

For a full and complete understanding of the Single Tax philosophy, we recommend the following books:

Progress and Poverty. By Henry George.
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

Social Problems. By Henry George.
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

Protection of Free Trade. By Henry George.
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

Natural Taxation. By Thos. G. Shearman.
Paper, 25 cents; cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

The above can be obtained from the publishers of this pamphlet.

Every student of progressive democracy should read "The Public," published weekly at 537 So. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. It treats of current political and economic events from the standpoint of the Single Taxer. As a fearless exponent of fundamental democracy it stands in a class by itself. Subscription price \$1.00 per annum.

The official organ of the Single Tax movement in the United States is "The Single Tax Review," published every other month at 150 Nassau St., New York City. Subscription price \$1.00 per annum. Thisazine should be read by all those who to keep in touch with the movement.

JOHNSON
L. J.
TWO PAPERS

on

PUBLIC SANITATION

and the

SINGLE TAX

by

SURGEON GENERAL WM. C. GORGAS
United States Army

and

PROFESSOR LEWIS J. JOHNSON
Harvard University

SINGLE TAX
COMMONWEALTH
LAND PART
NEW YORK, N. Y. CITY
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SINGLE TAX INFORMATION BUREAU

Single Tax Information Bureau
90 West Street, New York City.

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WRITE FOR FREE LITERATURE

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FOREWORD

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."
—SOLOMON.

To Physicians, Engineers, and all professional men interested in social hygiene:

The last twenty-five years have witnessed an enormous interest in all kinds of welfare work. The physician, the engineer, the pathologist, the bacteriologist, the sociologist, the economist, the social worker have each in turn attacked the problems of social hygiene. The result has been the accumulation of a mass of facts invaluable for the comfort and safety of mankind. But, however varied the fields of the workers may be, at one point they all converge at last. Every one of these workers, who looks beyond and beneath his own particular field, every one who ponders on the primary causes of disease, of vice, of alcoholism, of feeble-mindedness, every one, who, in other words, brings his scientific imagination as well as his scientific knowledge to bear upon this problem, is finally forced into the conviction that underneath all obvious and immediate causes there lies one great, general and determining social cause—Poverty.

"Of what use," says the tuberculosis expert, "to send a patient to a sanatorium and perhaps cure him, only to return him to the slums?" "Of what use," says the temperance advocate,

"to preach temperance, when overworked and underpaid labor must needs seek surcease of sorrow in the saloon?" How telling and how biting the reply of the London city missionary when found fault with for not saving more souls: "If you will fill their stomachs with food, I will fill their hearts with the love of God."

Until recently, poverty was looked upon as a divine dispensation—a natural phenomenon, as unavoidable as the tides or the precession of the equinoxes. Malthus, it is true, offered for it, about a century ago, a pseudo-scientific explanation which exercises its comfortably benumbing influence even upon scientific minds to-day. Malthus tells us that poverty is due to the niggardliness of nature; that not enough wealth is produced, or can be produced, to give every worker his reasonable share of comfort; that population inevitably outruns subsistence and hence that wars, pestilences and famines are blessings in disguise, and by the same token public sanitation a menace to society! But the marvelously increased industrial efficiency of the last fifty years, with a consequent production of wealth such as the world never saw before, and which is the wonder of mankind, this, coupled with the persistence of poverty in the face of boundless resources of the planet still undeveloped, shows the inadequacy of the Malthusian doctrine as a reason for regarding wholesale poverty as incapable of remedy. The world is now slowly turning more and more to the conviction that the persistence of poverty amid abounding wealth is due neither to the insufficiency of nature nor to the incompetence of man, but that it is due to some subtle and hitherto little recognized force operating within our social system, by whose power some men are enabled to obtain more wealth than they produce by taking a share of the wealth produced by others; the fault being not individual but social.

What this subtle force is and how it operates to distribute unjustly the great mass of wealth produced, we believe, has been clearly indicated in the writings of Henry George, and it is with the object of bringing before a body of scientifically trained men the more modern view of the cause of poverty—this "riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization and which not to answer is to be destroyed"—that we, the undersigned, commend to the thoughtful consideration of our professional brethren two papers by two men eminent in their respective professions.

We feel that if men of the stamp of Surgeon General Gorgas and of Professor Johnson see in the adoption of the ideas of Henry George, the hope for solving one, at least, of the world's great problems, other workers and other thinkers may be stimulated to inquire along the same line. We feel that many, who have perhaps until now been prone to look upon "single taxers" as a group of well-meaning but impractical idealists, may be led to see that the basic thoughts of Henry George, as reflected in the utterances of these two men, may merit, after all, respectful, serious, and thorough consideration.

In this spirit of candid inquiry we, the undersigned, commend this pamphlet to your attention.

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ECONOMIC CAUSES OF DISEASE

*Address of Surgeon General Wm. C. Gorgas
at a Dinner at the Business Men's Club,
Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 28, 1914.*

I was invited by friends in Cincinnati to meet this evening a small body of single taxers, have a little dinner and talk upon the subject dear to us all. I am surprised at the gathering. I had no idea that single taxers were so numerous here. I presume that my friends consider this numerous body the few referred to, and that of the many thousands of single taxers in Cincinnati, only these could be accommodated by the size of the hall.

I have friends here this evening with whom I have been associated more or less for twenty years, and yet never heard them say a word concerning single tax. It is a great pleasure, at least, to know that they are single taxers. I have met many to-night, the knowledge of whose views on this economic subject had come very nearly escaping me. It will give me very great pleasure in the future to broach this subject when I meet them.

Part of the promise for the evening has been fulfilled by my having a very pleasant time.

Sanitation in my mind has been very closely

associated with single tax. I am a single taxer, I think, because my life work has been that of sanitation. Sanitation is most needed by the class of people who would be most benefited by the single tax. That poverty is the greatest single cause of bad sanitary conditions was very early impressed upon me. If I should again go into a community, such as Cuba, or Panama, and were allowed to select only one sanitary measure, but were at the same time given power to choose from all sanitary measures, I would select that of doubling wages. This, in my case, is not altogether theory. In our tropical possessions, in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Panama, the result has always come about that we have largely increased wages; the result has also come about that in all these cases we have greatly improved sanitation. At Panama, the Commission found that in order to attract labor, and keep it on the Zone, they had to increase and, within a very few months, double the wages of the manual laborer. It does not take more than a moment of thought to show to you how such a measure acts and reacts. Results take place in many directions, but particularly with regard to increasing the ability of the people to live well and get better food and better clothing. While dwelling upon thoughts such as these, I came across "Progress and Poverty." I was greatly impressed by the theory and was soon convinced that the single tax would be the means of bringing about the sanitary conditions I so much desired, and was striving for. It was impressed upon me in a concrete form everywhere, in the United States, in the tropics, and particularly in Panama; the great benefit that some such scheme of taxation would confer upon sanitation.

In a city, such as Panama or Havana, the vacant lots and unimproved neighborhoods were the localities which always gave us most sanitary trouble. I was soon convinced that

if any scheme were brought about whereby it would be disadvantageous for speculators to hold vacant places out of use, this scheme would be of the greatest value for sanitation. It was not possible to effect this change in method of taxation in the cities referred to. I discussed this method of taxation a good deal with the officials of Panama, urging upon them the desirability of a tax levy of this kind to cover expenditures brought about by the sanitary work. I finally got the Panama authorities around to the point of seeing the justice and advisability of such methods, but the organic law would have to be changed and this always takes time. I hope that something of the kind may yet come about in Panama.

The real scope of tropical sanitation which has been almost entirely developed within the last fifteen or twenty years, I believe, will extend far beyond our work at Panama. Everywhere in the tropics, to which the United States has gone in the past fifteen years, it has been shown that the white man can live and exist in good health. This has occurred in the Philippines, in Cuba and in Panama, but the demonstration has been most prominent and spectacular at Panama, and therefore has attracted there the greatest world-wide attention. Here among our large force of laborers we had for ten years some ten thousand Americans, men, women and children. Most of these American men did hard manual labor, exposed to the sun, rain and weather conditions day in and day out, yet during that time their health remained perfectly good, just as good as if they were working at home. The same remark as to health would apply to the four thousand women and children who lived at Panama with their husbands and fathers. Both the women and children remained in as good condition as they would have been had they lived in the United States. This condition at Panama, I think, will be generally re-

ceived as a demonstration that the white man can live and thrive in the tropics. The amount of wealth which can be produced in the tropics for a given amount of labor is so much larger than that which can be produced in the temperate zone by the same amount of labor that the attraction for the white man to emigrate to the tropics will be very great, when it is appreciated that he can be made safe as to his health conditions at a small expense. When the great valleys of the Amazon and of the Congo are occupied by a white population more food will be produced in these regions than is now produced in all the rest of the inhabited world.

But unless we can so change our economic laws, that this wealth will be more fairly distributed than it is now by the races occupying the temperate zone, mankind will not be greatly benefited. I hope and believe that ere this change in population comes about the single tax will have caused such changes in our economic condition that wealth will be fairly distributed. I mean by fair distribution that conditions in which each man gets exactly what he produces—no more, no less. This is all we single taxers ask. We do not wish any man to have a dollar more wealth than he himself has produced, or to take from any other man a dollar of the wealth that this other man has produced. We look forward to this time as not being so very far off, and when such time arrives, we believe that poverty will be abolished from this world, except in so far as there will always be some lazy individuals who will not work and who do not care to produce. But this number will not be so large as to affect the general principles just enunciated.

I have been invited this evening to meet a body of single tax friends. My thoughts have naturally run on single tax lines. I have spent the afternoon in going through your new municipal hospital. I have been greatly impressed

and think I have seen about the best arranged hospital that I have ever before been shown. I was also told that the city of Cincinnati was to have control of and was to finance the medical school in connection with the hospital. This seemed to me most desirable and advantageous for all parties concerned. Thinking in single tax lines, it occurred to me that when revenues were generally raised under single-tax principles, every municipality could afford to have just such a beautiful hospital as the one I was seeing. I could foresee something of the kind for Panama; even now Panama could afford such a hospital, if its revenues were raised by single tax methods.

THE SINGLE TAX IN RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH

LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON,

*Professor of Civil Engineering, Harvard University;
President Massachusetts Single Tax League*

An address before the Massachusetts Association of Boards of Health, Boston, April 30, 1914.*

THE Single Tax should affect the public health in at least two important ways, viz.:

1. By diminishing poverty and thus removing a fruitful source of disease; and
2. By rationalizing the tax system and thus making it easier to get adequate funds for the support of public health activities.

Taking up these points in their order:—I hardly need enlarge, in this presence, on the destructive effect of poverty upon the public health. Undernutrition, overwork, overanxiety, overcrowding, bad air, filth, alcoholism and other destructive vices, ignorance of laws of health and hygiene, inability to pay for proper medical attendance and care are all characteristic of our teeming slums, and, to a greater or less degree, are fostered by poverty everywhere. These are all agencies incompatible with normal human life. The result is, accordingly, widespread disease and premature death with all their terrible consequences to society as a whole—to rich as well as poor. Not long since, I heard one of the most honored leaders in the splendid field of preventive medicine declare: "The employer who raises the pay of his help

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does more to stop tuberculosis than all we doctors can do." Clear as was his testimony as to the bearing of poverty on public health, almost equally impressive to me was the possible implication that, master as he was and is of the more obvious branches of his specialty, he had not yet given vital economics enough study to realize that wages are not to any publicly important degree in the control of an individual employer. Many another leader of public thought has drifted into so narrow a view of his specialty that he has failed to behold, and perhaps has even failed to look for the vision of bright hope which vital economics holds out to those who have eyes to see. By vital economics I do not mean the conventional political science of the schools, frequently dubbed the "dismal" science. I mean the science of the production and distribution of wealth as an applied science man would face it, study it and develop it, with the intention of finding in it some light, with the intention of using its teachings to solve human problems, to *bring something to pass*,—even, it may be, to eliminate the poverty which is proverbially the destruction of the poor and, what may be almost as disastrous a public evil, the ever-haunting dread of poverty which oppresses and fetters the fairly well-to-do and even the rich. Let economics be studied with the care and constructive purpose with which sanitarians, bacteriologists and engineers study their other problems (for economics is a problem of every profession), not merely as part of the fascinating search for truth for truth's sake, but also for the establishment of truth for suffering humanity's sake. Let economics be discussed as you and I discuss our other professional problems, in the spirit in which I am glad to have the honor and privilege of accepting your invitation to address you today. I believe that the result of such study will be the development of an inspiring science, not a dismal science, and one which has much to suggest toward the lightening of your task, and toward the enhanced safety and happiness of civilized man. Its

relation to political economy as the term is now used may be expected to be much like that of modern engineering to pure mathematics. Tangible results from our discussion of today may not be immediate, but I believe it is the natural function and destiny of men like you, men of applied science training or bent of mind, regardless of profession, to lead in securing such results—for whatever may be said for the more literary or bookish mind, nurtured on precedent, steeped in the past, it can be hardly said to be signally constructive in its effect on great public problems.

Momentously beneficent as has been the contribution of applied science in the last century and a quarter—in your field and in my field—I firmly believe the same spirit entering the field of the great social and political problems is destined to render a parallel and perhaps still greater service. It cannot be *natural* that so many of the most industrious should spend their lives in misery and want in these days when the command of steam and electricity has brought to man the power to produce necessities and comforts of life in quantities simply undreamed of a few years back. And if it is not *natural* that poverty should persist, it needs only the removal of its artificial causes to have it disappear. It is appropriate for applied science men, men who expect and are expected to make things of importance happen—and to do it even in the face of serious obstacles—to be attracted to this problem.

I will now attempt to state some of the basic axioms, as I see them, of vital economics.

All wealth, all the material things of life produced by human agency and for which we give our money come from the use of land. Land is essential for their production, a right of way over land is essential for having them brought to us; land is essential for factories, wharves, warehouses, banks, markets, and every other step in the processes of production and distribution of goods. The use of land by labor is

essential to the production and distribution of all the wealth produced each year on this planet. The use of land is essential for maintaining a home, a church, a school. Including as does the word "land" (in the economic sense) all the gifts of nature, it is not hard to see that *land is the basic necessity of human life*. No man produced it. It is the common heritage, as well as the common necessity of all men. The conditions of its ownership and use demand, accordingly, our first and closest attention.

Equally patent is the fact that some land is vastly better suited for getting a living and enjoying life than other land, *i. e.*, some land is vastly more valuable than other land. To what is this value due, and who gets it, and in return for what? The main factor in the value of the most important land, we may say practically the only factor in Massachusetts, is the assemblage of people into communities. Each resident of such a locality secures an increased labor efficiency and comfort due to the division of labor possible only in centers of population. He enjoys also a comparative economic security due to nearness to a large number of jobs, or a large market or a large labor supply. There are various other causes for the drift of people to cities. Much of this drift is natural, but no small part of it is due to needless burdens laid by our tax laws upon farm and village life. Urban land offering to its occupants such attractions is consequently in sharp demand and its market value goes up accordingly. Land in centers of population, such is the competition for it, commands a price of millions of dollars per acre. For example, as a minor but nearby illustration of the value of urban land, the present assessed value of the land of Boston, Cambridge and Somerville alone is greater than that of all the rest of the state of Massachusetts put together, greater than all the other city land and all the country land from Barnstable to Berkshire and from Essex to Dukes. Again—a farm worth fifty dollars per acre half a mile wide and girdling the earth ten times would not quite equal in

value the assessed value of the bare land of New York City.

The income from these enormous community-made values now flows, in the main, into the pockets of individuals in return for practically nothing.

Such a situation at once challenges attention.

It would seem natural, moreover, to inquire, in the face of our poverty and disease problem, whether such a vitally important resource as valuable land is used to its capacity, and if not, why not; and whether and how evil conditions in this quarter may be remedied.

It can be readily shown that there is room in our little Massachusetts, a mere speck on the map of this country, to house the whole population of the United States in detached one-family houses, five to six persons in a house, with a quarter of an acre of ground per house. Even then the density of population of the state would be no greater than that of Boston—and more than one half of Boston land area is vacant—and only one eighth as dense as that of Manhattan. We have obviously only scratched the resources of this country. Germany with her 65,000,000 people is prosperous in a space one fifth smaller than Texas, and one of her leading economists, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, told me the other day that Germany has arable land enough to support in comfort double her present agricultural population. Our poverty is plainly not due to *lack* of good land, but to the fact that it is not in use.

The poverty question, and to a large extent, the health question, is thus shown to be the land question. We see that there is something radically wrong when valuable land is not in use, while labor and capital are alike eager to use it, if it could be had on fair terms, and humanity stands in the midst of increasing cost of living in serious need of the food, clothing and shelter which the normal use of land would permit them to enjoy. Unthinkable as it may seem, something is evidently making it advantageous to its

owners to keep this great source of wealth out of use or only partly used.

Where is some of this unused or underused land? Is it where it would at once affect the health problem?

A glance at any of our cities at once reveals vast tracts of vacant or ridiculously under-improved land within rifle shot of swarming, filthy slums.

A recent Parliamentary return reports that two thirds of the area of 1,076 British urban districts—containing more than three fifths the population of England and less than one ninth its acreage—is rated as agricultural land. A quarter of the area of the swarming city of Manchester is rated as agricultural land. In the little Welsh city of Rhondda, notorious for bad housing, with a total area of 23,885 acres, 19,888 acres are rated as agricultural land.

To come nearer home, in the twenty-six wards which constituted municipal Boston in 1912, there was, according to the report of the Assessing Department of that year—the latest issued—vacant taxable land (including marsh and flats, but not including ordinary back yards and door-yards*) aggregating fifty-four per cent of the taxable land area of the city. This land is so valuable that it is assessed for more than all the land of Franklin, Hampshire and Worcester Counties (outside of the city of Worcester) put together.† The vacant marsh and flats, amounting to 11 per cent of the taxable land area of the city and 2 per cent of its land valuation, are assessed at more than all the land of Hampshire County, including the city of Northampton.

Why is all this valuable land out of use?

Is it not, perhaps, because we overtax the use

*Of course, it does not include parks, streets, cemeteries, nor the many acres of exempt lands belonging to city, county, state and federal governments, and to charitable, educational, and religious organizations.

†These three counties include more than one-third the area of the state and probably fully half of the best agricultural land of the state.

of land and undertax the holding of land? Is it not because we have failed to recognize that the great values which attach to land are people values, are logically the people's property, and are the natural automatic revenue for meeting the common expenses which develop *pari passu* with the land values as the people gather in communities? We spend public money for improving the port, extending streets and parks. What at once rises in value? Water front land, land near the improvements. Do we take this value for paying the bill as Frankfort does? Only to a slight extent, and then we lay a heavy tax on people's houses, machinery, stocks and bonds, or their incomes and their hard-earned wages to make up the deficit, a crushing burden on property the value of which is not advanced one cent by the outlay.

The result of this undertaxing of land holding, and the consequent taxing of land using and taxing of capital, personal property and all sorts of improvements in and on land, is simply to foster non-use and under-use of valuable land to the extent we see all about us. The one thing a city land owner can be certain of, as he contemplates erecting a modern building on his lot, is that there will be an annual inexorable tax penalty hanging over him if he makes the improvement and in proportion as he makes it a good, well-built, substantial and fireproof structure. He may well conclude that probably the safest and most profitable thing for him to do, under the circumstances, is to let an old shack stand or leave his lot vacant and content himself with the bounty which a growing community stands ready to bestow on him for merely holding the title to the land.

As population increases and concentrates, and land is held at fancy prices beyond what legitimate business can afford to pay, a shortage of houses develops, the proportion of available jobs to seekers for work drops, wages drop, the scale of living drops, people become hardened, I should say benumbed, to the endurance of

obsolete dismal tenements, and the result is the city slum and its distressing problems.

We must stop taxing—gradually to be sure, but as rapidly as the public can be induced to see the vital importance of doing so—personal property, buildings, machinery, and all other products of labor essential to the advantageous use of land, including the value of clearing and draining. We can make up the difference by a larger levy on the location-value of land. We can thus collect the public's own earnings, and cease to let them fritter away into the pockets of the small fraction of the people who merely hold titles to land. Of all speculation in the necessities of life, speculation in land is doubtless the worst, for it chokes off the production of wealth at its source. It corners that necessity of life from which all other necessities must come. In proportion as land is held idle, the size of the earth is for practical purposes by so much reduced, and that, too, in its most valuable portions. The result is harmful to everyone. We need not waste any breath scolding the land speculator. He is only managing his property in the manner which our laws make most profitable for him. But we can change these laws and make industry more profitable than land speculation.

The Single Tax, by taking for public revenue only the public's own natural earnings—the value that comes to land as the community grows, and dwindles as the community dwindles—would at one stroke make the use of land so much more profitable than the mere holding of land out of use that the beneficial effect on industry, housing and human life generally would be hard to over-estimate. The operation would be radical and simple. It would replace an unnatural condition with a natural and wholesome one.

And yet some people say it cannot be done. The answer is, it must be done. Moreover, it is being done. The largest body of organized support for the Single Tax is, as might be expected, among farmers. The farmers of the

Canadian Northwest are for it by the thousands. They know that the site value of their farms is slight. They know that farmers are among those least benefited by public expenditures, and hence *should* pay the least taxes. Cities, in proportion as they collect, as taxes, the site value of land and exempt personal property, houses, and capital, experience the benefits predicted. The rapidly growing cities of Vancouver and Houston, in the former of which buildings are not taxed at all, while in the latter they are taxed at only about a third the rate on land values, are among the cities which have felt these benefits, including marked reductions in house rents. Pittsburgh and Scranton are well started toward a similar taxing system. New York seems to be getting ready to follow suit.

It must be observed that the increased use of land must mean increased demand for labor, increased wages, and that greater independence for the worker which would enable him to refuse to live in noisome tenements or to accept work in unsanitary factories. He would no longer need or tolerate paternal watch-care by the state, nor have to form unions for self-protection. Buildings would multiply so that capitalists owning houses would have to compete for tenants just as capitalists building automobiles now compete for purchasers. The owner of slum land, then having to give up in taxes at least the bulk of the income from his mere location (to which the community, not he, gives the money value) would have to build better, would have to put in more capital on which to get his former return; moreover, he could the more readily afford to do so, as there would be no tax risk awaiting him for so doing.

Rural and farm life, relieved of its abnormal and well-nigh crushing tax burdens, should assume its natural attractiveness to human beings and the abnormal flow to the cities should diminish or cease. We now simply tax people into cities; no wonder they go.

Increasing the economic independence of all workers in the only way it can be done, by open-

ing to industry the natural opportunities which nature provides at our doors, should gradually drain the slums of their congestion, though it may take some time wholly to wean slum dwellers from the glitter and horrors of the life to which so many seem perversely devoted. As the dire necessity to endure slum conditions gradually disappears, we may fairly hope and believe that the slums, the breeding place of squalor, disease, alcoholism and vice, the baffling menace to health and stability of society, will also disappear.

The second point I mentioned—the rationalized tax system and more fruitful source of public revenue to be expected under the Single Tax—remains to be given a word.

Space does not permit going fully into the merits of the Single Tax as the solution of the taxation problem. The Single Tax can be collected more fairly, more certainly, more cheaply than any other; it would not repress, but would foster industry; its most striking immediate effect should be to bring advantageous land-ownership and use within the reach of all; it would put land ownership on an impregnable basis (by divesting it of the unnatural privilege of absorbing community values) and tend to make us a nation of land owners, while now we are tending to become a nation of tenants—but all this can only be hinted at here.

With the public taking as taxes only its own rightful earnings—earnings which by the way are enhanced by the wise and economical expenditure of the taxes—every citizen contributing, and contributing in proportion to the benefits received and not in disproportion to his ability to pay, with a fair and proper division of expenditure between local and state treasuries, with greatly increased industrial activity and wealth, with taxes no longer choking off their own source, we could hope to induce the public to spend enough of its own to provide as we have never done yet for really adequate hospitals and dispensaries; for the suppression of dust and

other public nuisances; for better water and sewerage systems; for better housing inspection; for better milk and provision inspection, and many other things we have to do so inadequately, because we simply cannot now find the money with which to prevent disease and to preserve health and save life.

We should have the community's natural source of revenue at our disposal. If it did not suffice, with fair division of the proceeds between central and local government, it would be because we wasted it or were simply living beyond our means, and our means are limited only by the then normally available resources of nature under the transforming influence of labor and its natural friend and ally, capital.

Let me point out in closing this brief paper that the Single Tax contemplates not an extension of the functions of the state, but rather a reduction of them; not less individual liberty, but greater individual liberty. It offers freer scope than ever for individual initiative—in all but schemes for private pocketing of public property. It involves not an increased tendency to public ownership of land and all capital, but a reduction of the temptation to such a venture. Moreover, it is a program well suited to be entered upon tentatively. If a beginning of increased taxes on locations, with exemption of all other property—something which may be tested at first in restricted localities—did not improve conditions, the way would always be open to turn back, just as it would be to go further. Such tests are being made with promising results. The tendency is to go further. People once out of the old rut do not tend to resume the primitive custom of levying upon private earnings in order that location owners may enjoy undisturbed their expected chance to absorb, without return, the public's own earnings.

Could anything be clearer than that steps in the direction of the Single Tax are worth considering? Could any program be more inviting

and hopeful to a body of men who have grasped the great fact that compliance with natural law and justice is essential to human and social health and peace? I believe that study of the economic aspect of the health problem will convince you, as it has me, that until we have land brought reasonably into use, efforts for public health are at lamentably and intolerably low efficiency. With the natural resources of the country in normal use, I believe we can hope for economic health and its attendant mental comfort and physical health, to a degree that sounds Utopian only because our conceptions are distorted by long contemplation of nothing but economic maladjustment. With such a hope once clearly seen to be reasonable, effective steps toward its realization cannot long be delayed. The difficulties will dwindle as we approach them; the benefits will grow increasingly impressive.



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