

by those who should never have tolerated such excrescences. The effects are now being felt, but no longer is there the opportunity to run away. By staying at home and, as men and women, refusing any longer to either compound with or flee from wrong, this world may yet be made a paradise to those willing to work well upon it. But the basis of all reforms, the absence of which has brought about our present evil condition, is the removal of the parasite-breeding monopolies that are feeding upon and slowly destroying the body politic, and the restoration to the multitudes of the land values they have created.

The Despotism of Socialism.

IV.

History shows that all delegated power tends to become independent of the delegators, and that this tendency increases in the ratio of the distance which separates the delegators from the delegated. The Papacy has its roots in the freely-elected presbyter of the early Church, and the Czar of Russia, in the village elder, whose experience and strength gave him the confidence of his fellow villagers. It cannot be otherwise, for the desire to extend their power is infinitely stronger in those to whom power has been entrusted, than the desire to resist such extension can be in any one of the many who have entrusted them with it.

Hence it is the first and foremost object of Democracy to restrict the delegated power of the State to its absolutely necessary minimum. The function of the State is to regulate, the same as that of the governor on a steam engine. To entrust it with powers exceeding this function is as unnecessary and foolish as to make a governor too weighty for the engine. In either case the excessive governing power causes friction, hindrance, and ultimately a breakdown.

Socialism, on the contrary, wishes to enlarge the power of the State to an extent which even the greatest effort of the imagination fails to fully realise. A Central Board is to regulate the entire industry of the country, that of the national as well as of the municipal workshops. It is to determine the quantity and quality of the product to be made in any factory throughout the country. The national workshops are to be under its imme-

diated control, while the municipal factories federated with it, and internally managed by municipal officers, are yet dependent on the national board for the quantity and quality of the goods which they produce.

A hierarchy of officials, elective or otherwise, will thus allot and superintend the work and fix the reward of every citizen, male and female. In order that this scheme may be carried out, certain powers must be allotted to them. In order that they may control the quantity and the nature of the goods to be produced, they must have power (a) to fix the abode of every man and woman; (b) to determine the employment of every man and woman. For in order that the labour of the nation may be most productive, every trade must be carried on in the localities most suitable to it.

On the other hand, the changing character of the national requirements makes it impossible to employ the same number of men and women year after year at the same trade. Consequently the officials must have the right to compel men and women who are not wanted for one kind of labour to undertake some other kind, and as the seat of the latter need not necessarily be in the same locality, they must possess the power to compel these men and women to go to another one.

The socialistic organisation of labour therefore requires that officials shall have the power to confine every man and woman to certain localities, or to assign to them other localities, and also to determine what shall be the nature of their employment. Unbearable as such powers must become, when used conscientiously, they are manifestly liable to the greatest abuse. For they place in the hands of officials the selection of the men and women who shall be assigned to new trades and localities. Any man or woman displeasing to them may be shifted, may be separated from those dear to them, may be assigned to a trade for which they are not fitted or which they dislike. Husband may be parted from wife, father and mother from growing daughters, the lover from his bride, to serve the secret purposes of some official. Soon there will develop a secret understanding among the latter, which enables them to communicate to each other the character and conduct of any man or woman, with the result that anyone who has become obnoxious to one official will be regarded as the enemy of the system and treated accordingly.

Nor is this all. There must be power to force every worker to do the work allotted to him or her, and to do it properly. The incorrigible idler must either be punished or ultimately excluded from work. What has he to do then? He must starve. Serve him right, will be said. But what if he is not an idler, if he simply lacks the dexterity or strength necessary for the work which has been assigned to him. Is he then to starve also? As the officials must have power to assign every one to certain work, they will then have the power to expose every one they dislike to certain starvation.

If all workers receive the same wage, without regard to the result of their labour, these conditions will be intensified. For in that case the men and women who voluntarily would undertake the more difficult or disagreeable kinds of labour would be few, and the door would be opened wide for bribery and the punitive selection of malcontents for such labour.

If, on the other hand, each labourer is to be rewarded according to the result of his labour, the question arises, who is to settle what is the result of his labour? Officials of course, and every man and woman, would therefore again be dependent on the goodwill or honesty of the officials for the reward of their labour.

The entire country would thus be converted into a huge prison house, every inmate of which would have his particular cell assigned to him, as well as the work which he is to do and the wages which he is to receive for it. If his or her conduct is pleasing to the warders—if it is sufficiently subservient in all the things which these beings of a higher order may demand—then will fall to his or her lot the best cells, the easiest work, and the highest wages.

On the other hand, those men among them who showed any sense of independence, or those women who retained any self-respect, would quickly be made to feel their helpless condition by consignment to inferior cells, to harder and more disagreeable work, by the allotment of lower wages, and ultimately, by being excluded from society altogether and forced to starve.

Who among the workers would under such conditions dare to oppose the will of the bureaucracy? Who would dare to publicly oppose the reelection of an official who wielded powers like these? Who would even

PHOENIX TOBACCO has no Rival for Flavour.

dare to vote against him with the danger before his eye, that the voting papers themselves are at the mercy of the bureaucracy? The men who possessed the daring to do these acts, would indeed be few and far between, and, whether elective or otherwise, the officials once appointed would be practically irremovable and irresponsible.

Once arrived at this stage, the further development would be certain, for officialdom would now be free to organise itself as it pleased. At first it would probably become customary to elect the son to succeed the father in his post, customary because all officials would be interested in seeing the system established, and would consequently use their powers to effect it. Later on even this form would be neglected, and every post would be-

endeavour to secure bread to all by socialistic means, the freedom and independence of all would be sacrificed to the Moloch of the State. The result would be national destruction, or a revolution which would lead to chaos. Mankind would have to begin afresh, would have again to travel the same weary road over which it has passed, until with the re-establishment of order first, of individual freedom afterwards, a wiser generation would re-discover and put into practice the measure of justice by which political and economic freedom can be reconciled.

Current Accounts:

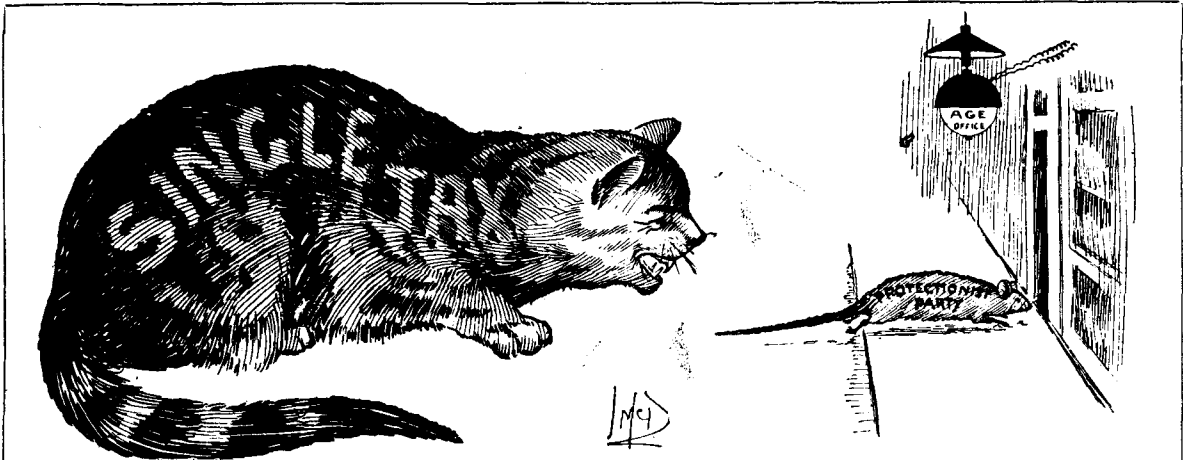
"You nigger; why, you grumble about freedom? Don't you get enough to eat?"

The annual subscribers to the *Beacon* now number over 1900, and total sales amount to close upon 5000, and yet the "Age" says there is not a real Free Trader in Victoria. The wish is father to the thought, or rather lie.

About eighty million rupees is raised annually in India by a salt tax. Because of this tax salt is so scarce and dear that men and cattle alike go short. According to Mr. J. B. Pennington, in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," cholera and cattle disease are the result.

The directors of the South Eastern Railway, England, have decided to advance money to their employees at 4 per cent. interest to enable them to purchase their own houses on terms of repayment more favourable than can be obtained from the building societies.

Ha! my masters, there is music in the air. These are revolutionary times. Yes, yes; a serious mistake you made when you permitted the masses to get an education. Had you but strangled the public school



PROLONGING THE AGONY.

Pussy (smiling): Better an open enemy than a doubtful friend.

come hereditary by right, absolute power would vest with the Central Board, provided such a board were still in existence. The probability, however, is that it had disappeared or become merely advisory, the real power vesting in a solitary individual, the hereditary autocrat, whose will would be law, whose power would be unlimited, and whose lust and pride would devastate the world. The Cæsars of Rome, or the Incas of Peru, would be reproduced in the socialistic state, with all the horrors, with all the crimes, and all the adulation which history records.

The inevitable, the necessary outcome of the establishment of the socialistic state, therefore, is despotism; a despotism more powerful and far-reaching than any which the modern world has witnessed. In the vain

The earth is the common property of all men.—*Pope Gregory the Great.*

Charity hails the boat. Single Tax would stop the leak.

The land values belong to the people. Keep this in mind, whatever be the political expedient of the moment.

The reserved right of the people to the rental value of land must be construed as a condition to every deed.—*United States Sup. Court.*

A labourer turns a desert into a garden, and then we increase his taxes. The speculator turns a garden into a desert, and then we diminish his taxes. Verily, we are a great people.

It was to the selfish panic of the landowners that England owed the statute of labourers and its terrible heritage of pauperism.—*J. R. Green.*

In the Vale of Belvoir, England, the Duke of Rutland owns land producing an annual rent of about £40,000 a year, or rather, men pay it for permission to work on the land,

system in its infancy, ye would now have peace—and slaves.—"Pacific Coast Seaman's Journal."

"The Railway Reform Association" has been started in Great Britain, its primary object being the State purchase of the railways in Great Britain and Ireland; to abolish the present railroad monopoly; to make the iron roads as free and accessible to the public as possible, and to effect an immediate reduction in the present exorbitant charges for the conveyance of goods. These reforms it hopes to inaugurate.

The "Argus" says that the man who denies that the tariff can be reformed without loss of revenue is a fool. Very true, oh, argus-eyed, but how far can the reform be carried without reducing the revenue? Apparently not far, for we see that the tariff reforms carried in America, and called "moderate" by the "Argus," necessitate the imposition of an income tax. What name shall we give then to the man who says that you can establish Free Trade without loss of revenue? What is the "Argus," anyhow? Has it abdicated its Free Trade pretensions