

naturally less than the supply of wants?

It must not be understood by the recent decision of Judge Tuley, of Chicago, in the tax stamp case against the United States Express company, even if higher courts do not reverse his decision, that the burden of the war tax can be fastened upon the express companies. All that Judge Tuley decides is that the companies must not raise their rates of transportation for the declared purpose of shifting the tax to their customers. He does not decide that they cannot raise their rates for that purpose provided the purpose be not declared. On the contrary he admits their right in general to raise their rates. In the case before him, the express company had given general orders to increase rates of transportation for each shipment by the amount of the tax stamp. That was held by Judge Tuley to be a colorable evasion of the law. But if rates had been raised without this direct reference to the stamp tax, the decision would have been different. Taxes fall upon customers, no matter who pays them. The court that could prevent that could upset the law of gravitation.

The admirers of the policeman's statue which stands near the scene of the Haymarket riot in Chicago, propose its removal to one of the Chicago parks. It seems that the statue in its present place has been sadly neglected, and its surrounding fence and other appurtenances are in a state of dilapidation. The statue ought certainly to be removed from the Haymarket, but no park of good character ought to be desecrated with it.

This statue represents a policeman; not an ideal policeman, a public caretaker and guardian, but a bronze thug in police uniform. In this it would disgrace any high grade police force. But it is the legend on the pedestal that the Haymarket statue most infamously offends. That legend purports to be the command uttered by Capt. Bonfield when at the

head of a police squad he appeared at the labor meeting on the Haymarket, on the night when the mysterious bomb was thrown among his men, in consequence of which the so-called "anarchists" were convicted of murder. It is in these words: "In the name of the people of Illinois, I command peace!" But no such words were uttered by Bonfield. Nor was any such sentiment expressed by him or any of his men in words or otherwise. Quite the contrary.

What did happen at the Haymarket meeting, as the uncontradicted records of the anarchist trial show, was this: Bonfield drew his men up before this public meeting, which had been listening to speakers for two hours, and at which neither disturbance nor indication or purpose of disturbance had been manifested—a perfectly lawful meeting, with which neither he nor anybody else had a right to interfere—and instead of commanding peace, for which he had, indeed, no occasion, he commanded the meeting to disperse! This was a crime on his part. A crime against American free speech, if not a crime against Illinois law. The only man who uttered the word "peace" on that occasion was Fielden, the speaker. In these circumstances the Haymarket police statue, with its lying legend, is a piece of hypocrisy in bronze that would wither the grass in any self-respecting park.

An English court has recently decided that a hotel guest cannot recover damages against the hotel for a cold caught from damp sheets in the bed to which he was assigned. The judge said he had consulted all the law books, but had been unable to find any case in which there had been a suit over a damp bed. This decision would appear to be "on all fours," as the lawyers express it, with the judgment of the Vermont justice of the peace who said, upon discharging a man charged with stealing apple sauce, that he had looked the statutes all through, but couldn't find anything "agin stealin' apple sass."

BISMARCK.

Of the dead, say nothing but what is good, were better interpreted, Of the dead, say nothing but what is just. This would be a good rule as to all men, whether living or dead; but in the bitterness of the struggle with living men, the temptation is strong to ignore the good in them. Indeed, it is difficult to realize that a living adversary stands for any good whatever. In the heat of battle one cannot coolly estimate the moral qualities of his enemy, setting off the good qualities over against the bad, and strike a just balance. It is only when death puts him out of the combat that we fairly recognize him even as one of our kind. But reaction comes with death, and of him of whom while he lived we could say nothing but what was bad, we then caution ourselves—swinging over to the opposite extreme—to say nothing but what is good. This may explain the fulsome praises which even democrats the world over are chanting now above the bier of Bismarck.

If, avoiding both extremes, we say nothing of the departed iron chancellor but what is just, we shall neither blame him much nor praise him much. Bismarck was not a great man. He was a man of extraordinary intellectual power, a statesman of iron will and infinite resource, an empire builder who might have contested honors with Charlemagne. But in the nineteenth century this is not greatness. Though in these respects he had been Charlemagne's superior, he would not have been as great a man; for Charlemagne gave play to his powers in harmony with the civilization of his century, whereas Bismarck gave play to his in harmony not with the civilization of his own century but of Charlemagne's.

It was Bismarck's master mind that nationalized Germany; but he nationalized it in a mediaeval spirit. Though some of the forms of nineteenth century republicanism were utilized, the pervading spirit was that of mediaeval royalism. Bismarck himself is quoted as saying that while the bent of his mind was republican, he was in fact a royalist. The reason he gave for being so, betrayed the antique theory along which he sought

to establish German unity. He was a royalist, he said, because he believed in God. In other words, believing that God governs the universe, he inferred that vice-regents of God must govern nations. Thus the worn-out doctrine of divine right was galvanized in Germany by Bismarck.

And as Bismarck supposed, evidently, that God governs the universe with an iron sceptre, he taught by example if not by precept that God's vice-regents should so govern their subjects. The inner quality and essence of this man's statesmanship was revealed by our own Gen. Sheridan, a man not unlike Bismarck though of lesser mould, who told with an air of approval of a characteristic incident that came under his observation. He was out driving with Bismarck over a road which was crowded with carters' teams. The carriage in which Bismarck and Sheridan were seated was consequently making but slow progress, when Bismarck extricated himself from the tangle in much the same way that he inclined to settle difficulties of state with the people over whom his royal master ruled. He stepped from his carriage, advanced to the head of his horses, drew his revolver, and aiming it threateningly ordered the carters to make way. His order was promptly obeyed. The carters tumbled their teams helter skelter into the ditch on either side of the road, and Bismarck and Sheridan rode on. That incident illustrates the Bismarckian ideal of government, which was exemplified in a larger way by the arbitrary acts by which he drove millions of Germans into socialism.

Bismarck was no type of the German thought of this century. He typified not what Germany is advancing to, but what she is receding from. In him had culminated the good and the bad of the Germany that was; he was the last of his race. His personality is but a monument to the distant past—a massive monument, but nothing more nor better. To-day his personality stands out boldly as the German type, overshadowing even the royal throne; but that is because there is yet no recognized personality instinct with the life of modern Germany. Bismarck had to die before such a personality could come forward. But

when the nineteenth-century ideals of German progress do find expression in some great German, one who is great in the sense in which Bismarck was not, one whose life and thought are in tune with the life and thought of his time, then Bismarck, though he will still be remembered as a figure in the history of the German empire, will be discarded by the Germans as the type, and even as a type, of their nineteenth-century civilization.

THE CUBAN SITUATION.

With their confirmed manana habit—the habit of putting off everything until to-morrow and trusting that to-morrow will never come—the Spanish may trifle with the war problem yet a little while, but they cannot long delay a settlement. The war is already at an end. Nothing remains but for the Spanish government to acknowledge the fact, and to accept the liberal terms of peace that the American government offers.

These terms contemplate the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Spain from the West Indies, and the reference of other questions growing out of the war to the decision of a joint commission. Nothing so liberal could have been hoped for by the Spanish, after Montojo's fleet was sunk at Manila.

In view of the circumstances which led up to the war, it would be out of the question for the United States to consider the possibility, except as a defeated belligerent, of allowing Spain to retain a particle of sovereignty in this hemisphere. The flying of our flag in Cuba and Puerto Rico has nothing to do with the matter. If we had not yet succeeded in landing American troops upon either island, still peace would be impossible until Spain had either fought us to her terms or abandoned, not Cuba alone, but all her West Indian colonies. It was because of her outrages upon the democratic sentiment of this country by her rule in Cuba that we began the war; and, having begun it, it would be preposterous on our part to make peace until we either suffer irreparable defeat or remove all possibility of similar causes of war with Spain in the future. The president is right, therefore, in making

the unconditional withdrawal of Spain from Cuba, Puerto Rico and all the neighboring islands a sine qua non of peace. Whether he is right in proposing to leave the other questions to the decision of a commission we need not here discuss. It is sufficient for present purposes that no reasonable objection to that can be made by Spain. And these terms, or terms more severe, Spain will, sooner or later, have to accept.

Thus our difficulty with Spain has nearly run its course. But that difficulty will leave us another as a legacy. In consequence of the war with Spain, the sincerity of our declaration of independence will for the second time since its promulgation be put to the test. It was put to the test of fire and sword a generation ago, with chattel slavery as the issue. It will be put to another test as trying, when we come to decide the question of self-government for the colonies that Spain abandons. We shall then let the world know by our decision whether or not we of this generation really believe in the principle of the declaration of independence, that all men—rich or poor, white or black, full or hungry, daintily garbed or ragged—are entitled, by the mere fact of their birth, to equal rights before the law, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

In respect to Cuba, the edge of this issue will have been sharpened by circumstances immediately preceding the war. Whatever obligations our sincere devotion to the declaration of independence may impose upon us as to other surrendered colonies of Spain, those circumstances bind us to recognize the Cuban republic as the legitimate government of that island, and to establish it as such. From that there is no honorable escape, as a brief review of the facts will show.

Three years ago the Cuban republic was proclaimed, and its five-barred one-starred flag thrown to the mountain breezes of the island. From that time to this, Gomez, Garcia and their compatriots, impoverished and hungry, naked and footsore, but brave, devoted and self-sacrificing, have withstood the tyranny and terrorism of the Spanish government, with a degree of patience and endurance never before equaled on this continent ex-