

liberty and pursuit of happiness lie in the direction of associating, co-operating and trading with and among his fellow men, he must be free to use the highways on equal terms with everybody else. To place the highways in private hands is to clothe an individual or a set of individuals with a dangerous and precarious power. In fact, with such power in private hands, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are constantly endangered and often denied.

The use of the highways on equal terms being absolutely essential to the enjoyment of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it is evident that the exercise thereof is a governmental function. In no other way can the individual be secured in his rights. Highways include not only the dirt roads of the country, or the paved streets of the city, but every enterprise, every concern that requires a permanent and constant highway privilege in its operation. It is, or course, apparent that in this sense there would be included the Steam Railroads, Electric Railways, Telegraph, Telephone, Lighting Systems, Water Plants, and enterprises of a like nature. The control and operation of all these, and such others as require the enjoyment of a constant and permanent highway privilege is the function of government, and this function must be exercised to the point where free competition can be maintained. Here the function of government ends and private function begins.

For the exercise of this function of government the revenues derived from the collection of the economic rent must be used. In this way the double purpose, that of assuring the individual in the enjoyment of his equal right of, in and to the earth, and protecting him in the enjoyment of his natural right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, will be served.

This is the Single Tax scheme, supplemented of course, by the exercise of such police power as the times and contingencies may impel and warrant.

Is the Single Tax ethically sound? To ask the question is to answer it. At no point does it invade the rights of the individual. At every step its only concern and purpose are to protect the individual in the enjoyment of his God-given rights. What is it in effect and essence but the spirit of the Golden Rule applied to the political, commercial and economic affairs of man?

A glimpse of the Single Tax discloses the delicate adjustment of the laws of social growth, and reveals the beneficent purpose of the Creator. Its adoption will usher in the day "when swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks; when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and a little child shall lead them."

---

## "A MAN'S A MAN FOR A' THAT."

(For the Review.)

By EDWARD D. BURLEIGH

"A man's a man for a' that." so said Robert Burns, one of the greatest democratic poets of the world, in reference to rank and riches and poverty; but the saying is equally applicable to *all* the accidents of humanity, to intelligence or the reverse, to height, strength or weakness, valor or timidity, race and color. A man is a man for all that. These things do not, and cannot, affect his rights as a man; but, alas, they often affect his enjoyment of them.

Our government is supposed to be founded on the democratic principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, but we are still far short of realizing that ideal. The great author of that declaration himself violated the principles he promulgated by keeping some of his fellowmen in bondage. Fortunately he recognized the inconsistency and worked for the abolition of the system, and freed his own slaves at his death. If all his professed

followers had been, and were now, as consistent, we should not now be troubled with a "color question."

With the exception of the Indians (even if they are an exception, which is doubted by some) this country is inhabited by the descendants of foreign immigrants.

Most came from the different European countries, some from Asia and some from Africa; the last being brought here against their will and sold into chattel slavery, from which their descendants were at last freed through a bloody civil war.

During the existence of chattel slavery the slaves had almost no chance to rise in the scale of humanity. It was a "crime" for them to learn to read and write. Have we, the descendants of European ancestors, a right to expect them to be as far advanced in civilization as we are? And yet when we contemplate the acts of which some white Americans have been guilty toward black Americans, it does certainly look as if the white race had a long way yet to go before it becomes truly civilized.

It is sometimes claimed that the white race is superior to the black race. Perhaps it is and perhaps it is not. But the only possible way to find out, is to give the same chance to each race, and then judge each by the results achieved. But whatever the judgment may be, we must remember that the superiority or inferiority of the two races has nothing to do with their rights.

Sojourner Truth, the old ex-slave, hit the nail on the head when, in reply to a statement that colored people were inferior to white people and therefore had not the same natural rights, she said: "What if my cup holds only a pint and yours holds a gallon. Is that any reason why I should not have mine full?"

Again, races, like individuals, have many traits. One may be superior in one and another in another. To decide the question of superiority we must take them all into account. Even supposing that the Anglo-Saxon race should prove to be superior in strength and courage, is it likely to surpass the black race in the Christian virtues of patience and long-suffering and forgiveness of injuries? It would be pretty difficult, even after many years of equal opportunity, to say certainly which race was superior, all things considered. But the question has nothing to do with rights.

"A man's a man for a' that." We must learn to recognize and respect the equal rights of all if we would get rid of the "color question." There is no other way to solve it.

It is not enough to grant equal *political* rights. The possession of the legal right to vote is of little avail unless its holder enjoys also equal access to natural opportunities. He who owns that which a man must have in order to live, owns the man practically, whether that man has a vote or not.

It was fondly hoped by many that the abolition of chattel slavery would make the ex-slaves really free and enable them to rise rapidly in the scale of civilization. The present writer is one who thus hoped. But we have seen that a more subtle system of slavery underlay the grosser form, and the destruction of the latter revealed the other. Industrial slavery, based on privilege, chiefly land monopoly, enslaves, in varying degrees all but the privileged few. If we would enjoy the blessings of freedom we must abolish this insidious form of slavery which, though less dramatic, perhaps, and less easily seen by the casual observer, is no less real. It robs the laborer of his product, except enough to enable him to continue to labor and to keep up the supply of laborers. It produces a class of idlers who necessarily, as a rule, become worthless drones in the human hive, giving no equivalent for the vast amount of honey they consume. If a privileged few are to get without earning, the unprivileged many must earn without getting.

And right here is, perhaps, the point of greatest trouble in the "race

question." Americans of African descent are mostly poor, and mostly laborers of some kind, competing for the limited opportunities allowed by land-monopoly and other forms of privilege. Many of them, ex-slaves or their immediate descendants, are used to a much lower scale of living than the average descendants of European ancestors. They can and will, therefore, accept less pay. This tends, as long as there are not enough "jobs" to go around, to intensify the one-sided competition and so make it more bitter. At bottom the so-called "color question" is not a question of "color" at all. Neither is it a question of race. It is really a "labor question." To solve it we must emancipate labor. We must abolish privilege. Race prejudice and color prejudice could not long survive a condition of things in which all who could and would work could become rich and educated and refined. This is the way out, and the *only* way. No other "settlement" will stay settled, for in this as in all other matters "nothing is settled till it is settled right."

With equal rights, economic and political, recognized and guaranteed, the social question would take care of itself. That is an individual matter. No one is under any obligation to associate socially with another, but each person is morally bound to recognize and respect the equal rights of all. Such recognition and respect does not in the least carry with it any necessity of social relations of any kind. Personal preference will, and should, determine these matters. And to it they may safely be left when equality in the recognition and enjoyment of rights has once been secured.

How can we secure this equality? There is only one way that is at once effective and just, and that is the way which is known as "The Single Tax."

---

## JUST AN IDEA.

(*For the Review.*)

By JOHN HARRINGTON.

Perhaps nothing else serves so well to illustrate the progress of civilization as the improvements in the laws of taxation. The older forms of taxation were personal. They were in the nature of enforced contributions from individuals. They included poll taxes, licenses on occupations, fees, gifts, exactions, bonuses, enforced contributions of all sorts. Somewhat later perhaps, taxes were levied upon persons with some regard to the evidences that the persons had some means of bearing the burden. They were levied on fruit trees; and fruit trees were cut down. On windows; and windows were omitted from houses. On marriages; and marriage ceremonies were dispensed with. Especially were taxes levied upon the qualities of industry and economy, to the great detriment of both qualities. At the present time a nation's civilization and its progress in methods of taxation will be found to be in close accord; and it is not difficult to find a relation of causes and effect. In Russia, Turkey, and Spain ignorance, poverty and suffering go hand in hand with the evils in taxation. In England a heavy income tax greatly ameliorates conditions; but the virtual exemption from taxation of unused lands has a large counter-acting effect. Again the comparative free trade of England tends to improvement of the condition of the masses. Fifty years ago the heavy duties on grain caused such misery and suffering, and such relief followed the repeal of the corn laws, that the popularity of free trade still remains undimmed in Great Britain. Taxes on bread have been prolific causes of riot and bloodshed. And more than once so-called religious wars have been actually tax wars; because of laws which favored the true believers at the expense of the heretics.

The greatest advance has taken place in the general shifting of taxation from persons to property; and this change will be found to coincide in a large