her, that she still saw her last year in America.

The picture of Oriole is beautiful. Thank you very much! How big an [—] she became!

So you will stay perhaps another summer in your house at Le Vésinet! I think, you must be content, to see it again, and enjoy your library.

If you go to Algiers next winter, be sure, that I will come to see you, if I can!

I am finishing now the Sagitta Work. A complete edition, which probably will finish this matter for me; after it I will return to my own books. I will send you a copy, probably about July 1.

Did I write you that I let my house in Schreiberhau for the whole year? I probably will not leave Berlin this summer, except for some weeks, to go somewhere else.

I hope you are all right with your heart now?

With all good regards to Pearl and you, and a kiss for the little one.

Always yours

Mackay

**No. 99**

16 April 1913

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

The name of the Company you ask is “Nordstern”. (It pays the highest rente and absolutely sure, a big business.) Berlin, Wilhelmstrasse. This Company gives to any of its agents or to everyone, who recommends to it a person 1% of the capital. So, if your friend at Nice has the intention, to buy an annuity, he could gain quite a little sum. I did it with Zack and I saved on 30,000 Marks 300 Marks, which otherwise would have gone to agent. If you will recommend him you may do so. If he gives me 1/2% I will do it. Why throw away money for nothing?

I do not know anything about the Canaries and Las Palmas. If Billy is back, I will ask him; seeing him so often, and being with him on such good terms. But if you go there it will not be possible for me to meet you – it is too far and the travelling too expensive. To Algiers I could come – perhaps. Everything in my life is now a “Perhaps.”

Let me know at once, when you have decided, where to spend the summer.

I am very busy.

With all good wishes as ever

yours

Mackay

**No. 100**

25 April 1913

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Why don't *you* do the thing for your friend? *You* are the next to it (having advised him) and you may correspond with the "Nordstern" in English.

But if your friend will leave the thing to me, I will now try, to get out from the Company as much, as ever possible, and then send the whole, I got, to you or to Mr. Péron, and he may then divide the profit, as he likes to do.

I send this letter to Paris. Greeting to the old city, and as well to le Vésinet. Very eager, to hear, where you will stay this summer! Let me know!

Very busy,

Always yours

Mackay

**No. 101**

20 July 1913

Charlottenburg

Dear Tucker,

Thank you for the two numbers of the “Freewoman”.<sup>81</sup> I am going to subscribe. These last months, I was too busy, to think on anything else.

You will get the book in about 10 days.<sup>82</sup> Hope, you are all well!

As ever yours

Mackay

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81. “For nine months, from June 1913 to March 1914, he [Tucker] was a regular contributor to *The New Freewoman* – later *The Egoist* – edited by Dora Marsden and published in London, England.” S. E. Parker, “*The New Freewoman*: Dora Marsden & Benjamin R. Tucker,” in *Benjamin R. Tucker and the Champions of Liberty*, ed. by Michael E. Coughlin, Charles H. Hamilton, and Mark A. Sullivan (St. Paul and New York. Michael E. Coughlin and Mark Sullivan, [1987]), 149–157, esp. 149.

82. *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta*.

**No. 102**

29 July 1913

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

As for myself – poor creature – I am sorry to say, that I am not able to buy books. But if you will send me a catalogue with prices I will do my best, to interest some friends. I am *very* interested in your forthcoming plans. If you spend your winter henceforth in Nice, I think, I could visit you every winter for some weeks; and it fills me with pleasure to think I could.

Where will you be this winter and the time till January 1, 1915? Do you know? Then let me know.

I do not remember Eugene Smith. I saw so many people in such a short time when I visited you in America.

You will get my book<sup>83</sup> in about a week. It is a complete edition and it ends the work on *this* matter for me: the labour and struggle of the last 8 years.

As ever yours

Mackay

---

83. See no. 101 (notes).

**No. 103**

10 August 1913

Dear Tucker,

The edition, I have sent you, did not appear.<sup>84</sup> Therefore: please don't give the copy in any other hand, or show it to anybody.

Best regards!

Yours

Mackay

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84. *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta* was not officially published, hence “did not appear.”

**No. 104**

27 September 1913

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

If you go this winter to Ajaccio, instead to Nice, then it will not be possible for me to meet you. There will be too very little hope to see you next summer at Switzerland, as I wished, with all my heart. But my means are now too small, that I can't think on traveling.

The 100 copies of my book<sup>85</sup> sell so badly, that I still must ask you, to keep your copy absolutely for yourself, till I say you, that you can show it to others. If things go on in this way, it may even last years.

I am trying now to make some money with a "film" of one of my books ("Der Schwimmer.") But I fear again not to succeed with this idea.

I was in Kopenhagen 7 days, 3 ill in bed with an attack of influenza. I have paid the New Free-Woman for half a year – but I have never seen a copy coming from London. These people seem to be very disorderly. What can I do! They don't answer.

I hope you will let your Villa at Le Vésinet. When do you give it up? And when do you go to Nice, as you wrote, to take apartment there? This would be for me the very best way, to see you each winter. For I could come to Nice for 4 weeks and take a room there, instead of going to an hotel.

---

85. Mackay wrote here "100 copies of my book," but it was an edition of 1000 numbered copies.

25 years!<sup>86</sup> Yes, you are right, old friend.

As ever yours

Mackay

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86. The phrase “25 years” probably refers to 25 years of friendship between John Henry Mackay and Benjamin R. Tucker. Contact between them came after Mackay read, during his year in London, *Libertas*, the German-language edition of *Liberty*, the first issue of which was published in March 1888.

**No. 105**

11 October 1913

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Sweet voice of the Syren – no, I *can't* come to Corsica. I must try to make money this winter. Then I can come *perhaps* next winter to Nice, to see you once more.

Thank you for the pamphlet. I have been at Corsica at a time, when hardly nobody visited it: as a child of 4–5

[Something appears to be missing here, between the first and second pages of this letter.]

was there with me. At that time there was no hotel at all in the whole island.

Yes, it is a *film*, which I will try to make out of “Der Schwimmer.” But I fear I will fail again.<sup>87</sup>

I addressed my money order to the New Freewoman, Oakley House, London, W.C., as indicated in No. 3. It is very kind of you, if you will settle the matter.

I was ill in the last weeks: influenza and gout in the same time, and not very agreeable. But I feel slowly better now.

I hope you will all enjoy your winter at Corsica. Let me hear from you soon, please.

As ever yours

Mackay

---

87. The attempt was unsuccessful. “What an artistic, beautiful film could however be produced from it.” John Henry Mackay, *Abrechnung* (1931; reprint, Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1978), p. 86.

**No. 106**

24 March 1914

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Excuse me for answering so late. But there is little to tell of this winter.

*Of course*, you may pay the copies, whenever you like and it suits you, and I will send them to you as soon, as I have brought them out.<sup>88</sup> But I doubt if I will be even able to do so.

I have read the letter of Reclus<sup>89</sup> as well, as the answer of Armand.<sup>90</sup>

What was it, you did *not* like first of Ajaccio?

I have got *at last* the copies of the New Freewoman and I have read your articles with the greatest interest and the old joy I had, when Liberty came! I did not see the Egoist<sup>91</sup> yet. These people did not answer, when I told them, that it was simple untruthfulness in paying, I have not given my address. Alas!

I hope you have a nice apartment at Nice for the future!

As ever yours

Mackay

---

88. This may refer to the Stirner editions mentioned in no. 107.

89. Elisée Reclus (1830–1905).

90. E. Armand (1872–1962), pseudonym of Ernest Lucien Juin, editor of *l'en dehors* (= The Outsider).

91. *The New Freewoman* had changed its name to *The Egoist* by 1914. See no. 101 (notes).



E. Armand



Elisée Reclus

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 107**

24 May 1914

Mittelschreiberhau i.R.  
Haus zur Freiheit

Dear Tucker,

Both your last two letters gave me much pleasure, but I am sorry at the same time, to hear, that all of you are not so well, as I wished, you were.

I congratulate you, that you have decided to stay for the future at Nice, and have found such an extremely nice and, as it seems to me, cheap apartment. Be sure, that I will come soon now – probably still before Xmas, but in any case after Xmas: in February.

I am here for a fortnight. I have not yet let my house. I very much wished to sell it.

The two editions of Stirner<sup>92</sup> are in print. You may expect them in about 2 months.

Let me hear, what your dentist and oculist say; and, of course, you will give me *at once* a line, when Pearl has been operated. Is the little one all right now?

I hope, you will have a fine summer.

As ever yours

Mackay

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92. In 1914 *Max Stirner's Kleinere Schriften und seine Entgegnungen auf die Kritik seines Werkes: "Der Einzige und sein Eigentum"*. *Aus den Jahren 1842–1848*, edited by Mackay, was published in an edition of 1100 by Bernhard Zack's Verlag and in an edition of 100 on special paper by Mackay himself. These may be the "two editions" mentioned; but the third edition of Mackay's biography of Stirner also appeared that year.



Benjamin R. Tucker, with Pearl and Oriole

**No. 108**

7 August 1919

[postcard addressed: Palais St. Maurice, Ave. de Patrimoine, Nice]

Dear Tucker,

I am learning from the papers that postal cards are allowed to France from this day. If this card reaches you, it will bring to you my first greetings after five terrible years!

I am well, still here in my old home.

Let me know at once, how you, Pearl and Oriole are going on.

I will write again and again, till I hear from you.

As ever your old friend

Mackay

**No. 109**

14 August 1919

Second card.

Dear Tucker,

What great joy, to get a line from you, the first since five long years! I wrote already and hope, you have got my card too. I will number my cards – I heard three times from you through H. François,<sup>93</sup> but he is not very accurate, so I did not understand always, what you wrote. I was never ill, except on a very severe attack of “Grippe” last autumn. I lost on the same illness that little woman, you know, who was with me as my housekeeper<sup>94</sup> so many years, a great blow for me. The last winter was exceptionally hard in many respects. Now let me know of you, and Pearl and Oriole.

I will write again and again and always cards.

As ever yours

Mackay

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93. H. François is probably J. H. François (1884–1948), who reviewed the first three *Sagitta* pamphlets in *Den Gulden Winckel* XI/10 (15 October 1912): 149–151. The *Sagitta* books, forbidden in Germany, were sold through his address in The Hague. Mackay traveled through Holland with J. H. François in 1916. See Paul Snijders, “Pijlen van naamloze liefde,” *Sek* 1982, no. 8: 30–31, esp. p. 31, and Hans van Weel and Paul Snijders, “Met trots en zelfbewustheid: Joannes Henri François (1884–1948),” in *Pijlen van Naamloze Liefde: Pioniers van de Homo-Emancipatie*, edited by Hans Hafkamp and Maurice van Lieshout (Amsterdam: SUA, 1988), pp. 110–114.

94. Mackay’s housekeeper is named (Kretschmer) in no. 111.

**No. 110**

1 November 1919

Third card.

Dear Tucker,

I got one card from you and wrote before two. Nothing since a card from you. Wrote: that I am all right, hope the same of you, Pearl and Oriole.

In the last time arise troubles from the Communists, directed, as it seems, too against me.

Schumm wrote a card. I do not understand him. He “greet” the Sowjet Gouvernement in Russia!

Please write again and again! I will do the same, till we get in the old connection.

With many good wishes, my dear old friend.

Yours

Mackay

**No. 111**

18 November 1919

Dear Tucker,

Great joy today: your first letter came to hand. I answer at once. I did not write letters before, because I was told, that postal cards were safer. I try it now.

I see, that you did not get my first two cards. Let me repeat their contents. I wrote, that I am well, that the five last years were pretty hard, the *hardest the last*, that I was very ill on Grippe last November, that I lost on the same illness my old housekeeper Fräulein Kretschmer, who was with me fifteen years. I lost Zack too, but on other grounds, he is still living, but has changed sadly.

In the last time I am troubled with anonymous letters, which warn me against attacks on my person and life. I do not know, from which side they come – from the reactionary, or the communistic. If there are troubles here, I must be very careful.

I have nearly finished the book, which ought to have been ready for many years. If you read it, you will find, that, if even the dozen goes, of which you speak, there will be at least *one, who goes with [you] to the end of our road*. It is my intention, to dedicate the book to you, if you allow it.<sup>95</sup>

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95. *Der Freiheitsucher* (1920).

I got a letter from Schumm, he wrote literally: “I *greet* the Bolschewik Government in Russia.” I did not yet answer him.<sup>96</sup> What answer can I give to this monstrosity! Think of that: an anarchist, who *greet*s a government!

I sell my books now by myself and do all business things. They sell better now, than ever before. If they would not, I had to starve, because everything here is very dear.

It was my dearest wish, to come to you, every winter for some weeks, and the first time in 1914. I do not dare, to hope, that a time will arrive, to fulfill this dream. But if there should be the possibility, I come, to see you once more, till it is too late.

This for today. My very best wishes for you all. Let me have some more news about your life.

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96. Mackay replied to Schumm on 29 February 1920:

Aber ich darf einen Punkt Ihres Briefes nicht unerwähnt lassen, um Sie nicht glauben zu machen, dass ich ihn verstehe oder gar billige. Sie schreiben von Ihrer Befriedigung über die Errichtung der Sowjet Regierung in Russland. Ich lese das und traue meinen Augen nicht! Ein Anarchist, der eine Regierung begrüsst? – und *diese* Regierung, eine der scheusslichsten, deren Fluch je über die Menschheit verhängt wurde! Nein, nie werde ich das verstehen! (Mackay to Schumm, 29 February 1920, Labadie Collection, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan)

The following is a translation of Mackay’s reply to Schumm:

But I may not leave one point of your letter unmentioned, so as not to make you believe that I understand it or agree with it. You write of your satisfaction over the establishment of the Soviet government in Russia. I read this and do not trust my eyes! An anarchist who greets a government? – and *that* government, one of the most terrible whose curse has ever been inflicted on mankind! No, never will I understand that!

If I can, I will have printed my book next year. But the prices for printing and paper are abominable – ten times more, than before. How to get the money!<sup>97</sup>

Write again, old friend!

Ever yours

Mackay

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97. Mackay financed the printing from the sale of his Haus zur Freiheit: “The sale of a small property in the Riesengebirge just sufficed to make possible the printing of two editions. . . .” *Abrechnung* (1932; reprint, Freiburg/Br.: Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1978), p. 93.

**No. 112**

12 January 1920

[postcard with photo: Freienwalde a.O., Partie am Papenteich]

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for letter and photo. Will answer in about a week. Am here for some days at a quiet place.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 113**

22 February 1920

Dear Tucker,

So we have got everything, which we wrote on both sides, and I hope, this will go on without delay.

It makes me sorry, more than I can tell, that your words destroy my last hope, to see you at Nice. The very last is now, that one day it will be possible for me, to go to Italy once more and then meet you perhaps on the Italian side of the Riviera, where you could reach me easily.

Thank you very much for the picture! How much you look like Clemenceau<sup>98</sup> and what a pretty girl has become of that little baby, I saw the last time!

It pains me to speak about Zack. But it must be, that you understand. He has despised my confidence, not in one case, but in many, and one day everything broke. We are still on not unfriendly terms, but he is away from Berlin and I am doing the whole business, regarding my books, alone.

I send you the advertisement of my new book. Of course I never dreamed, to say *in the dedication*<sup>99</sup> something of permission. I only wanted to ask you before privately. The prices for printing and paper here are abominable, and I am not sure yet, if I can fulfill my plan. But you know, what an awful Scotch thick-head I am, and that I never give up a thing, before I do not see the absolute impossibility.

Life here is a burden, the prices for everything go beyond the climax and all people are mad, at least, nearly all.

---

98. Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929), French statesman, called “the Tiger.”

99. Mackay dedicated *Der Freiheitsucher* to Tucker. See no. 115.

Write again, please, and give me some joy with good news from you. Very best to Pearl, Oriole and you!

Ever yours

Mackay

The Anarchists are out of print for more, than a year. Impossible to find a new publisher, though the book sells better, than ever before.

Is there no hope for a new edition of *Instead of a Book*?

**No. 114**

20 May 1920

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I am reading your last letter with one crying and one laughing eye: the left laughing for you and the right crying for me. A cheap edition bound for 10 Marks. Oh dear, the binding *alone* would cost in the cheapest way 10 Marks!

I have to put in my new book about 24000 Marks!

I would have gladly accepted your kind offer. But now there are new laws here, which forbid me, to sell any book abroad for less than the Valuta Difference. So I could give you for 10 dollars only one or two copies, much against my wish and will.

The book is in print [i.e., at the printer]. I hope to get it finished about autumn. If there are no new difficulties.

I have no answer from Schumm yet.

I am so glad to hear good news from you, and how you live there. When I see this partly ridiculous and partly abominable life, we are forced to live here, I wished, I had never become naturalized here,<sup>100</sup> but had remained, what I was. Then I would live now with you or elsewhere, instead in this prison.

Let me have some more good news and give my best regards to Pearl and Oriole.

As ever yours

Mackay

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100. According to Mackay's friend Friedrich Dobe, "when he decided around 1900 to make Berlin his permanent residence, he thought it practical to be naturalized in Germany, for through his birth in Greenock in Scotland he was an Englishman." Friedrich Dobe, *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1997), p. 39. Another reason is suggested in Mackay's open letter to Rudolf Steiner of 15 September 1898 (see next page).

P.S. Milk – if you please, what is that? I think I heard the name before, but I did not see the stuff since years.

\* \* \*

Mackay's open letter to Rudolf Steiner of 15 September 1898 (see note to no. 114) was published in Steiner's *Magazin für Litteratur*, No. 39, 63. Jahrgang (30 September 1898). It begins:

Dringender als je in den letzten Jahren tritt in diesen Tagen die Bitte meiner Freunde an mich heran, gegen die "Taktik der Gewalt" von Neuem Stellung zu nehmen, um meinen Namen nicht zusammengeworfen zu sehen mit jenen "Anarchisten", die—keine Anarchisten, sondern samt und sonders revolutionäre Kommunisten sind. Man macht mich darauf aufmerksam, daß ich Gefahr laufe, im Falle der internationalen Maßregel einer Internierung der "Anarchisten" als Ausländer aus Deutschland verwiesen zu werden.

Translation:

More pressingly in these days than ever in recent years is the request of my friends that I take a renewed position against the "tactic of force" so that my name will not be thrown in together with those "anarchists" who are not anarchists but rather one and all revolutionary communists. They have reminded me that I run the danger, in case of the international measure of an internment of "anarchists," of being expelled from Germany as a foreigner.

Mackay included this letter, along with Steiner's reply in the preface to his translation of Tucker's *Are Anarchists Murderers?*, published in 1899 as the fourth pamphlet in his series "Propaganda des individualistischen Anarchismus in deutscher Sprache."

**No. 115**

5 November 1920

Dear Tucker,

I was never so sorry, that you can't read German, than now. But I hope, you will at least understand the Dedication of the book, I sent to you and the lines of the preface, in which I talk of you.

Take the book as a *small* tribute of gratitude for *so much* you have given to me!

Did you get my last letter? I did not hear from you a long time. Let me have some words now.

As ever your old friend

John Henry Mackay

\* \* \*

Mackay wrote in the dedication of *Der Freiheitsucher*:

Benj. R. Tucker widme ich meine beiden Bücher der Freiheit, nachträglich das erste und dieses zweite heute, nach dreißig Jahren, in der Freundschaft eines Lebens.

In the preface he wrote:

Ich stelle diesem Buche – und zugleich, was ich damals nicht wagte, nachträglich seinem Vorgänger – den Namen eines Mannes voran, der in einem langen und unvergleichlichen Leben voll Mut, Tatkraft und Ausdauer mehr für die Sache der Freiheit getan hat, als irgendein Lebender; einen Namen, der, statt heute über die Welt hin genannt und gefeiert zu sein, von den verhältnismäßig so wenigen erst gekannt und geliebt ist, deren bester Trost es immer noch sein muß, daß in der unermeßlichen Dummheit und schrankenlosen Brutalität ringsumher es überhaupt noch Menschen gibt, wie den, der ihn trägt.

As given in John Henry Mackay, *The Freedomseeker: The Psychology of a Development*, translated from the German by Charles and Nora Alexander (Freiburg/Br.: Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1983), pp. 6, 9:

To Benj. R. Tucker – I dedicate my two Books of Freedom, the first belatedly and now, after thirty years, this, the second, with all the friendship of a lifetime.

...

At the front of this book – as I did not dare to do with its predecessor thirty years ago – I have placed a dedication to a man who in a long and incomparable life, notable for its courage, energy and staying power, has done more for the cause of Freedom than any other living person; a man whose name, instead of being known and feted all over the world of today, is only known to and loved by a comparative few whose comfort must still be that in the midst of so much stupidity and brutality there are people like the man who bears this name.

**No. 116**

1 December 1920

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I am glad to hear, you like the appearance of my book and hope to hear some day, that you are not unsatisfied with the contents too, perhaps, if it is translated into English.

You can have as many copies, as you like, for 50 Marks, and 10 Marks for outlays (tribute to the State and Postage).

Now another thing. You advised me, not to come to Nice. But suppose, I come, early in January, to the frontier, let us say, to Bordighera, to see you, would you come over, to see me? Let me have your answer soon, for going to Italy, means today, going to the *Nordpol* [= North Pole].

I have to tell you ten volumes, each containing about 900 pages. So I better not begin, to write, but hope, to see you soon.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 117**

2 December 1920

[postcard, addressed: c/o Carlone & Co., Nice]

Dear Tucker,

I forgot, to give you in my letter of yesterday the translation you want. It reads something like this: ... that there are people at all, like him, who bears it (...the name).<sup>101</sup>

But as my English is so bad, I asked Schumm, to send you a translation of the whole passage.

Cordially yours

Mackay

---

101. Mackay's translation of the passage in the preface to *Der Freiheitsucher* referring to Tucker. See no. 115.

**No. 118**

4 January 1921

Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

I am sorry to hear about your ear trouble and hope it will take a long, very long time, before you feel it getting worse.

I am living since years almost vegetarian and a most simple life. The attack did not repeat yet. Kissingen<sup>102</sup> did me good.

I thank you for the 8 dollars. But the dollar has fallen and I do not get 2000 Marks, as you think, but today “only” about 750 Marks for it. I still wait with changing.

I do not think I can print the pamphlet. The printing costs have *again* raised 50%, paper beyond any limit of possibility. But I gave a part of my library to an auction. Perhaps I can make it possible to fulfill my wish to see printed your work once more in a definite German form,<sup>103</sup> by what I get out of the auction.

It is a little sad to think, that it was only necessary, that in the whole U. S. would be bought for *ten* dollars regularly each month of my books (real value: 50–100 dollars) to overcome all trouble. But nobody in America of all the old friends there realize this. Swartz does what he can. But he knows apparently only English comrades and the few copies he can order help little. And Schumm – I don’t understand it! – to whom I write a long letter, does not even *answer*!

They all don’t understand our situation here, which gets worse every day. (This letter costs *four* marks to post. I henceforth can write only postal cards to you and you must excuse.)

---

102. Kissingen, or Bad Kissingen, a hot-springs resort in Bavaria, on the Franconian Saale. Its waters are supposed to be good for the liver, gallbladder, etc.

103. Tucker’s *State Socialism and Anarchism* was published in German in 1895 as the first in Mackay’s series of “Propaganda des individualistischen Anarchismus in deutscher Sprache.” See no. 132.

Of course there is not the least hope in traveling this year abroad. My trip last year was the last over the frontiers. German money gets worse and soon we will have the same situation as Austria.

The remaining copies of my books are nearly sold and I don't find a new publisher. The *Anarchists* are out of print since three years. Nobody wants them.

But enough of these things.

Give my best to Pearl and Oriole and believe me, dear old friend

ever yours

Mackay

If I can't print the pamphlet I will send you back your check. In the meantime I keep it here.

PROPAGANDA DES INDIVIDUALISTISCHEN  
ANARCHISMUS IN DEUTSCHER SPRACHE  
BEGRÜNDET UND GELEITET VON JOHN HENRY MACKAY

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# STAATSSOZIALISMUS UND ANARCHISMUS

INWIEWEIT SIE ÜBEREINSTIMMEN UND  
WORIN SIE SICH UNTERSCHIEDEN

VON

BENJ. R. TUCKER

DEUTSCH VON GEORGE SCHUMM

NEUE AUSGABE  
MIT EINEM NACHWORT

7.—16. TAUSEND

PREIS 2 MARK

TREPTOW BEI BERLIN  
BERNHARD ZACK'S VERLAG

1922

**No. 119**

20 February 1921

Dear Tucker,

My bank firm, one of the greatest here, tells me, that it can easily handle a check to New York, if you send one to me. It says, the simplest would be, you buy there five dollars and send them. But as you like. It says too, it wonders, that your banker there can't send a check, as it gets those from France every day.

I thought, that I could come in January to Italy and some place there, near to Nice. Now I don't think, I can come at all. I have made a contract with a translator of my new book in Holland. He ought to pay me 300 Gulden, that means about 7000 marks. For this money I intended, to go over the frontier, to see you once more. But now it turns out, that the man is something like a fraud, who did not pay and probably never will! So all good hopes vanish and I have to stay here, for my book sells very, very slow. And life here is expensive beyond all, you perhaps think.

I am very glad to hear you are about to overcome these troubles with your liver and hope you feel better. I am in constant battle with my old friend, the gout. Sometimes he is stronger, than I, and then I have to suffer.

You make me very curious about what you are so busy. Is it a secret, what you do, or can you tell me a little about it?

With all good wishes, dear Tucker,

ever yours

John Henry Mackay

**No. 120**

16 March 1921

Dear Tucker,

If you knew, how much pleasure your last letter gave me, you would never repent, having written!

The books are sent and the letters copied and sent too.

I thank you heartily for your most kind and generous offer. But I can't accept it. You need your money yourselves. I think, I can make it possible now, to come without your help. I hope to be at the Riviera at the end of April. Now begin here the troubles to get permissions and the passport.

The name of that man at Amsterdam is Anthon Bakels. May be, he is not a fraud, but he is an absolutely untrustful person.

You say, it will be easy to avoid gout. I don't think so, because all doctors contradict each other, and not two say the same. Two instances: my doctor here, a Berlin capacity,<sup>104</sup> allows me weak tea, and the yellow of the egg. The famous book of Dr. Haig<sup>105</sup> of London tells me, that tea, the weak too, is the greatest poison, and that only the white of the egg must be taken. To whom shall the poor *goutist* believe? Oh misery!!!

Thank you once more for your letter. I read it again, smile, laugh and am enjoyed.

A revoir, dear friend! I will write again soon.

Ever yours

Mackay

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104. Kapazität = authority.

105. Dr. Alexander Haig (1853–1924), London, author of books on health, including *Diet and Food* (6th ed., 1906).

**No. 121**

19 March 1921

Dear Tucker,

Please sign this letter and send it back to me at once. I need it, to get a passport for Italy.

I wrote yesterday another letter to you, which will be probably in your hands.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 122**

10 April 1921

Dear Tucker,

I am parting on Tuesday for Milano, where I stay a day or two, because I have some business there to do. I hope to be at the Ponente,<sup>106</sup> near Bordighera or San Remo, at Porto Maurizio or Oneglia,<sup>107</sup> about the 16 or 17th (on your birthday!) Please write at once to *Bordighera, poste restante, where and when we can meet*. If it is possible for me to cross the French frontier, I think it will be the best, if I come over to Nice for some days, in order, to avoid you from going to the Italian side. In either case I leave the decision fully to you and am awaiting your answer eagerly and joyfully.

As ever yours

Mackay

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106. Riviera di Ponente, the Mediterranean coastland of Italy between Genoa and the French border.

107. In 1923 Porto Maurizio, Oneglia, and several villages were united to form Imperia.

**No. 123**

15 April 1921

Milano

Dear Tucker,

As I can't be at the Ponente before Monday, I send you my heartiest wishes for your birthday before. At Monday I hope to find at *Bordighera*, poste restante, your answer, what I shall do.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 124**

18 April 1921

Bordighera

Dear Tucker,

I received your letter this morning and went at once to Ventimiglia, to get permission to enter France. It was *absolutely declined*. All reasons I gave were not heard at all. I am convinced, from all, I hear here, that it is absolutely useless to try again and on other ways, for there are none.

Of course, this was terrible news for me! – what now?

Everybody here tells me, that it is *impossible* for a German, to enter France now; but everybody tells me too, that it is an easy thing for an American, who lives at France, to enter Italy. *I don't say this, to influence you in the least*. I know very well, that, if you say something, you have the best reasons, to say so, *and I respect those reasons. without knowing them*.

But if there is any hope, that we can see us, then *telegraph at once: Bordighera, Hotel Terminus*.

In this case I hope to get your answer tomorrow, for I hope, this letter will be in your hands tomorrow morning. If I don't get a telegram tomorrow I expect a letter from you on Wednesday. If all hope has gone I am parting at once for Florence and back to Germany.

You will receive on your address one or two thick letters for me. Please put them in another strong envelope and send them to: Firenze, Italie, poste-restante, recommandé. Excuse the trouble I make you.

A sentence in your letter shows me, that this unforeseen accident, I never dreamed of, is not *quite* so unforeseen by you. So you will be the less disappointed of us.

For I, I am very, very sorry. No, I am more than sorry!

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 125**

19 April 1921. Evening

Bordighera, Hotel Terminus

Dear Tucker,

At last I have found out a way, where we can see us for an hour or two, *without needing a passport, neither you nor I!*

You do this:

Take the morning train at 7:57 for Menton. Arrive at Menton at 9:35. Take the tramway to [—], till to the end. Walk about 10 or 15 minutes to the frontier: the bridge St. Louis.

You can overstep the bridge into Italy for some distance, without *needing a passport* or *without being asked by anybody*. Many people do that every day “just to have been in Italy.”

*I do this:*

I go in the morning to Ventimiglia and take there the auto-omnibus, at 10:30, which leads me in about half an hour to the same bridge St. Louis, till to the French frontier. I can't overstep the frontier.

We will meet at the bridge about eleven (11) o'clock. We can stay together as long as you like. Probably the Italian “douanier” will even allow us, or better you, to walk to a little inn, which is about 10 minutes walk in Italy. You can be back at Nice at 4:50 in the afternoon of the same day.

I hope this will suit you. I am assured not by one, but by several trustful people here, that this plan can be carried out *without the least trouble, neither for you or me*. But I must ask you to *come on Friday*, but at this reason:

I was not allowed to take with me more than 1000 lire. By the German authorities. Traveling is much more expensive in Italy now, [than] I thought. I am awaiting new money at Florence. To stay much longer here would bring me soon to the end of my 1000 lire.

So if you may and can, bring with you 300 or 500 francs, and lend them to me for about one or two weeks. After two weeks you will have them back from Florence. But if you can't do it, it does not matter. I will reach Florence in spite and can await there my money from Germany. It is only to be more independent on my way there.

Now, my dear friend, I am more than glad, to have found out a way, to see you at least for a short, a very short time. If you agree with my plan, and I hope you will, *telegraph at once* to Hotel Terminus, Bordighera, "yes" and *I will meet you on Friday*, as said.

Ever yours

Mackay

**No. 126**

20 April 1921 – evening

Dear Tucker,

I forgot to tell you last night, that I tried yesterday to telephone with Carlone. In vain. I could not make them understand, that I wanted to speak with you this morning. They did not understand me and I did not understand them. *If there are letters for me, please bring them over on Friday.*

A revoir!

Yours

Mackay

**No. 127**

22 April 1921, 10 a.m.

Bordighera

Dear Tucker,

Without any answer from you to the letter, which must be at your hands on yesterday morning, I can only imagine, that my plan of meeting at the frontier does not find you appreciative, and I am ending this useless and enervating waiting here by going today to Genova and further on to Firenze.

There I am awaiting your answer. If you can tell me, why you objected to a meeting at the frontier, for, of course, I am much interested to hear your reasons.

All this changing of plans by unforeseen events, the waiting here at the very expensive Bordighera H. will bring me pretty near to the end of the 1000 lire, which I was allowed to bring over. You kindly offered me 300 francs. I told you that I could not accept your kind and generous offer. But if – under these circumstances – you will *lend* them to me for a short time, I will accept them, and will send them back to you, as soon, as new money from Germany arrives. Please send them, but by mandet-post, I suppose, to *Firenze*, Italia, post-restante, and then, if you can, send it soon, if possible, tomorrow.

You will receive for me too at least two big letters containing my mail of the last week. Please send them to the same address and kindly excuse the trouble. But all this was absolutely unforeseen by me.

The days here were nearly always stormy, cold and windy. I came from a German spring into an Italian winter. Now I am looking out for a kinder climate (of course I say this by joking, for I know, there is winter everywhere now, and snow at Milan).

Goodbye, dear Tucker. This was an unexpected blow of fate, and a pretty hard one for me! Give my best regards to Pearl and to Oriole.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 128**

28 April 1921

Firenze, poste-restante

Dear Tucker,

I received your letter, the big letter containing your lines [?] and the mandet-post [?] of 300 fr. = 450 lire and thank you very much for all of it.

I will send you back the money as soon as I get money from Germany (ordered now 12 days ago) or, if this is not enough, I will give order at once to Berlin to the bank, to send a check to Carlone Co. on your name. But this will take about 2 or even 3 weeks. Can you wait so long?

Now for our cause.

I posted that *second* letter from Bordighera on *Tuesday* night, in the box “Ventimiglia” at the station, and was convinced, that it *must* be in your hands *latest Thursday morning*, so that you had time enough to decide for Friday. But I was mistaken and the letter travelled not two, but three whole days from Bordighera to Nice. What a little consoles me is, that you in no case whatever had “gone over the bridge.” We could have seen us only for a very short time, perhaps only for some minutes, even not being able to shake hands, and in some respects I think it is better so. It would be very hard and cruel.

I too hope, that one day circumstances will be luckier. But I am not sure. After very hard and poor years during the war I was a little better up the last two, and was able to lay back some thousand marks (the last ones!) for this travel. If I am back in Germany I have not a single penny left, and must live, what we call “from hand to mouth,” i.e. by selling my books.

The worst is, I can’t find a new publisher for new editions. The “Anarchists” are out of print for 2 years and 12 publishers have declined: the cost of paper and printing are too high. (For my last book about 28,000 [25,000?] Marks!) So I don’t know, if I shall ever be able to get again the cost of traveling. Italy is more, much more expensive as it was, nearly as expensive as Germany, and the Riviera Ponente is still more dear.

But don't let us lose hope!

I have a lot of things to talk over with you. Between others I was to "interview" you (very sharp!), for I want to write, not your biography, but at least a sketch of your life and doings. Then about a new German edition of "State Socialism and Anarchism." And so on. 1234 things... All this must be postponed!

And now, my dear friend, *excuse a thousand times all the trouble*, you had, with these telegrams, money and letters, which disturbed you from morning to evening at least for 3 days. But you see, the matter was a very trying one.

Tell Pearl, how *exceedingly* sorry I am, not having seen her and Oriole, the little Oriole of Le Vésinet! – which was sure a shy little thing then and must be now a strong and healthy young lady!

I will stay here a little while. After some horrible nights in dreadful "Hotels" (all filled to the top) I have found a room in a German Pension, quiet [?] and nice and cheap, and I am going to think over the adventures of the last two weeks again, and how curious life is and its ways.

Let me have a card to Florence, poste-restante.

Thanks and goodbye!

As ever yours

Mackay

I thought Wilson<sup>108</sup> rather a stupid idealist, than a coward. But I know but little of the man. I am woosy [?], am I not? But, of course, the "Emperor"<sup>109</sup> is the worst of all. But he is mad.

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108. Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), president of the United States (1913–1921).

109. Wilhelm II (1859–1941), German emperor and king of Prussia (1888–1918).

**No. 129**

22 May 1921

Riva sul Garda

Dear Tucker,

After 2 weeks at Florence and 1 week at Venice I am here, ready to go back to Germany the day after tomorrow.

As soon as I have got at Florence the 300 francs, you kindly lent me, I gave order to Berlin, to pay them back to your order of Carlone and Co. through the [—] Bank of Berlin. I hope you have got them; if not you will get them every day. All takes a long time to settle.

At Milan I visited a man, who wanted to translate three of my books in the Italian. He was sick then, but he came to Florence to see me. He is an extremely nice and clever young fellow, with name Marnoni [?]; he paid me at once 1000 lire for one edition of 2000 copies of the “Anarchists”.<sup>110</sup> He wants too to translate “Instead of a book” (partly) into the Italian. I gave him your address; he will write to you.

I got a letter from Swartz, but hear nothing from Schumm since a long time.

Now I will be back

[Incomplete]

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110. *Gli anarchici, Quadro della fine del XIX secolo*. First Italian edition, translated by P. Flori. Milano: Casa editrice sociale [1921].

**No. 130**

23 May 1921

Riva sul Garda

Dear Tucker,

I posted a letter to you yesterday and received yours of May 13 today.

As I told you, I gave order to the [—] Bank at Berlin to pay to Carlone & Co. 300 francs for you, so you will get francs. Thank you once more!

I am very proud on your opinion in regard telling your life and work. But I am sure, that there are others, who would do it much better, than I. Nevertheless, if you will be kind enough, to fix in some idle hour *all dates* and *all facts*, you want to have mentioned in a sketch of your life, you would do me a great favour. If you don't wish to do it or find no time, I will write down all I know, and then send the list to you, that you may correct, revise and complete it. But I can't do this before next winter, for I shall be busy this summer with a catalogue of my library at Berlin.

It is amusing, that the Bedford Standard<sup>111</sup> is the first paper, which has reviewed my book.<sup>112</sup> I did not see the paper, so be kind enough, to send it to Berlin. I will send it back at once, if you want to have it back.

Another little thing, which will amuse you. Between the ten or twelve stupid English and French novels in the reading-

[Incomplete]

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111. *New Bedford Standard* (New Bedford, Mass.)

112. *Der Freiheitsucher* (1920).

**No. 131**

8 August 1921

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

It is a good time, since I heard from you and I would be pleased to get a postal card occasionally. You got your money back all right?

Our summer here is hot.

I am corresponding with Swartz at Los Angeles. He and Cohen will try to introduce the first edition in the U. S.

Best to all!

Ever yours

Mackay

**No. 132**

1 December 1921

Dear Tucker,

I hope you have recovered from your catarrh, and Oriole and Pearl also. I was very sick this summer. Then four weeks at Kissingen, our German Karlsbad, which did good to me. The awful attack of gallstones has not come again till now, but, of course, will appear some day again.

I wished, you would find some one, who could translate the enclosed sheet for you word by word. I sent it out two weeks ago and have today about 2000 copies subscribed, but, of course, I must have many more, for the expenses for printing and paper go here beyond any limit. If you can spare some francs for your work in German, it would be a helping. I intend to make this edition *as good and perfect as even possible*, then edit it and have it stereotyped, and then sell one edition after the other, as long, as I live, and no more pamphlets, only this one.<sup>113</sup>

For this purpose I revise the translation of Schumm. And ask you to answer this question at once: has he left out *with your approval* the fifteen lines on page 19 of the London sixth edition, or not? Why shall they fail? Have you any special wishes for my edition? Please name them. (Of course, your appendix will be added.)

Our situation here becomes worse and worse every day, and we don't know, how to live. I wrote to Schumm, if he could not find a translator for my new book in America. I would give away the right for 50 dollars, and more than glad, to get them. I don't understand, why the friends in America don't sell more copies. They get the book now for about 15 cents, and they can sell it for one dollar with good profit. But nobody wants it. Swartz has ordered about 10 copies. But that is all. I am very much disappointed.

Yes, I know Gesell<sup>114</sup> by name. A good deal of his adherents are readers of my book. Good people, but not very strong minds. Free money means for them, a money, which is

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113. Tucker's *State Socialism and Anarchism*.

114. Silvio Gesell (1862–1930) emphasized the velocity of money circulation and advocated stamped paper currency as a medium of exchange.

the only valid, and which loses its value by the time. And free land means land, which belongs, not to the individual, but to somebody else (community). Nous ne verrons pas!<sup>115</sup>

Goodbye, dear Tucker, I hope, you are well!

Ever yours

Mackay

Please excuse the many faults. I am writing in a cold room with cold fingers.



Silvio Gesell

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115. Literally: We shall not see.

**No. 133**

2 January 1922

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Again I have got from several printing offices the calculations. Since last year the prices have *again* raised 50%. Paper can hardly be had and only on extravagant prices. I still lack about 5000 copies to be subscribed, before I can dare to begin. The friends in Germany have subscribed about 3500 copies, but from America, there is no answer yet.

I will try again and again, perhaps to find a cheaper printer and an occasion, to get paper.

Schumm has written at last a postal card with hearty congratulations, but without answering a single question of my last letter. I don't understand him anymore. I told him how important his answers would be for me. He apparently thinks, that for a drowning man a gratulation is a better help, than a rope.

Now my last hope is, to find in America at least the ten people, I told you of.

I must trouble you again: would you be kind enough, to put the abominable English of the enclosed sheet into a good one? And send it back to me *at once*. For, as the dollar falls every day, every day is of great importance for me. And then: could you give me some addresses in America, which would suit my purpose, to purchase for a dollar each month of my books?

With best thanks,

your old friend

Mackay

**No. 134**

25 February 1922

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Thank you very much for your letters of Jan. 24 and Febr. 2.

I am glad to hear that your catarrh is better.

I have made a mistake: I had 5 dollars of Swartz and 8 of you. For the five were offered me at that time 750 M. and for your 8 1200 Marks. I confused the two sums. Please excuse the error.

I have now decided, to print the pamphlet, as long it is still possible. It is in print. I thank you for your offer, to help still more. But I will not accept it and take more out of you, than these 8 dollars, which I have now changed for 1582 Marks. I gave the printing to one of the greatest offices in Germany, because I will have this edition as good as even possible. Of course the paper can't be very good, for the prices are horrible. I will print 10000 copies. I am very sorry about what you are writing regarding the little number of comrades left in America. But your seed has sown and that day will come, when it grows up.

I have got at last a letter from Schumm. What he writes about my new book I will never understand. But he writes very kind; knows a man, with name Maisel; thinks he will help; tells me, to write to this man, and gives no address! For himself he sends ten dollars and for the ten dollars books of mine. I don't doubt, that I will find my *ten*, though it will take time and trouble, to get them. Thank you for your English version. But in one point you have misunderstood me; if I would give away for one dollar one copy of all my books, I would soon be at an end and could starve. My only hope is, to sell, what I still have in stock, by and by and so to overcome the next years.

And now to your last question, which has deeply moved me. For I know why you ask. But, my dear old friend, no man in the world can help me, except by buying my books, for I never would and never could accept any other help. If it comes to that point, then it

is at an end. For independence in a very small, but there [in] absolute degree, was the meaning of my life. And without it I will not live.

Of course I will give you nevertheless all the informations you want to know, but in my next letter. This one has become long enough.

As soon as your pamphlet is out of [the] print [shop], I send you two copies.

I gave the enclosed this form. I wrote to Labadie,<sup>116</sup> to Swartz and to a German in New Kensington.

With hearty wishes for all of you

ever yours

Mackay

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116. Joseph A. Labadie (1850–1933), a figure in Detroit labor and radical activities, regular writer for Tucker's *Liberty*, and founder of the collection of printed and manuscript materials housed in the Library of the University of Michigan under his name.



Joseph A. Labadie

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan

**No. 135**

5 July 1922

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for your letter of June 5 and the twelve dollars, they are now in change and I will get for them 87.65 marks. Please let me know what I have to send and where.

Swartz and Cohen work admirably and infatigably for my interests, to find buyers for my books, and Schumm too now is doing what he can. I am thankful for so much kind help, and glad, to see, that everybody seems content, even pleased, with what he gets for his dollars.

Yes, the princely income would be all right, but in the six years of war I would have got *nothing* at all from the American insurance co., and had to live still more miserable, as I did.

But now I must tell you of the great plan I have: to found a society, a G.m.b.H., as we call it, to edit my books. Please read the sheets, I enclose, and then send them back to me. And, of course, if you know a wise capitalist, who will invest 500 or thousand dollars in this job, then tell him to do it at once, and he will ever be grateful to you for your advice.

My best to all!

Your old friend

Mackay

August 12.

Please excuse the delay. But: first, your check had to send to America, for assuring, that it was good, and did not come back to the bank, before August 9. Then: the English translation took more time, than we thought, and has just finished.

The prices here raise rapidly. Nobody knows, what is coming.

**No. 136**

25 August 1922

Berlin

My dear Tucker,

Thank you for your letter of August 20, and excuse once more the late acknowledgement of your check. I misunderstood you. But these checks were never, as far as I know, inhibited by the German government. At least I got them all – from you from America.

The day before yesterday I changed ten dollars, sent by Swartz, the kind and indefatigable friend at Los Angeles, and got 1260 marks for the dollar. Last night the dollar has raised to 2000 marks!!! And sure; your dollar is our standard of value! For everything. You hear it everywhere: if you go to the shop, they tell you: Yes, the butter is now 228 marks the pound, *because* the dollar is today so high.

I have done ahead what you advised me to do – to buy food, which can be preserved. For, of course, it is madness to keep money today, if you don't know, what it is worth tomorrow.

Everybody of my friends here is in despair. But I keep tranquil. If I am in *real* need, then I will ask you, to send me the other ten dollars, you so kindly subscribed. But not before that.

But, please, let me know, what I have to send. I can't accept money for nothing.

Now my thanks for the likenesses. I am *very* pleased with them, with yours as well, as with *big* Oriole.

In September I will go to Kissingen. I can live there *cheaper* than here.

Best greetings to all!

Your old friend

Mackay

**No. 137**

1 November 1922

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Thank you very much for your letter to the Bedford paper. Of course, it interested me highly, and I wonder if there is any person here in Germany, which deals [i.e., shares] your opinion, except me.

I hope you got my last letter. In the meantime, the plan of the incorporation has utterly failed, as I feared. I have got now another plan,<sup>117</sup> about which the enclosed sheet tells you more, if you can find there someone, who gives you an idea of its contents (but I am sure, you will read it easily yourself!)

Things here become worse every day. But of what use to complain. Fighting with the day is much better.

Hope you all are well!

Your old friend and comrade

Mackay

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117. See no. 138 (notes).

**No. 138**

4 February 1923

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

It is a very long time, since I heard from you. At least it seems so to me. Did you get my last letter?

I hope you are well. Here the situation grows worse and worse every day. The prices rise rapidly. The buying of books has ceased, because nobody can pay the prices. In America, where Swartz and Cohen have done for me, what I shall never be able, to praise enough, the few have now my books and the others have stopped, and still, it is my last hope, to sell here and there a book *abroad*. For *our* money has lost its value.

The plan of a G.m.b.H. has utterly failed and is given up. And the other plan of a *Society*<sup>118</sup> for distributing my books has been without any success.

I tried to get subscribers for a new edition of the books, you know of.<sup>119</sup> But printing, paper and binding would cost today *eleven million* marks!!!

People here are more stupid and madder than ever before. They talk of a new war. They talk and talk – and they don't know what they are doing. In the meantime, the inevitable end comes nearer and nearer.

Now, dear Tucker, these are not very agreeable news. But what else could I tell you!

I hope to get from you better news, and soon, before the frontiers may again be closed for a long time.

I am not yet in direct need. We stop still one hole with the other. As we say here.

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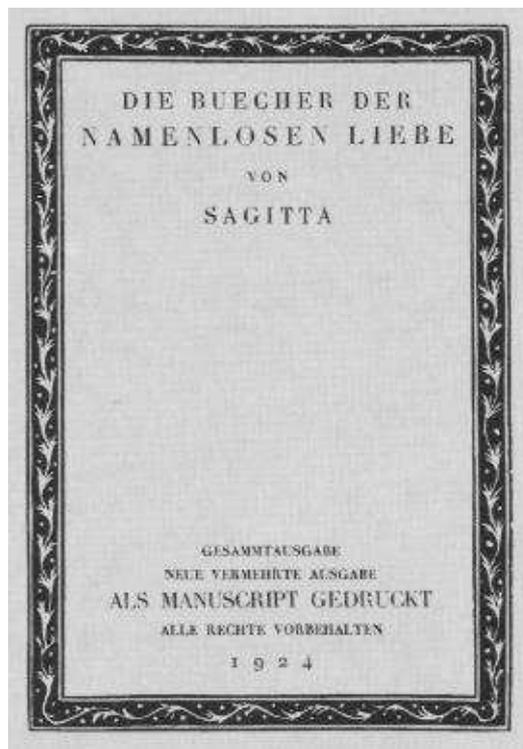
118. Probably the Vereinigung der Stirner-Freunde mentioned by Friedrich Dobe in *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), pp. 82–83.

119. The second edition of Mackay's *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta* was published in 1924. See no. 140.

Give my best to Pearl and Oriole.

As ever your old friend

Mackay



**No. 139**

28 April 1923

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I was glad to get your letter, but sorry to hear, that you have been ill. Sure, you will be careful.

Thank you for the check of 12 dollars. But you ought to tell me, what I shall send for the money. I can't accept 24 dollars from you for nothing.

I too do not think, that the frontiers will be shut up again. But in regard of the stupidities of German government I fear the worst is possible. It makes one after the other, and we have to pay for them. There is not one man of ability and honesty.

I have decided, to sell my labour on *Stirner* and the parts of my library, which belong to it, and am corresponding with Mencken<sup>120</sup> and the New York Public Library. I must get out of all these troubles for the rest of my life, and be able, to print books, which are out of print for years. Of course, it is a *dreadful hard task* for me, but it must be. I asked a price of 7500 dollars.

If you have another library in America, which is in question, please name it to me, and soon. For of course I don't know, if the New York Library accepts.

Sometimes my longing to go abroad and to see you again, is very strong. And there is no hope. Not one.

I would be pleased, to hear, that you are all right.

With best to all of you

yours

Mackay

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120. H. L. Mencken advised Mackay to contact the Library of Congress and the Germanic Museum of Harvard University. Mackay to Schumm, 11 September 1923, Labadie Collection, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

**No. 140**

13 April 1924

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I was ever so glad, to hear from you after such a long time. For some weeks ago I had a letter from Schumm, alarming me with news about your health, which are, as I now see, exaggerated.

It is very, very kind, that you will help me. If there is a man in the world, of whom I would accept it, it is you. But it is not needed. The last years, especially the last winter, was very hard indeed, but since we have the *Rentenmark*,<sup>121</sup> things *seem* to become a little better. Besides there will be at least a new edition of *The Anarchists* and also one of *Sagitta* (because the printer gives me credit). If you find a trustful person, which understands German, he may translate to you the enclosed papers (if Oriole can't!)

If this reaches you you are seventy. And once more I give you my hands in the old, old friendship. You know what I wish for you and I don't need to tell.

I hope Pearl will recover in Vichy and you will enjoy Paris once more. Give her my best regards and to grand Oriole a handshake too.

Let me hear from you sooner, as this time, if only by a word from Paris or Vichy.

As ever yours

Mackay

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121. The Rentenmark was created in November 1923 to end the inflation. It was replaced in 1924 by the Reichsmark.

Schilling<sup>122</sup> is the man who sent me 30 dollars as a collection from friends in Chicago. I did not accept it, because it is against my nature, to accept presents. Everybody of the subscribers has got the full amount in books. This reminds me, that you are still good with 24 dollars in my books. What shall I send for [them] and where?

I had no success whatever with all my plans. *All* have failed – one after the other – and sometimes I feel discouraged and tired of all the useless toil. I am now sixty.



George A. Schilling

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

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122. George A. Schilling. Mackay may have met him in Chicago in 1893.

**No. 141**

22 September 1924

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

You offered me your kind help. I hesitated till today. But now it has come to the worst.

This is here the worstest time since ten years. Nobody has money; nobody pays his debts; nobody buys a book.

In the next time must come for me decisions: I will sell my work and my library on Stirner; my private library; I discuss a three-volume edition of Stirner with a big publishing house; also other books of mine – but it is *just the next weeks*, which will be very hard. If these people see, how much I need the money, they will press me down to the lowest conditions.

Therefore I ask you today: can you lend me some hundred marks for a short time, two or three months? Very probably I will be able, to pay them back to you very soon. Perhaps it is not necessary at all, if the discussions come to an end. But *now* I am very hard up and I ask you, *to answer me at once*.

Thank you for your last card. I hope, you are all well.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 142**

30 September 1924

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I thank you heartily. If you allow, I will keep the check some time. If it comes to the utmost worst, I will go to the bank and have it sent to America (which takes about four weeks, before it comes back). But only then!

But I eagerly hope, there *must* be some changes in the very next time. All that I need is a little luck. Such luck, as so many stupid people have in an enormous abundance.

Oriole's operation must be a very painful one. Tell her, that I pity her still, though it is over. Give my best to Pearl and tell her, that just in the last time my thoughts go many times to Le Vésinet.

Your old and thankful friend

Mackay

**No. 143**

12 December 1924

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

At last I was forced to send your check to New York. The selling of my library is a difficult task, especially in this time, *the worst of all since ten years*. But I hope to be able soon, to give you back the fifty dollars.

I learn from *l'en dehors*,<sup>123</sup> that you had an article on yourself in your Bedford paper lately. Do you doubt, that there is a living creature in the whole world, which takes more interest in it, than I do? Then, why do you not send it to me?? Please do it!

At this occasion: I lent that other article, you sent me some time ago, to a friend, who wished to answer you. He has lost it. I am very sorry. Could you favour me with another copy?

The enclosed ten francs I got from France for a book of mine. It is nothing here. So, will you buy some sweets for Christmas for Pearl and Oriole with it?

I hope, all are well.

As ever your old friend

Mackay

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123. See no. 106 (notes).

**No. 144**

1 February 1925

[postcard addressed: c/o Carlone & Co., Nice]

Dear Tucker,

At last things seem a little more hopeful: I have found a publisher, a very good one, Erich Reiss Berlin,<sup>124</sup> for an edition of *Stirner* in 3 volumes. Conditions not yet fixed, but fair. Hope in a short time to send you back the 50 d. and more good news.

Hope you are all well?

As ever your old friend

Mackay

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124. “Among the young publishers of Berlin, Erich Reiss before 1910 began to make books that could stand not only the strict judgment of [Richard] Schaukal, but that of a printer of earlier centuries (who were always their own best typesetters).” Janos Frecot, “Literatur zwischen Betrieb und Einsamkeit,” in *Berlin um 1900*, ed. Gesine Asmus (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1984), p. 337.

**No. 145**

3 March 1925

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

Last Saturday I got the latest number of *l'en dehors* and was alarmed by a stupid note of Armand in his letter box. I telegraphed to Carione and got his answer last night. This morning came your telegram.

I got your letter of Febr. 3, and was about to answer. Tell Pearl *how much* I am delighted with her kind letter and the beautiful photos.

In the next time my affairs will come to a decision:

1) I must get the answer from Moskau or Jerusalem, if they will buy my Stirner library for 5000 dollars.

2) The publisher, with whom I agree already on a three-volume edition of Stirner, will decide, if he takes my own works and pays me a monthly sum till to the rest of my life.

If these two points are settled I am again an independent man, will come at once for four weeks to Nice, stay there in a pension, will write down the whole material on your life, and will enjoy these weeks immensely with you, Pearl and Oriole, after these last ten bad years, these ten *very* bad years!

If I can't write your biography the material will then be saved at any rate and someone else will do the work.

With the article I want I mean the article, you sent me in your letter of December 12, 1924. Of course you can't spare your last copy. My friend never answered you because he *could* not.

I hope soon to be able to give you back the 50 dollars. My best to Pearl and Oriole.

(I am beastly wild on Armand and his stupidity.)

Your old friend

Mackay

Another war before long? But *between...*? Please answer this question!

**No. 146**

6 June 1925

Charlottenburg  
Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

I hope your long trip will restore Oriole wholly and be a source of many pleasures to all of you.

You know me, that it would be an almost intolerable thought to give you the least trouble, when I should ever be able to come to Nice. And more than ridiculous the other, that you and your people should fly from your house to Monaco, when I am coming. Of course, I will not stay a single night in Nice and I think it better, we don't meet at all at Nice, but in the neighborhood – far way enough, of all people of Nice, who could see us together. (What is Nice to me! Nothing, if you are not there!) But in the whole it is absolutely uncertain, if I shall ever be able, to come to France again in my life.

Two things have happened in the meantime:

First I have found a publisher for all my books with their entire rights. He pays me a little monthly rent, beginning with October, and he prints two editions, one Stirner edition in three volumes and a Mackay edition in five volumes.

It is one of the best publishing houses in Germany. But in these times nobody knows, what happens the next day, and it is possible, that his business breaks down before autumn, and I am, where I was.

Second, I have sold the whole Stirner work: archive and library for a very small sum<sup>125</sup> to Moskau – to the communists! This I was *forced* to do, after the hard entertain-

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125. In a telegram of 13 May 1925 Mackay agreed to sell his Stirner collection to the Marx Engels Institute for \$4000. See Michael Weber, "Individualismus, Anarchismus und Verhältnis zur Arbeiterbewegung im Naturalismus am Beispiel des Dichters und Stirner-Herausgebers John Henry Mackay" (Schriftliche Hausarbeit für das Erste Wissenschaftliche Staatsexamen im Fach Deutsch, Berlin, 1976), p. 25, n. 1.

ings [*sic*] of the last six years, to sell the thing abroad: Amerika, Japan, Palaestina, all have failed. So Russia was the last hope and she has taken it for a lump.<sup>126</sup>

This lump is now everything, what I have.

I enclose the fifty dollars, you kindly lent me, and thank you heartily for your help. It came in the worstest time.

Please do answer this letter, *as soon as possible* with a word, that you have got it forwarded.

My best to the three travellers!

As ever yours

Mackay

Included you will find: a 50 dollar note No. E299322 A370960.

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126. Mackay was probably thinking of the German “Lumpen”; the expression “für ein Lumpengeld” = for a trifling sum.

**No. 147**

28 August 1925

Berlin

Dear Tucker,

I presume you are in Nice again and are satisfied with your trip. Above all: Pearl and Oriole are recovered and well.

Your offer is very kind. But I hope for the rest of my life not to come again in the troubles of last winter. Thank you nevertheless heartily!

The skull<sup>127</sup> did [*sic*] years ago in other hands here in Germany. But the Bolchevists have everything else – got it for a lump, because nowhere in the whole world else was the least interest for Stirner and my work for him. You have known for years my plan – and you *never* asked for details. I never thought, you could help me. Now it is too late.

My annuities are lost, probably for ever, in this country, where *everything* is fraud and robbery in the most shameless fashion. Now I am in big trouble with that house.<sup>128</sup> But let us better tease [i.e., joke].

Let me have a word, that you are well. I don't think, I can come in the winter. I have no money to spend.

As ever yours

Mackay

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127. According to Dobe, Mackay was in possession of Stirner's skull "which he secured during the foundational work for the gravestone, but since it was not acquired entirely legally (by a gold piece to the mason!) he showed it to hardly anyone and even spoke of it unwillingly." Friedrich Dobe, *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), p. 82.

128. This probably refers to the publishing house Erich Reiss, which went bankrupt. (See no. 150.)

**No. 148**

3 February 1926

Dear Tucker,

I hope to be able to spend the month of April in your neighborhood. Let me hear, how you are and if you are staying this month at home. I will go directly to Monte Carlo.

With best to all of you.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 149**

15 February 1926

Charlottenburg Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for your letter. It all depends upon, if my new publisher, Erich Reiss, pays or not. He owes me for the last year 2000 marks. Has paid only 400 yet. Promised to pay April more. But you never know more here, if a man keeps his promise or not. Out of ten people are nine swindlers and frauds. I don't say, that Reiss is one. But he has utterly forlorn [*sic*] his head in these times – the dreadfulest since the war.

If I *can*, then I do come. Be sure. Then I will come by way of Lyon, directly go to Monte, and write from there my arrival, so that we can meet. It seems, then, that you are no more afraid to see me in Nice? Of course, only temporarily.

I have to tell you lots, old man, enough, not for weeks, but for months.

I used to see Bax<sup>129</sup> at Zürich. How long ago. Give him a greeting, if he still remembers me.

I will write again, as soon, as I can say something definitive. I hope, you are quite well now and out of bed.

As ever yours

Mackay

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129. Probably Ernest Belfort Bax (1854–1926), English philosophical writer, who helped William Morris found the Socialist League. Tucker met him in England in 1889 (see Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 156).

**No. 150**

17 March 1926

Charlottenburg Berlinerstrasse 166

Dear Tucker,

All hope is gone. My new publisher,<sup>130</sup> one of the biggest in Germany, is before the bankrupt. He owes me 2000 Mark and can't pay. So goes the little monthly royalty, on which we agreed.

I have nothing now and must work for my daily bread as long, as I still live.

Since ten years there has been one blow after the other, but this one is the hardest.

I thank you for your kind letter.

I am very, very sorry.

Your old friend

Mackay

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130. Erich Reiss. See no. 144.

**No. 151**

13 August 1926

Dear Tucker,

Yes, our letters have crossed and yours are now at Monte. I wished I was too.

It is very kind to offer me your help. But I can't accept it. One must see, how to escape the grips of fate, as good, or as bad, as it will be possible. Thank you *very* much, nevertheless.

The writer for *l'en dehors* is our old comrade Leo Kasarnowski. He is a very conscientious fellow, whom I know for long years. He does not eat, so he is better up, than myself. He wants to tell you, that Armand has altered willfully parts of his defense.

I have before my eyes a good picture of the situation of your new house, the gorge under the high bridge, the little church. I see it and a happy family of three above it all – wished, I could be the fourth!

Let me hear from time to time, how you are going on.

My best to all!

Your thankful old friend

Mackay

**No. 152**

15 August 1926

Dear Tucker,

Herr Kasarnowski asks me to send you the enclosed. No use to tell him that you don't read German. He insists.

May he have his will and you a contribution to your waste paper basket.

Best to all!

As ever yours

Mackay

Could you give me the names of some American weeklies, which contain "fascinating stories" and *pay well*? I have written one.<sup>131</sup> Who could translate it? – Schumm?

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131. *Staatsanwalt Sierlin* (1928; reprint, Freiburg/Br.: Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1982). It was first published as a serial in the *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin). See no. 153.

**No. 153**

22 February 1927

Dear Tucker,

I am glad to hear of the appearance of the new edition of *Instead*.<sup>132</sup> I would better understand your mixed feelings, if you would give me your reasons. Is it, because it is abridged? Or why?

I am a little better: the novel,<sup>133</sup> I wrote, was published by one of the biggest German dailies (*Vossische Zeitung*) and they paid me a fair salary. I have sent it to Schumm for translation, but – of course – till today without his answer, which I expect in about three weeks. Thanks for your instructions. And thanks *for the photo!*

No! I could *not* stand the noise of your traffic!!!

I will write again soon. Give my best to Pearl and Oriole.

As ever yours

Mackay

Do you go every day to Nice, to get your mail?!

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132. *Individual Liberty*, edited by “C.L.S.” (i.e., Clarence Lee Swartz) (New York: Vanguard Press, 1926). This was an abridgment of *Instead of a Book* with some subsequent material from *Liberty*.

133. *Staatsanwalt Sierlin*; in English as *District Attorney Sierlin: The Story of a Revenge* in *John Henry Mackay: Three Novels* (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2001).

**No. 154**

9 March 1927

Dear Tucker,

I will come to Monte Carlo about the tenth of April. First, to see you once more; then, because I have to talk with you over the most important questions, concerning the foundation of an INTERNATIONAL RADICAL Publishing house (editing *your* books, Stirner, my books etc.), here in Berlin. For – at last – we have found the millionaire,<sup>134</sup> for whom we searched so many years. *This is not a joke!* It is truth! But about this miracle not in this letter, but by mouth, when we meet.

Now: I am living since a quarter of a year on the same, strict regime as you do. Therefore I can't take board in Monte in an Hotel, but have to take a single room. This room should be quiet, comfortable, and have a fine view. For partly I have to work, and partly I have to stay a great part of the day in the room. For I have to live very careful and need much rest, as my doctor says, because my heart is weak.

Now, this for today. Do you think I can find a room, as described when I come to Monte Carlo? At Condamine or at Beaulieu?<sup>135</sup>

Let me have as soon as possible a word, how you, Pearl and Oriole are going on.

I am believing in wonders. Of course you do too, after *this* letter. Don't you?

As ever yours,

Mackay

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134. Michael Davidovsky, Russian émigré. Mackay dedicated *Staatsanwalt Sierlin* (1928) to him. (Michael Weber, *Individualismus, Anarchismus und Verhältnis zur Arbeiterbewegung im Naturalismus am Beispiel des Dichters und Stirner-Herausgebers John Henry Mackay*, Schriftliche Hausarbeit, Berlin, 1976, p. 25, n. 4.)

135. La Condamine, the harbor district of Monaco; Beaulieu-sur-Mer is on the coast west of Monaco.

**No. 155**

24 March 1927

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for your letter and especially for your kind invitation.

I think I will leave Berlin on the night of April 10, and be at Monte Carlo on Thursday. I will stay a night at Lugano and probably another at Genoa.

Now one question? how do you get your mail? – Do you go every morning to Nice to get it? – Will you allow, that for the first week, before I have taken a room, my mail goes directly to your address? A friend will forward everything in registered letters.

I did not get your book.<sup>136</sup> Very eager to see it, when I see you again.

I will *tell* you everything – in hours and hours. *Impossible* to write.

As ever yours

Mackay

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136. *Individual Liberty*. See no. 153 (notes).

**No. 156**

29 March 1927

Dear Tucker,

I cannot start from here before April 10. In the meantime I am awaiting your answer, if I can have addressed my mail to your address. At Nice or at Monte Carlo?

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 157**

2 April 1927

Dear Tucker,

Thank you for your allowance, to have for the first week my letters addressed to your home address. There will be only two or three. As soon, as I have found a room, it is needed no more.

I have taken my ticket. I will leave at Monday night, the 11., will stay at Lugano the 12., at Genoa the 13., and be at *Monaco on Thursday* the 14., at 17:47 (or: if the train arrives at Monte Carlo at this time, a little later at Monaco station). If it suits you to be at the station I shall be more than glad. I will go to one of the next hotels and hope to find a *quiet* room, till I take another one for weeks.

I will write again a postal card or two. Even if there is nothing else to say.

My best to all.

Joyfully yours

Mackay

**No. 158**

8 April 1927

Dear Tucker,

I have got my ticket, but only to Monte Carlo Station. There are no tickets from here to Monaco. I hope they will not throw me out at Monte Carlo and force me, to go straight to the Casino.

But if you think they would do so – could you come to Monte Carlo Station, have there a second class ticket for me to Monaco and go in the train with me to Monaco? I leave the decision of course to you. In any case I hope to see you on Thursday, the 14th, at 17:47 or some minutes later after so many years, years, unable to describe with words.

A revoir

Yours

Mackay

Just comes your card of April 5. Yes, I think, I will take the train, you mention, and be at Monaco at 17:01. If I change my plans I will write or telegraph.

**No. 159**

13 April 1927

[postcard with picture of Como]

Dear Tucker,

Here I am. Today to Genoa. A revoir tomorrow Thursday.

Yours

Mackay

**No. 160**

19 April 1927

Monte-Carlo, Hôtel Regal

Dear Tucker,

You should do *this* for your poor (and by me much lamented) biographer:

1) Mark in a copy of *Liberty everything*, you want to have published in your *Works*.

(As you have got now (through Pearl) four complete copies of *Liberty*, you ought to spend one for this most important and unavoidable purpose.)

2) Make a list of everything you want to have published in your *Works outside Liberty*.

3) Make a list of *all* letters, written by you, which you would like to see published in the volume, called *Letters*.

4) Dictate to Pearl, or to any other person, you choose (and perhaps pay) for this purpose, all details of your life – for the volume: *Biography*. As well as all events, anecdotes, meetings with other people (of importance) etc. etc.

If you don't do this the eventual [?] biographer has become insane after three weeks, he began the book, to be sure!

Happily *not* your biographer, but your very old friend

John Henry Mackay

**No. 161**

[postmark: Baden, date illegible]

[postcard with picture of Freiburg i.B.]

A first greeting after leaving you, and returning to Berlin.  
Mackay

**No. 162**

10 June 1927

Dear Pearl,

A gloomy, rainy, misty day is before my windows, when I am getting up in the morning. I shudder and go to my stove, to heat it. And so day for day, since I am back.

But my heart and my thoughts are still at Monte Carlo with you in your home: I pass the Pont Sainte-Dévote, enter the little elevator, Oriole opens the door, before I have time to ring the bell, I find all the good things, your kindness has for me, Ben comes out of his little study and a warm and good day begins.

Now, in prosaic words: the summer here is no summer, but a nasty winter and I feel not at all comfortable and wished, I was back in the south.

I hope you are all right. Tell Ben, please, that I will write *always*, if there is something to tell, but little, when there is nothing to tell; and that I expect, not long, but short notices, if this is the case with him.

With all good wishes, and the best greetings, to you, Oriole and HIM,

always your sincere and thankful friend

John Henry Mackay

**No. 163**

13 July 1927

Dear Tucker,

Glad to get your letter and to hear that now all my letters are in your hands.

The last issues of Miss Ida don't show so much knowledge of your life, as the first one, and I don't think, she has troubled herself so *very* much. She had Schumm's article, the Tribune letters and some other stuff, that's all.

You may be *quite* sure, that nothing, not a word, of my collectings will appear, before you not have seen it all. By the way: the whole matter must be delayed till next spring. If we have then the opportunity, to do the most important part, that is: *Liberty*, then the thing only can be accomplished and perhaps a way or other can be found, to work out the whole and find some way of publishing it.

Kasarnowski thinks he will settle the matter with our millionaire, if he sees him again. Till now he has disappeared again. The printing of the books goes on very, very slowly, thanks to K's inability to decide. It is very annoying.

I am studying now the health questions, like a schoolboy, with a "cahier." I must find out for myself, what is good for me and what not. The doctors all disagree. And so do my friends.

I did not show you the two books, because you never asked.<sup>137</sup> There was no time on the last night, to read the whole thing to you, but you may trust to, what I have said above.

Monsieur Zakal is evidently one of the 27 of Antibes.

My bladder catarrh seems to be better. If it is not I will go to a specialist.

My thoughts go always back to Monte and the good hours there with you all. If I ever should come to the Riviera again I will stay a week at least at Cannes, for the surroundings there, by passing in the night, made an enormous impression on me. Nevertheless, when I was at Monte, I was not able to go around with you a whole day.

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137. This probably refers to the Sagitta volumes. *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe* appeared in a second edition in 1924; the novel *Der Puppenjunge* appeared in 1926.

My best to all. Wishing you only big and steady “ups” in the Casino,  
as ever yours  
Mackay

**No. 164**

22 July 1927

Dear Tucker,

Schumm is here with his wife and the daughter of Max Baginski.<sup>138</sup> I took the whole set with Kasarnowski last night to Kempinski,<sup>139</sup> “the great benefactor of mankind,” as you used to call him, and we had a good time.

The two ladies talked very little, but Schumm is an *immense* talker and did the thing all alone the whole night. He is not 72, but 17 – quite boyish, full of life, enthusiastic and he enjoys his trip to Europe by all means. He is really a *very* nice fellow and I was pleased to meet him again. He was quite the contrary of what you described him once to me.

Now the reason why I tell you all this. He asks me to write to you at once. He says he has written to you, but you did not answer. Therefore he is not sure, if you would like to see him. You should write to him *at once*. Excuse and appreciate the reason, why I am sending this letter to Monte, instead of to Nice. (As an exception!)

He leaves Berlin Monday next. If he has not given you an address in Germany, then send your answer to me and I will forward it to him.

In either ease write to him directly, *please!* How are you going on?

Best to all!

As ever yours

Mackay

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138. Max Baginski (1864–1943), moved to the United States in 1893, where he married George Schumm’s sister. He was also a close friend of Emma Goldman. Baginski was the editor of the three-volume collected works of Mackay’s friend Robert Reitzel: *Des armen Teufels gesammelte Schriften* (Detroit 1919).

139. See no. 46 (notes).



**Robert Reitzel**

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 165**

30 July 1927

Dear Tucker,

When I saw, just a week ago, Schumm for the second and last time, he told me, that he had just received your letter. He gave me no address, so I send back your letter to you.

I did not say the contrary of what you say about his intellectuality. I agree with you, so far I had occasion to judge. But we talked very little about questions. He told most the time about his friends and acquaintances in America and talked all alone and for hours. But I like him very much. He is a big boy.

Did you get my last letter?

I hope you all are well. And the Casino?

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 166**

5 October 1927

Dear Tucker,

I long to hear from you. How are you going on? How Pearl and Oriole and her music? Have you seen Schumm? I did not hear from him since months. And how is the Casino?

Best regards!

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 167**

18 October 1927

Dear Tucker,

The contains [*sic*] need little explanation: it shall be printed for you. I now ask you this:

1) to revise and *correct* the whole thing in good English.

2) to send it back to me as soon as even possible *with your corrections*. We need it now for the volume<sup>140</sup> is nearly finished. (It will be a simply wonderful edition, thanks to Kasarnowski.)

Why don't you write to me?

Thanks for the clippings.

I send this, because it is done without delay, to your address at Monte Carlo. Pardon me!

Best to all!

As ever yours

Mackay

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140. Mackay prepared a special copy of his *Werke in einem Band* (Works in One Volume) for Tucker (see no. 177). Apparently the matter in English was to be included in it. See also no. 170 and later letters.

**No. 168**

12 November 1927

Dear Tucker,

It seems, as if the wonders grow up “en masse.” If this is going on I shall have to go to Lourdes, instead to Monte Carlo, and you will never see me again (if we do not meet there).

But in earnest: it is astonishing, great and charming, and I congratulate you with all my heart!!

So we will have – and I hope: very soon – your biography<sup>141</sup> as well as the five volumes of your writings, and *nothing* can stop immortality! My work will be good for nothing, but I am glad, to have done it, because it gave me so much pleasure.

Here everything is ready for print in type, but K[asarnowski] is so *very* acute and slow, and if all is finished, he begins again, tortured by scruples about a forgotten , or .

Mr. D[avidovsky] has paid again and will surely pay a third time, and more times, but he, too, is very slow in paying, and he has not secured yet my rent. But K[asarnowski] is sure and unfrightened.

If I can come to see you, Pearl and Oriole, and now Mr. Fiefield too, I can't say today. Everything depends when we will be ready and: how D[avidovsky] behaves. But be sure, if I *can*, I come with pleasure (and an enormous interest in the work going on).

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141. “The Life of Benjamin R. Tucker, Disclosed by Himself, In the Principality of Monaco, At the Age of 74.” Never completed, the manuscript is in the Benjamin R. Tucker Papers, New York Public Library. It has 92 hand-written pages and takes the story of Tucker's life only to age 18.

Mackay mentioned the biography in several later letters, which show that Tucker had stopped work on it by August 1928, but planned to resume work (no. 173), had given up the project by June 1930 (no. 182), but was working on it again in July 1931 (no. 188). He mentioned it last in September 1932. It is likely, however, that the manuscript was all written in the early period.

Why don't you write about the Casino? I hope P[earl] and O[riole] are all right?

As ever yours

Mackay

I don't see why the three publishers, who quarrel already about your biography, won't take your writings. Queer and stupid folks! Let me know, as soon as possible, when Kasarnowski may be allowed to know *your* wonder. It will do no harm and he will be so *very* interested. For, if the Stirner Verlag succeeds of course the Tucker Volumes shall be the first to be translated and to appear in German.

**No. 169**

22 February 1928

Dear Tucker,

I did not answer your letter yet, because I always hoped, to be able to send your copy at the same time. But K[asarnowski] is *very* slow (as slow as he is exact) and so it will not be ready before ten days; it is now in the hands of the binder.

Our millionaire does not pay. I put the last I had in the Stirner Verlag and now we are dependent on the sale. But the book<sup>142</sup> is splendid, one of the finest editions ever made in Germany. You will see.

I am satisfied, that you write your biography. The reasons, Fiefield had, are simply childish and ridiculous. What would he say, if he had to write my biography. Good heavens!

When does appear the book of Mrs. Sachs?<sup>143</sup> I am eager to read it.

What were the recent sorrows of Mr. Fiefield? You never told me.

The symptoms of my angina are pains in the left arm. Especially in the region of the shoulder. What was it with your father? And what did he do against it? I have to do a hundred things.

The treatment with the I rays [*sic*] is very dangerous, for other organs, and we do not know anything about their effects on the heart. It will do more harm than good in the whole.

Give my best to the other two-thirds of you!

As ever yours

Mackay

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142. Mackay's *Werke in einem Band*, the one-volume edition of his works.

143. Emanie Louise Sachs (Arling), "*The Terrible Siren*": *Victoria Woodhull (1838–1927)* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928; facsimile reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978).



Victoria Woodhull

**No. 170**

2 April 1928

Dear Tucker,

I don't know, I am sure, when Mr. K[asarnowski] decides to give away the copy, that is printed for you. You never know what he is doing or not. You only know, that he is the slowest man on earth. And don't dare to ask him! He gets mad at once.

So I send you in the meantime a copy of the big edition,<sup>144</sup> out at last.

In doing it I feel again my bitter fate in our friendship, which makes me so much the inferior from the start: I, knowing so much of you, and you, having so little of me, not being able to read, what I have written. But this must be, as it is.

Our situation here is terrible. D[avidovsky] does not pay and we are in the midst of some disagreeable affairs, every day a new one. I can't tell details: there are too many. I fear, the end will be very, very bad.

How are *you* going on: 1) with the biography? 2) In the Casino?

Of course I can't leave Berlin this spring.

Best to all!

Ever yours

Mackay

Let me hear soon of you.

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144. Mackay's *Werke in einem Band* was printed in two editions, one on ordinary paper (the "big edition") and the other on thin paper.

**No. 171**

30 April 1928

Dear Tucker,

Your last two letters at hand. I am very interested in your new treatment of yourself and sure it will do you good. But did you ever take drugs for your heart?

I am a little better and my doctor is satisfied. The pains in the left arm have nearly gone and I am much freer.

But all the troubles with D[avidovsky] and K[asarnowski] never end. D. refuses to pay. He says we have “frauded” him. I gave him everything, I had – all my books and their rights, and now 4000 Mark for the Stirner Verlag, to save it – my last money. Now I am penniless and had to take the “poor-right” (if there is any such English word)<sup>145</sup> to make him a process. At least I have succeeded in that way, that about 6000 Marks, D. has here in a bank, are arrested. But the process can endure a long time.

In the meantime K., who is half crazy, delays the appearance of the books, as much as he can, instead of publishing them and so to create some income. It is very, very bad!

I don't see him any more and we only correspond. So I can't ask him your question about the printing. Besides, I would not dare to do it, for he would at once stop the whole edition and print a new one.

Now I am looking forward to the biography with immense interest. Will it take still a year before you have finished it?

How much I wished, to be now with you, Pearl and Oriole!! But of course even the thought is ridiculous. I can't leave Berlin for a day.

When *your* copy is ready, Heaven knows! There you will see that the book has half the size with its 1200 pages.<sup>146</sup>

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145. “Poor-right” = Armenrecht, i.e., poor law.

146. See no. 170 (notes).

Let me hear from you again and don't forget, to give my kindest to your folk.

As ever yours

Mackay

Excuse the many faults and destroy the letters.

**No. 172**

10 July 1928

Dear Tucker,

I did not write the last months because they were simply terrible. Now, where things have changed at last to the better side, I will tell you the events in short words.

In January the books were ready to appear. Davidowski did not pay. I gave to Kasarowski my last 4000 marks to pay debts. He promised the books would appear soon and that I should have my part of the income.

The books did *not* appear. Month after month went on. At last it came out, that he had frauded me in the most shameless manner. He said he had never given me such a promise and that I simply have lent to him the 4000 Marks. I could starve if I might.

I have not seen him since.

How I have lived these months – I can't tell.

Now it has come to an agreement with D. I get about 6000 marks, which were arrested by the court here at Berlin at his bank. He gives back to me my rights on the books. Another publisher will probably take the whole and pay me a small monthly rent. K. will retire and I am glad he will.

When I gave him my last pennies he made a contract with me, which made me the owner of the new books, that is to say of the raw material. But this contract is good for nothing, for it can be destroyed by the other people, who have changes [charges?] in hand in the light of 15000 marks.

But at last I have a little money at hand again and can take a free breath for a time at least.

And you? How are you going on with the biography? And how are Pearl and Oriole? Let me hear soon from you. I linger [*sic*] to hear.

My health is better in spite of all these excitements and sorrows. My doctor is satisfied. If possible I will go abroad a little in the autumn, and, if possible, will come again next spring to see you. But this is too extravagant to think of now.

As ever yours

Mackay

Excuse paper and faults!

**No. 173**

23 August 1928

Dear Tucker,

The mixture has changed a little: it remains, that Kas[arnowski] is an infamous scoundrel, but changes, that he got, by fault of my attorney, the rights of my books in his hands and that now the books appear in the edition in the Stirner Verlag, which belongs to him. All that I have got, is a little money and the aspect of further battles and sorrows. He is a *tremendous fraud*, but very able.

My health was much better, but in July I had a very bad accident: a fall on stones, with the left shoulder I have great pains again and go next week to a cure to Bad Nauheim.<sup>147</sup>

Now I ask you: if this man Kas. *dares* to send you the copy, printed for you, and dares, to write to you, to send back everything by declining to accept it, or, if you don't like, to do this, then *never* to answer him. He deserves no answer from *you*! It is the worst and the meanest thing, I ever saw in my life or have heard of. All my friends here are wild on the man and his infamous behavings toward me – except my attorney! He, a Jew too, behaves in a way, which cannot be understood!

But now to you. As soon as the book with the wonderful title,<sup>148</sup> which alone guarantees every success, appears, I will order here a copy. And I am glad to learn, that your own work will begin again soon; hope, it will, be ready one day more.

No, I do not go abroad, to America. I have lost now the last hope, to go again to Monte Carlo.

I am very sorry indeed to hear that Pearl is not well, as we all wish and hope to hear soon better news. Best to her and Oriole – don't forget!

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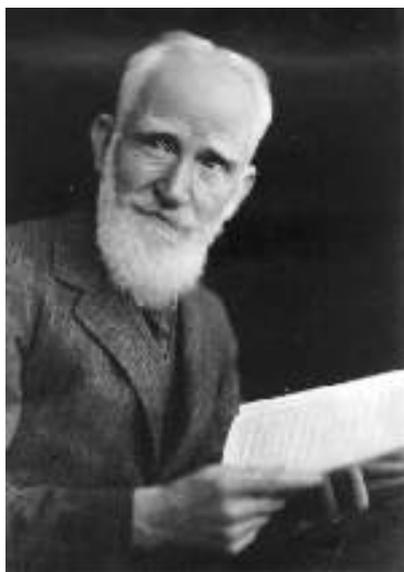
147. Town in Hessen with medicinal waters said to be good for the heart.

148. "*The Terrible Siren*". See no. 169 (notes).

Have a good time with Shaw!<sup>149</sup>

As ever yours

Mackay



George Bernard Shaw

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149. According to Oriole Tucker, “George Bernard Shaw came once for afternoon tea.” Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 150.

**No. 174**

9 September 1928

Bad Nauheim, Zarderstrasse 11

Dear Tucker,

You are right (as always): don't answer at all, if you should get that copy, but let me know, that the infamous wretch has sent it to you.

No, I have got the lawyer, because I had to take the help of the "Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller", that is a union for the mutual help of German authors, and because I could make the process against Davidowsky only with the help of the "poor-law", that is, with the aid of – the State! – I don't know yet, if this lawyer is in conspiracy. It *seems* so! But things will become not clear before the 15th of September, where the vacancies [i.e., vacations] end and the man is back at Berlin. Then I will write again. In any case: it is a horrid fraud against me, and all the Jews on the other side are a compact [?] [—].

If you will *lend* me the volume of Mrs. Sachs<sup>150</sup> I shall be very glad, for – of course – I can't afford to spend now 4 [?] dollars to buy it. Send it registered and I will send it back soon on the same way.

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150. See no. 169 (notes).

I am glad to hear you had a good time with Shaw and I only wish I could be present – as a modest listener.<sup>151</sup>

I am having, to care – not so much my heart – but my liver and its pains – here, in this famous place, where so many Americans and Englishmen are in the summer. Of course you have heard the name of the place – “Bad Nauheim” – But I am not well and always very, very tired.

Make a good lot of money out of Liberty! copy – at least a little million!

If you write again in the next three weeks do use the enclosed envelope.

Best to all!

As ever yours

Mackay

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151. Tucker and Shaw were old friends. Tucker, in his unpublished (and unfinished) autobiography, recalled an incident of two years earlier:

At a banquet given in celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Bernard Shaw a letter of congratulation was read from an eminent German statesman. In Shaw’s grateful acknowledgement published in the press he paid warm tribute to the German nation and its culture, of which he found apparently the highest evidence in its enthusiastic reception of his plays. Being very fond of Shaw, but less fond of the Germans, I addressed to him, under date of August 10, 1926, a rather saucy note, beginning thus: “Appropos of your letter of thanks to the German nation, may I suggest that ability to discern at an early date the surpassing value of Bernard Shaw is not the sole, or even the chief criterion by which to measure men or nations? Were it such, I perhaps should be accounted the greatest man on earth today, next of course to Shaw himself.”

To this Shaw replied: “Well, my dear Tucker, *so you are*. I shall be the first to acknowledge it, if I am challenged.” (“The Life of Benjamin R. Tucker,” Benjamin R. Tucker Papers, New York Public Library, manuscript page 3)

**No. 175**

29 November 1928

Dear Tucker,

Of course, I will send back the book *registered* and in less than a week. Sorry to hear that you had lumbago. Are you quite well now? Tell Pearl, that I pity her, knowing, how it is, never to be without pains. Give my regards to Mr. Merlin and tell *him* that I *never, never, never* smoke.

I will write again and a long letter, after having read the story about your juvenile adventures!<sup>152</sup>

Your old friend

Mackay

Oriole is admirable! Does she go to the court of Monaco too?

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152. See no. 176.

**No. 176**

2 December 1928

Dear Tucker,

Yesterday I got the book<sup>153</sup> and have read last night, of course, your chapter first, and then a good deal of the others. I should say, indeed, that it has interested me! What makes your contribution so attractive, is, that it stands – in its charming innocence – in this *enormous* mist<sup>154</sup> of lies – lies and lies again. I wonder, what is more stupefying: the impudence of this woman, her ability, the gross stupidity of the people, who believed in her, or the touching idiotism of her so-called husbands. After all, reading, I said: “My Lord, I thank you, that you have saved me of women!” By the way, what kills the syren best, is the sarcasm, her biographer speaks of her. Don’t you think?

Now, I thank you cordially and I am very pleased and proud, that you have given one of your three copies to *me*!

The next week will bring important decisions for me in regard to K[asarnowski] and another publication depends how they fall: against or for me. Then I will write the “long letter”.

When I wrote those lines about Oriole I did not get the paper, you kindly sent me. Now, I don’t know, what to say! Soon or later she will go to court and you, her proud father, will get the “Cross of Monaco”. Let me hear about, if time has come.

Faithfully your old friend

Mackay

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153. See no. 169 (notes).

154. The German word Mist = dunghill.

**No. 177**

17 December 1928

Dear Tucker,

This man Kasarnowski has seen, that it is not so easy, to rob an old man of the last, he has got, and so I got back the rights of my books. He has only the right of two editions of the two books, he has made. In a few days I will send you the copy of my *Works In One Volume*, which has been printed for you especially. Don't answer him, please.

Now I have to find another publisher for the big *Stirner Edition*, as well, as for my other books, and that is a hard task.

I have read the book on the terrible siren now in the whole – and your chapter again. By God, it is an interesting book! One of the most interesting I have read. I take back, what I said on Col. Blood.<sup>155</sup> He was not an idiot. He was “belonging” to her, as well the other men were, except you, when you came back from Europe. But Martin was very near to an idiot in his blindness. What terrible women – those two sisters.<sup>156</sup> And what a family. Did you never suspect, that they were all blackmailers of the worst sort, when you saw them daily for such a long time? But of course you were very young then. Thank you again for the book!

I wish you, Pearl and Oriole a happy X-mas and a bright New Year and remain your old friend

Mackay

This is the “long letter.”

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155. Victoria Claflin's three husbands were: (1) Canning Woodhull (? – 1872), (2) Col. James H. Blood (? – 1885), and (3) John Biddulph Martin (? – 1897).

156. Victoria Woodhull Claflin (1838–1927) and Tennessee Claflin (1846–1923).

**No. 178**

1 March 1929

Dear Tucker,

The translation of my dedication<sup>157</sup> is faultless. It justifies it fully. And shows, that you understand German. Now you go and read my books!

I am not at all astonished, that you were fascinated by the siren;<sup>158</sup> what I meant to say, was, by her other, terrible people, father and mother.

I have got back the rights of my books from K[asarnowski], who has seen, that it is not so easy to rob an old man of the last he has got.

And I have undertaken another thing; the subscription on a new and great *Stirner Edition*. This is a very, very hard task and I must ask all my friends to help as much as they can. Of course, that does not mean, that you should subscribe. It only means, that it would be very kind of you, if you would answer me the questions of the sheet. Will you do it? It would help me very much in getting subscribers in the U.S.A.

You did not mention for a long time Pearl and Oriole in your letters. Are they well? And how are you?

As ever yours

Mackay

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157. In *Der Freiheitsucher*. See no. 115 (notes).

158. According to Tucker, at the age of nineteen he was “still a virgin” until he was “seduced” by Victoria Woodhull, then nearly twice his age. The story is told in Emanie Sachs, “*The Terrible Siren*”: *Victoria Woodhull (1838–1927)* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1928; facsimile reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), pp. 250–253.

**No. 179**

10 March 1929

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for the addresses. I hope there will come some help from America and the old friends, for the outlooks are very gloomy and this is my last hope. I hasten to return the clippings. By registered printed matter. They interested me very much, but only as *you* are concerned. I remember Miss Holmes<sup>159</sup> very well. How are you going on with the auto-bio? Glad to hear, that you are all well now

As ever yours

Mackay

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159. Sarah Elizabeth Holmes. Mackay met her on his trip to America in 1893 and later corresponded with her. Holmes was a contributor to *Liberty* and in 1888 brought out the second edition of Stephen Pearl Andrews's *The Science of Society*.



**Sarah Elizabeth Holmes**

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

**No. 180**

22 September 1929

Dear Tucker,

I am very glad, indeed, to hear from you.

Let me hope, that the bad May, you had, will be followed by a good winter. (If there is a winter at all!)

The Stirner Edition is still waiting of the man, who will give the money, and I fear, it will wait a long time still.

The aspects are very gloomy, but I work as much as I can – it is a battle with the day and its existence.

Do read the last number of *l'en dehors* and the translation of Armand of the *Freiheitsucher*. Especially the lines dedicated to you.

You never mention Pearl and Oriole. I hope you are all well.

I fully understand how tiresome it must be for you to write letters. But if you are in the humour, remember how much I appreciate a line from you.

Ever your old friend

Mackay

I offered the Vanguard Press<sup>160</sup> the Books of Liberty<sup>161</sup> through kindness of Swartz. Too late!! Its means are exhausted now.

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160. The Vanguard Press published Tucker's *Individual Liberty* (1926).

161. "Books of Liberty" was Mackay's collective name for *Die Anarchisten* (The Anarchists) and *Der Freiheitsucher* (The Freedomseeker).

**No. 181**

1 January 1930

[postcard, picture with "Ein glückliches neues Jahr"]

Dear Tucker,

Let me have a short word, that tells me about you.

As ever

Mackay

**No. 182**

30 June 1930

Dear Tucker,

For the first time in our long friendship I answer your letters not at once. The reason is, that my situation is simply dreadful: I wrote a novel<sup>162</sup> but the papers refuse it. So I lose a sum I hoped to get. The publishers here in Germany don't dare, to edit books, because nobody buys books, except the cheapest. We all are desperate and nobody knows, what will happen.

But enough of the lamentations! I am glad, to hear, you are at Paris and enjoy it.

With great interest I learned of your plans, but at the same time can't help to be sorry, that apparently you have given up your autobiography (which would be so *very* important!)

Let me have a postal card from Paris, if you will.

As ever yours

Mackay

I am sick too, I have trouble with the kidneys etc.

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162. Probably *Der Unschuldige: Die Geschichte einer Wandlung* (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1931; facsimile reprint, Amsterdam: Beiträge zur freien Literatur, 1978; in English as "The Innocent: The Story of a Transformation" in *John Henry Mackay: Shorter Fiction*, Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2000).

**DER UNSCHULDIGE**  
DIE GESCHICHTE EINER WANDLUNG  
VON  
JOHN HENRY MACKAY

MACKAY-GESELLSCHAFT  
BERLIN-CHARLOTTENBURG I  
1931

**No. 183**

12 February 1931

Dear Tucker,

You promised a letter, but it did not yet arrive.

So I will write and I think, it is better, to tell you the truth about me. This truth is, that I am at an end.

I have done these last years, whatever was in the reach of my powers. I have written three novels and a lot of other stuff, to gain my living, and have sold as good as nothing. I don't find papers for my work, and I don't find a publisher for my books, neither for the *Books Of Liberty* (dedicated to you), nor for my biography of Stirner, nor for the others, which are exhausted.

The times here are horrid, the worst since 1914.

The hard grip, you once wished Germany,<sup>163</sup> has broken your old friend too.

I hope you all are well and happy.

As ever yours

Mackay

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163. According to Tucker's daughter Oriole: "During the war, father was anti-German from the start. The German government, German militarism, German regimentation – he hated them with a passion." Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 150.

**No. 184**

26 March 1931

Dear Tucker,

Thanks for your last two letters; the last one has deeply impressed me.

Of course, I would frankly answer your questions. But you can't help me. I never dreamed of it. I only thought it better, to tell you the truth.

There is only *one* way, on which help can come, and this way has opened since I wrote to you: I founded a Mackay Society with the purpose to distribute my books (as far, as they can still be had). Member becomes, who gives one Mark (that is 25 American cents) monthly. The members get the books at cheaper rates. It has begun to work and it works very, very slowly. But it works. Steady labour may lead to the result, that I have monthly a little, a small income, instead, as now, nothing.

But, of course, it is necessary, that every [one] of my old friends and readers becomes member. The number has become very small. I will tell you the result by and by.

In the meantime I still hope, to sell some of the stuff, I wrote in these last years.

I include the invitation. If you could find there someone, who would translate it to you, or even would give an idea of its contents, it would be very good in this case.

As ever your old friend

Mackay

Could you give me some addresses in the U.S., which I could use for my purpose? It would be of great help to me.

**No. 185**

19 April 1931

Dear Tucker,

Please do read in the last number of *l'en dehors* of April 15 on the third side the lines on: L'association Mackay.

I will write soon to you.

As ever yours

Mackay

No. 186

27 April 1931

Dear Tucker,

Very kind of you to help me. Thank you even [*sic*] so much. Of course you may send everything to *me*, the whole duty of the “Secretary” is, to forward to me mail and money (the little, which comes). He gets 5% for doing so. A new book? This is the greatest trouble of all, that I can’t find a publisher for my books, either for the old ones nor for the unprinted mss. If I had one things would have never reached this climax. But if there should be a new publication – of course you are the first one to get it and without paying for it.

Now I must ask you a question. I do it with the greatest reluctance. I do it only because now *everything*, which lies in the reach, must be at least *tried*. It is this: could you put down about 15–20 lines, telling of my situation and the society: and put down at the same time *all* addresses of friends in America and England – English speaking as well as German – which you still have got? Would you then send the whole to me, for having made as many copies of your letter, as you have given me addresses, and would you then sign the letters and send them back to me, who will do the sending to the named people?

Of course this will take some hours of your time and I know so well how precious it is. But if *we* would write to the people nobody would answer; if *you* write, it will be quite another thing.

In any ease I earnestly ask you, if you don’t like the job, or if it is too much trouble for you, to say so at once and frankly. And, please, excuse my question, which is – I know that well too! – an impudence.

Yes, Armand throws away the years (of other people), as if they were sand in his fingers. But what else are they, if you look backward yourself?

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 187**

8 June 1931

My dear Tucker,

Be sure, that I fully understand every word, you write. But you see: in my situation *everything* had at least to be *tried*, in the hope, so to find a way to escape the “hard grip.”

Now, it will be the last time, I took one of your night-work away and I thank you ever so much to have answered me so kind and so long.

The other day I saw the daughter-in-law of Swartz. She is on a company trip to Europe. Perhaps she will come to Monaco to see you. I heard little of Swartz of her (except, that he is well), but a good deal of herself!

I hope you are all well. I will let you know if there is something to tell, worth telling.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 188**

22 July 1931

Dear Tucker,

The photo, you sent me, is one of the most remarkable things, I ever saw in my life: it is not only a work of great art, but a stupendous psychological wonder, which shows you of quite a new side. Many, many thanks!

I am a little better off, at least for the next months. I have got a price of honour of 1000 marks.<sup>164</sup> The society works too, very, very slow, but it works, and at least the outlays have come in. Thank you for your second contribution!

Mrs. Swartz – oh, yes... She asked *me*, what a “socialdemocrat” were. As if she had never heard the word before and thinks it an unknown beast of the sea. I wonder what our old comrade Swartz is to think with her about!

I was very pleased with your dedication too, which I owe in the same respect to Armand. And *very* glad to hear, that you work at your “memoirs”. This is of the highest importance and very good news indeed!

Many good wishes!

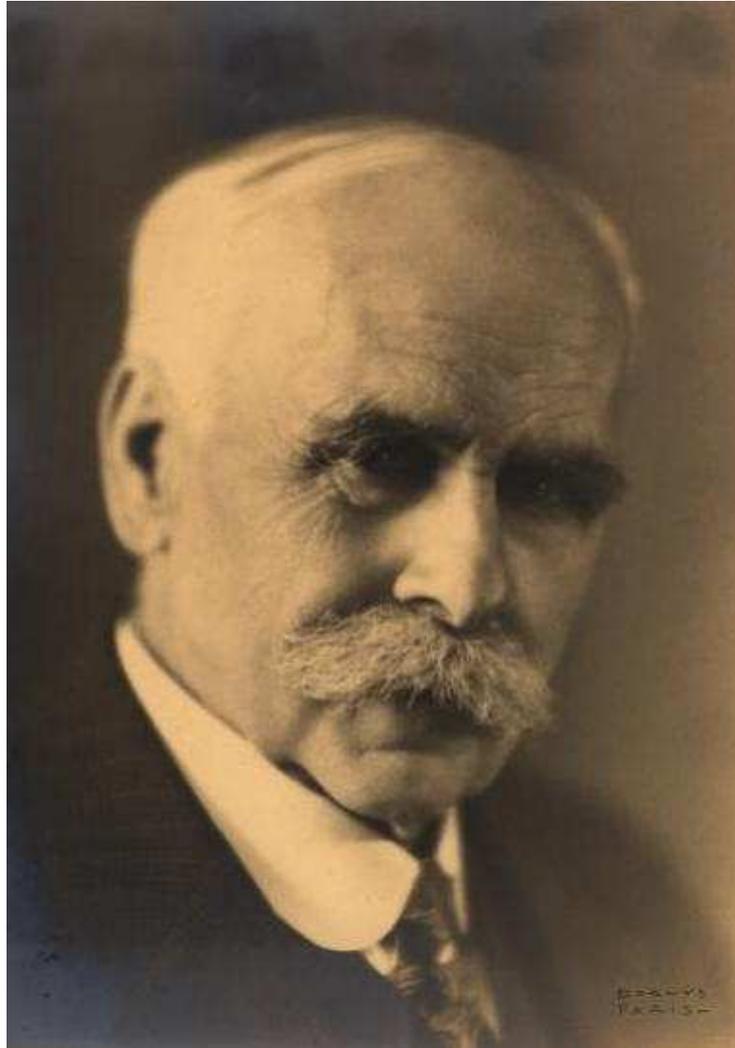
As ever yours

Mackay

Excuse the many errors!<sup>165</sup>

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164. Mackay probably meant “prize of honour”: At about this time, according to Kurt Zube: “Friends of Mackay brought it about that he received an Ehrengabe [honorary grant] from two private institutions, the Fastenrath Foundation and the Schiller Foundation—from the latter for the second time” (K. H. Z. Solneman, *Der Bahnbrecher John Henry Mackay: Sein Leben und sein Werk* [Freiburg/Br.: Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1979], p. 79).



Benjamin R. Rucker

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library

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165. In fact, there were no more errors than usual. Mackay's handwriting was "horrible," as he himself said, and his typewriting was not good either. Perhaps he means errors in the use of English.

**No. 189**

18 December 1931

Dear Tucker,

Thank you for your contribution! I had written earlier, but what is there to write, except sad or ridiculous things! The situation here is worse than ever, and nobody knows what will become.

I very often think of the good days, when we were together, and sometimes I feel sorry, that I did not come oftener, when still it was time.

Hope, you are all well and have a good time. What about your biography?

As ever your old friend

John Henry Mackay

**No. 190**

17 April 1932

Dear Tucker,

Thank you – it is just, what I wanted to know. Only I had preferred, to hear, that Oriole had become [i.e., received] the millions.

Would it trouble you very much to answer *shortly* the questions of this sheet and then return it to me?

The situation here is hopeless. Nobody knows, how it will end.

As ever yours

Mackay

**No. 191**

19 April 1932

Dear Tucker,

Please do *not* trouble you with answering my questions: I had yesterday a long conversation with my doctor, who treats me for the last six years. He says I should wait still with the taking of Total as well, as Mictasol, because they may interfere with the things, he orders me to take (in one of them is Magnesium). Of course I can't act against his instructions.

Schumm wrote me. He say, he were – a half invalid, but I do not mark great difference in his handwriting.

As ever

Mackay

**No. 192**

23 September 1932

Dear Tucker,

It is a long time, you have heard of me. Today some lines. I have written this summer a volume of *Notes*<sup>166</sup> to my life and work. A friend in America – you don't know him – has enabled me, to do so.<sup>167</sup> It is *not* an autobiography, such, as you write. It is only an appendix. But of the success depends everything for me. The Mackay-Society is nearly dead.

Shall I send you a copy, in spite, you can't read it? Of course, I speak of you, as "the great anarchist and great – gourmet."

Will you let me have a short line, just telling me, how you are going on?

As ever yours

Mackay

What do you say about an article in *l'ens dehors* about me and Stirner?

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166. *Abrechnung: Randbemerkungen zu Leben und Arbeit* (1932; reprint, Freiburg/Br.: Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1978); in English as *Summing Up: Marginal Notes to Life and Work* in *John Henry Mackay: Autobiographical Writings* (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2000); *Summing Up* is also available as an ebook (San Francisco: Peremptory Publications, 2002).

167. The identity of the American who financed the publication of Mackay's *Abrechnung* remains unknown.

**No. 193**

[handwritten, not by Mackay] 1933

Dear Tucker,

If I had the faintest idea, that you would like to have my books, of course, I had sent long ago. But I thought you did not care, because you can't read them. I send a copy of the "edition de luxe" at the same time.

The street fightings have ended here. We are now living under a very strong regime. I was never in danger. Besides I never go out in the evenings, for my health is very poor. Kidney and prostate troubles etc. In February they kept me home for about five weeks. I am going since six years every month to my doctor, a 'homotherapist', if you call it so.<sup>168</sup>

But now to you. How much I would like to see once more your biography and hear about the great success of the scrapbook! – telling me at the same time, that your health is better and good in spite of the years!

Give my best to Pearl and Oriole, and my congratulations to Oriole. When will she become the secretary of the prince of Monaco?

I did *not* lift the veil of S. One of these infamous communistic papers did it, some years ago, to hurt me, and now it is an open secret.<sup>169</sup>

I often think of the days, together with you, and I am living more and more in the past, *for the present is intolerable*, and a constant battle with the next day.

As ever yours

M

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168. Mackay's 'homotherapist' was probably a Homöopath = homeopath.

169. Mackay writes that "one of these infamous communistic papers" lifted the veil of Sagitta, but a decade earlier Emil Szittya, in his book *Das Kuriositäten-Kabinett* (1923), mentioned that Mackay was Sagitta and this was probably already widely known, at least in homosexual circles, as a result of the Sagitta trial in 1907–1909.

Perhaps you find someone, who translates to you the three last lines of page 56, and the second part of page 71.<sup>170</sup>

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170. The passages of Mackay's *Abrechnung* referred to are:

Und – oh! – die Pariser... die Pariser!... unter der sachgemäßen Leitung eines Connaisseurs, meines Freundes, des großen Anarchisten und – großen Gourmets... (p. 56)

In mein inneres Leben waren unterdessen die beiden Ereignisse gefallen, die ihm Halt und Zuversicht für immer geben sollten: ich hatte Max Stirner und sein vergessenes Werk gefunden; und zu mir war die Kunde von dem Wirken des Mannes gedrungen, mit dem mich dann eine lebens-längliche Freundschaft verbinden sollte.

Beiden habe ich zu danken versucht: dem einen, indem ich sein Leben suchte and schrieb; dem anderen durch die Widmung der beiden Bücher, in denen ich unserer gemeinschaftlichen Weltanschauung zu dienen bestrebt war. Sie lautet: "...in der Freundschaft eines Lebens." (p. 71)

These may be translated:

And – oh! – the Parisians... the Parisians!... under the appropriate leadership of a connoisseur, my friend the great anarchist and – great gourmet... (p. 56)

In my inner life occurred meanwhile the two events that were to give it support and assurance forever: I had found Max Stirner and his forgotten work; and tidings had reached me of the work of the man, with whom a lifelong friendship was then to bind me.

I have sought to thank both of them: the first by tracing his life and writing it; the other through the dedication of the two books in which I endeavored to serve our common weltanschauung. It reads: "...in the friendship of a lifetime." (p. 71)

**No. 194**

[handwritten, not by Mackay] 24 March 1933

Dear Tucker,

You learn from the papers, what is going on here, and you will understand, when I write to you only short.

I was very much pleased with your last letter. Be sure, that everything, you send to me, will reach me safely. Thank you very much for your help!

Did you get back your money from the bank?

My health is very poor. But so is everything here.

Kindest to all of you!

[no signature]

**No. 195**

19 May 1933

Charlottenburg  
Suarezstr. 47

Dear Sir,

Fulfilling an extremely painful duty, I beg to inform you, that in the morning of the 16th May John Henry Mackay has been taken away from us by a palpitation. Since almost half a year already he was very ill and had daily great pains to endure. He bore them with great patience, but in the last time they became almost intolerable and he implored the doctors often for a small doses [*sic*] of morphia. The centre of his pains were an inflammation of the bladder, it seems even that there were stones in the bladder, but the X-rays-photography was taken only a few days before his death and I do not know, whether an operation would have been necessary. The last morning he was very unquiet, during the night an oppression of the heart had been occurred. He called for the wife of the porter, who attended on him and tried to go with her downstairs to his doctor, only a few houses from his. Arrived there he fell at once on a couch and expired within a few moments. He did not believe death so near, although he spoke very often of it. But last Sunday still he made plans for a little journey as soon as he felt better.

The decease of this man will afflict you no doubt very deep. With him is going away one of the noblest men, one of the best thinkers, full of clearness and true providence, a true poet and with the one exception of you, the best prominent representant of individual anarchism. Even the word of Liberty, so dear to you and him and a very small number of men, will disappear from this world now and perhaps our children will ask with wonder, what this strange word means.

But that will not be forever. As you knew Mr. Mackay for a time of 40 years you will not be surprised, that in his last will he has given strict determinations, that all his manuscripts with exception of some finished small works of literary character and all his correspondence shall be destroyed to the last slip, what of course will be executed most scru-

pulously, although I regret that a future biographer of Mackay will have many difficulties. But doubtless it is of far greater importance, that the quintessence of his work could be transferred to further generations. In this respect my caution and providence cannot be exaggerated, the more, as his library on anarchism has been brought to Moscow. But you know, how difficult it is now to win new adherents or to propagate individual anarchism. It seems almost impossible. Mackay's efforts continued to the last day of his life, only hindered here and there by his great poverty. It seems, or, I am sorry to say, I am sure, that his small heritage is overcharged by debts, but the heirs will do their best to pay them. Happily Mackay himself in his neverdying optimism had no notion of the real state of the things; certainly he had many sorrows and was very often very depressed, he spoke often of suicide, so common in Germany, but he suffered no want of the few things he had need for and always hope returned.

So this proud life has found its end...

Very truly yours

Walther Heinrich<sup>171</sup>

I received back this letter – hoping this time, with a new address it will come to your hands.

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171. Walther Heinrich (1872–1939, died in Rome). As a writer, he used the pseudonyms Walter Unus and Walter Ehrenfried—the last in the homosexual journal *Der Eigene*. See Marita Keilson-Lauritz, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Geschichte: Literatur und Literaturkritik in den Anfängen der Schwulenbewegung* (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1997), p. 414.

**No. 196**

17 June 1933

Charlottenburg

Suarezetr. 47

Dear Sir,

Excuse, please, the late answer! But I have no access to the rooms of Mr. Mackay but when the heirs are present. These heirs are a clerk [*sic*] of a fabric here in Berlin, a Mr. Bruno Lemcke, a decided individual anarchist, but whom I did not know till now, and a younger man of about 40, who did many services to Mackay during a long time.<sup>172</sup> Mr. Lemcke however gave Mackay a rather large sum, I believe 3000 RM; that was the reason, that he was destined heir. Unhappily the last will of M. is in many respects very impracticable. The rights of his books are bequested to a man, whom nobody knows, whose address even is not to be found; it seems that Mackay himself did not know him but for some months; he recommended himself as a propagandist and good seller of his works.<sup>173</sup>

Other paragraphs of the last will were quite clear. He had destined, that no announcement in the newspapers or privately should be sent. But the owners of his house made an advertisement for her old lodger: so heard the press of his death some days after. He had destined, to be burned. On the evening of Saturday the 20th May we had a little funeral at Wilmersdorf near Berlin. As he had wished, no word was spoken, we were only five persons. But the organ played pieces of Bach and Händel, a female singer sung his “Ich ging an deinem Haus vorüber...” with accompaniment of organ and violin after the composition of d’Albert.<sup>174</sup> Some other compositions, an adagio of a violin sonata of Händel and

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172. Otto Hannemann. See Friedrich Dobe, *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), p. 93.

173. A certain Maurischat, who rejected the rights. See Dobe, p. 86.

174. Eugen d’Albert (1864–1932). The poem is in Mackay’s *Ausgewählte Gedichte, 1884–1926* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1984), p. 62, where it has the title “Vorübergang”.

a fūga of Bach made the finale. The ashes are deposited on a churchyard at Stahnsdorf,<sup>175</sup> a stone with the name will there be laid on the place.

Today I am sending you the portraits of yours and your family, I could detect among the books, letters and parcels, destined to be destroyed. I am sorry, I cannot send you back the photography you described; you can depend I will do it; if I can find it still. Otherwise [you] may be sure, it will and cannot come into the hands of a foreigner. Some times ago Mackay told me of your pessimistic word about individual anarchism, but I had not the impression it had hurt him. I replied him, after my feeling, it was rather right. Before the war, there seems, seen from the nationalistic present, as if there were more possibilities for a step forward, than now, when even all mental faculties take the form of trusts.

The library of Mackay contained very few books of worth. He had sold all, to pay his simple life. But there is still a copy of "Instead of a Book", which I will buy, hoping that we can give it to a sure place. You sent Mackay a slip of a French newspaper, full of lies; written as it seems by some mad revengeful jew: i.e. the model of Goethe's Werther was by no means a jew. We have portraits of him, and he was a son of a protestant clergyman of a very well known family. Indeed, newspapers of all lands contain now nothing but lies.

Very sincerely yours

Walther Heinrich

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175. Stahnsdorf, a suburb southwest of Berlin.



Mackay's grave in Stahnsdorf

## John Henry Mackay

by Hermann Bahr

It was at the time when I was writing quite wild things, angry against force and all authority and hoping for an equal freedom of all people. Then we became close, since there raged in both of us the identical passion, a fierce longing for a happier and nobler life, and we exchanged letters in which we blamed the others, praised ourselves, and solemnly swore to use our abilities in the service of humanity. We were very eager to break all regulations and to create a better world.

He was living in Zurich. I was in Paris. I don't need to relate how I carried on there. It is set out in a lovely old book: Murger's *Scenes of Bohemian Life* is well known and Musette, Phenice, and Mimi are unforgettable. One can read there what tone, what customs, what adventures in the cafe "Momus" took place, where even the waiter was already besotted in the bloom of his youth by the talk of this philosopher, of that artist. That gives a clear and exact picture of how I lived, and meanwhile, especially if there was no more money at all in the house, those quite wild things were written.

It was just when the great exhibition had been opened on the Champ de Mars. We were sitting very comfortably in our hotel—artists, poets, all important people, each more decadent than the others—when suddenly a card was brought to me. A stranger wishes to speak to me. I read "John Henry Mackay" and get an enormous fright of that gloomy apostle of freedom, who would certainly find fault with my hardly pessimistic attitude. But now that he already knows I am here, there is no helping it.

He comes. He looks more human than I had pictured a fanatic. To be sure, he has gloomy clouds on his mighty forehead. But when he catches sight of the many bottles and the feminine company, he becomes visibly more cheerful and at ease. The old mood returns directly, which he does not disturb. In ten minutes we are the best of friends. In an hour we are drinking the pledge of brotherhood. And this night and the next we never separated and must have discussed important things.

We have remained good friends, although our evolution separated us. He has purposely and systematically cultivated his wild urge for freedom so that the philosophical

singer has become the inflexible dogmatist of anarchism, the greatest perhaps, certainly the most honest that Europe has today. I have become calmer and more skeptical, and am now more concerned about myself, to cultivate beauty in myself, to ripen it and develop it, than I am about the others, who may help themselves onto the right path, which each must indeed find for himself. Thus we are apart. But the light threads of pleasant memory bind us always.

He is famous now. Few have heard of the poet of *Helene*, of *Sturm*, and *Das starke Jahr*. But all know *Die Anarchisten*, which, translated into French by Louis de Hessem and into English by George Schumm, has spread over the whole world and is now available in an inexpensive popular edition. It was criticized with rage and praised enthusiastically. Only no one really understood it, not in the sense of the author.

He is fat and carries himself as if he were thin. The impetuous and nervous haste of his fidgety, rapid gestures, of his hasty, sputtering speech do not agree with his broad, powerful body, with his glistening, stout cheeks. He has short legs and bends his heavy back a bit forward, so that he always appears about to fall on one, as if blown over from behind. His words do not obey him fast enough. While he speaks one sentence he is already thinking of the next, and he gets tangled up and begins to stutter; he also stutters with his hands and feet.

He laughs heartily when I question him about anti-Semitism. His full, fat cheeks shake. It seems to him unforgivably stupid and contemptible to argue about such things. "You tell the anti-Semites that they are bad political economists and altogether asses. That is my opinion. I don't know what other comment I can make in this question."

"How you know you can't just make the question so easy for yourself. After all anti-Semitism is ..."

"But, dear child, you can't possibly ask a serious person to take anti-Semitism seriously. Whoever still argues today about religious creeds or races, instead of presenting himself as one human being to another, convicts himself. There is today only one single question, which supersedes the others and decides everything: freedom or force. There is no other choice. Whoever wants freedom, if he only follows the thought of it honestly and without fear, must profess my anarchism, which scorns uproar and wants only the peaceful reconciliation of all people."

“You are just an incorrigible utopian.”

“And you are just unable to think logically, or perhaps you don’t want to.”

“You had better leave logic alone—it could become dangerous. From its premises your whole anarchism can reach its conclusion only by a leap in logic.”

“Prove it!”

“Easily! You begin with freedom. I too. I want the greatest freedom. But it always remains stunted for me as long as a second person besides me is free, for my will is inhibited and constrained by his. To be absolutely free I must first be an absolute ruler. Thus I come to Nietzsche and Barrès, not to you.”

“Only whoever is alone can be absolutely free.”

“Well then, if you recognize that yourself—but then it’s all up with your theory. If I cannot be absolutely, but only relatively free, then it just doesn’t matter to me if it’s a bit more or less.”

“Only you forget that the higher the freedom of the individual is, the higher the freedom of the others will be.”

“Yes, if that were provable and not merely an empty assumption of yours!”

“You are always thinking only of the condition of your freedom, instead of thinking of a general condition.”

“What does the general condition matter to me? If I’m supposed to change and better things, then I will do it radically. But you all are peculiar. Kings and priests and police must go, because they disturb you; but the nearest Philistine beside me, some idiot or other with no eye for art, who disturbs me much more, he may stay. How do I go from the promotion of my freedom to the general freedom that you promote? That’s where the leap is. That’s where love of humanity is always called on—but if I already have that love, then I really don’t need your revolution and I submit to every servility.”

“It’s not from love that I want general freedom, but rather because through it my own freedom is promoted and assured. I leave the others in peace in order to be left in peace myself. Then, of course, I also have to give up many wishes. Naturally force will still exist—no longer the aggressive but the defensive always. The condition of anarchy, too, is not just a spotless ideal, but rather only the relatively best order of society. It cannot give me the freedom to do everything I wish. But it gives me the freedom not to do what I

don't want to do. I will not be forced and I am not allowed to force . . .”

“Except to anarchism—“

“I don't think of it. I reject every force: what counts is to make force impossible; that does not happen by meeting force with force—the Devil cannot be driven out by Beelzebub. Passive resistance to aggressive force is the only means of breaking it. I won't hear of dynamite and bombs. I wait patiently in the unshakable conviction that freedom is the goal of natural evolution. There is no other path to it than that of calm, untiring, and true education, along with the example of self, until everyone understands the general advantage and no one wills to be a slave of his slaves any more.”

“Not all anarchists are so peaceful—“

“What in Germany are called anarchists are dynamiters or communists—our worst enemies.”

“But then where will you find adherents at all?”

“In Paris the movement of the *Autonomie individuelle* is growing, and in America a small but constantly and surely effective group of distinguished men have been at work for years—Tucker in Boston, who owns *Liberty*, is leading them. I have become used to viewing Europe altogether as a dying land ... and Germany indeed, dear God! The Germans are always the last in culture, but the first for every universal stupidity of mankind—take anti-Semitism. I have given up looking for reason here.”

Translated by Hubert Kennedy

In Hermann Bahr, *Der Antisemitismus: Ein internationales Interview* (Berlin: S. Fischer, Verlag, 1894), pp. 92–99. (Reprint, Königstein/Ts.: Jüdischer Verlag, 1979, pp. 55–58.)

Hermann Bahr (1863–1934), was an Austrian writer, at first a Naturalist, but later an Expressionist. He was a director with Max Reinhardt and a dramaturg at the Viennese Burgtheater. His interviews with prominent contemporaries on the theme “anti-Semitism” were carried out in 1893 during his travels through Europe. The “interview” with McKay, which took place in Paris at the time of the “great exhibition” (i.e., in 1889), must

have been written in retrospect to fill out the collection. It suggests that, although Mackay's *Sturm* (1888) was published anonymously, he must have been known already as its author.

Bahr himself was not Jewish. I have included his interview with Mackay to counteract any impression of anti-Semitism that might be given by Mackay's momentary bitterness against his Jewish legal opponents in 1928 (see letters nos. 173 and 174).

Hubert Kennedy

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