

. ADDRESS OF .
JUDGE SEABURY

AT THE DINNER GIVEN IN HIS HONOR.

JUSTICE-ELECT SAMUEL SEABURY, of the City Court, was the principal guest at a dinner given at the Hotel Marlborough on December 3d, by a number of single taxers of New York. Charles Frederick Adams acted as toastmaster. Among those present were Ex-Judge Bankson T. Morgan, Henry George, Jr., John S. Crosby, S. E. Moffett, Oliver Tims, Henry De Forrest Baldwin, C. O'C. Hennessey, Edgar L. Ryder, Lawson Purdy, and John De Witt Warner. Judge Seabury spoke as follows:

"I appreciate very highly the honor which you have conferred upon me in tendering me this testimonial of your good will. When I say that I appreciate the honor you have done me, I do not wish to be understood as implying that I consider myself entitled to be thus honored.

"The only pride which I have in the matter is that I am proud to feel that to some extent I enjoy the confidence and good will of the men and women who are gathered around this table to-night, and others holding similar opinions. Any man who can feel that he has the confidence and good will of the single tax men and women of New York, may well feel proud. I know of no body of citizens whose good will and confidence I would rather have than those who in the past fought by the side of Henry George.

"If my friends who took the initiative in calling this gathering had taken me into their confidence beforehand, I am free to say that I should have discouraged it.

"Not that I do not appreciate this compliment, because I *do* appreciate it very sincerely and deeply. But I know, however, that there are many in the ranks of the single taxers who are worthier of this testimonial of your friendship than I am, and I feel that I am receiving something to which others are better entitled. There are men around this table who have struck mighty and giant blows against vested wrongs and special privileges, and who have rendered splendid service to the cause of liberty, truth and justice. Men who in season and out of season have for years proclaimed the truth without hope or thought of reward, other than that reward which comes from a consciousness of a duty well performed. I should rather have joined with you in honoring them.

"To enjoy your good will, and in a measure to have been nominated and elected to office as representing the Henry George man and Citizens' Union on a fusion ticket, is at once an encouragement and a responsibility. It will be an encouragement to me to endeavor to administer my office in accord with high ideals, and it is at the same time a heavy responsibility to live up to what I know your ideals require of all public servants. Of course I do not pretend that my election was in any but a purely negative sense a victory for the cause in which we are all so deeply interested. In the negative sense it was a victory. It shows that our cause is better understood than it has ever been before. It indicates that men are beginning to appreciate that the simple but far-reaching reform which we advocate is neither dangerous nor harmful to the public interests. I say it was a purely negative victory because all that can justly be claimed for it is that in New York County, where the vote was very close and the change of a few thousand conservative votes would have defeated a particular candidate, the fact that a candidate was known to be an avowed and professing single taxer did not alarm conservative voters so as to bring about even that slight change. I shall try to reassure these voters that there was no reason for alarm. I appreciate fully the responsibilities of the office to which I have been elected, and I shall strictly keep the only pledge or promise that I made to administer the duties of the office without regard to any partisan consideration.

A judge who did less than this would be unworthy to hold his place. My responsibility in relation to the office to which I have been elected is to perform its duties carefully, courteously, and with justice to all. This duty I owe to no party or faction, but to all the people whose servant I shall be. So much for the office and its duties.

“As a citizen, I am anxious that our cause, the cause of Henry George, shall be better understood, and shall find its way into politics. The propaganda and agitation work is still as important as ever; but it has so far developed that active political work may now not be substituted for it, but be coupled with it. The way to get our reform into politics is to get the people thinking about it, and for those who believe in it to go into politics.

“In the recent campaign, I think the majority of single taxers supported the fusion ticket. I believe this to be true, notwithstanding the presence here tonight of several distinguished gentlemen who were prominent in the support of Mr. Shepard. The victory that has just been won at the polls was a people's victory, and was made possible largely by the campaigns of Henry George. His campaigns taught men to think for themselves, to wear their party ties lightly, and to be able to distinguish real democracy from the false professions of a corrupt organization trying to hide its true character under the name of democracy. The recent campaign showed that the voters of this city would not tolerate present municipal corruption for the sake of preserving the alleged doubtful advantage of party regularity, for future contests. The city will be better for this municipal housecleaning, and democratic principles will be promoted by it. If it hurts the democratic party it will be only because of the failure of the democratic party to champion democratic principles.

“The advanced and progressive planks in the Citizens' Union platform for which the single taxers are in part responsible, have been roundly denounced, and of late some of the newspapers have commented upon the fact that these planks were not in issue during the campaign, and that the fusion ticket was successful in spite of them. I do not believe this view is correct. It was in the progressive, independent, anti-monopoly spirit of these planks that the campaign was won. The fact that contributed more than any other to the success of the ticket was the speeches of Judge Jerome. His speeches, especially those delivered at the end of the campaign, were in complete accord with the spirit which led to the adoption of the progressive anti-monopoly planks of the Citizens' Union platform. The politicians may have thought that they could keep these issues out, but they were mistaken. These issues are uppermost in the minds of the people, and they cannot be kept out of the political contests of the future.

“Permit me to say a few words upon the broader questions in which we are all interested, and I shall close. We are interested in the success of democratic principles in State and nation. The party which should give expression to these principles except in one county in Ohio seems to be getting farther away from them, and apparently is without an issue. As long as the party is recreant to true democratic principles, whether in State or nation, it will deserve the defeat which it will undoubtedly receive.

“A party to be successful must have principles and definite policies. Mere criticism of the acts of an opposing party does not inspire confidence or win support. The party of the future must have honest issues, issues that are political, economic, and moral. Not an issue manufactured merely to run on, but an issue founded upon eternal principles of truth. Surely, there is room in the United States for a party that believes in liberty and in the principles of the Declaration of Independence and believes that these principles are of universal application. That believes in the right of free speech and a free press and in trial by jury; that believes that the rule of private monopoly should not be further extended, and that monopoly privileges now in private hands shall be subjected to adequate taxation, and that the government shall gradually assume

the duty of operating those public utilities which are in their nature monopolies.

“A party with such principles would deserve to win, but would be strong enough to survive defeat, for in the end these principles must triumph if the American Republic is to survive.”



COMICAL TAXATION .. IN GERMANY ..

F. BURGENDORFF.

(*Expressly for the Review.*)

It is surprising how many different methods have been resorted to in the past to defray public expenses; but perhaps the strangest of all, abolished so recently that I, though not an old man, have yet very distinct recollections of it, was the following:

From 1853 to 1857 I was an apprentice in the city of Altoona; about one mile distant is situated the city of Hamburg proper. This city is, or was, surrounded by some obstruction or another, so that it only could be entered through six different gates. These gates were about eight feet high, some of them of elegant and elaborate workmanship.

From December 15th to January 15th they were closed at five o'clock. Ten minutes before closing a bell tolled; after closing a toll of three cents was charged. It often has amused me to stand there while the closing bell was tolling, and watch the crowd waiting to get either in or out. The gateman would stand holding the gates' wing in hand to close it, but the horses of a team would prevent this, and by the time the wagon had passed the gate, the horses of the following team would again prevent the closing. Through this circumstance many a person could slip through, as the little gates for pedestrians could be closed easily. It was amusing to see a funeral procession in the afternoon; it looked more like a racing contest, for it meant two shillings a person if not back in time.

These wise tax-law makers had made a provision to close the gates every half-month one half-hour later, so that from June 15th to July 15th the gates were closed at ten o'clock. But from ten to twelve o'clock the toll was doubled; from twelve till opening in the morning it was doubled again. The opening of the morning, if my memory serves me, was also done every half-month one half-hour earlier.

I do not see how such a taxing scheme could ever have produced enough revenue to pay the expense of collecting it; for, after the rush before closing was over, you would hardly see a person pass. The obstructions were mostly ditches; but if after closing time you were caught on the ice of the river Elbe, you would be arrested.

Now, the city of Altoona had a similar scheme. It had only two such gates, and one could walk around it; but of course it meant an hour's walk, or more.

I remember that I liked to go to the Hamburg Theatre; of course, I entered the city gates before closing time, and then scanned my watch carefully. At three minutes before ten o'clock I left the theatre, so that I got through the gates on the single tax in place of the double tax plan. All this was abolished January 1, 1859.