

cannot freely trade. What we need to remedy the evil is not what Kropotkin advocates, but free trade in its fullness.

The same neglect of logical analysis, of clearly distinguishing things that are essentially different, which characterizes Kropotkin's economic thought, also distorts his political philosophy. With his eyes fixed upon the history of governments, he overlooks the fact that there are principles of government which history has ignored. Because history has ignored them he also ignores them. Yet the very name of his philosophy is verbally suggestive of the true key to the whole riddle of government.

Communist-anarchism expresses at once the idea of the community and the idea of the individual. And just as the latter half of the term implies that individual concerns should be independent of government, the former half suggests that common concerns necessitate government. That implication and that suggestion, each correlative to the other, are the very truth. It is a truth, too, which, once perceived, makes political history intelligible, and if applied would relieve Kropotkin's whole social philosophy of its confusions.

As applied to individual concerns, the doctrine of anarchy, or no government, is absolutely sound. Neither one person, nor a large minority, nor a majority however great, has the right to govern any mature and sane man in respect of things that concern him individually.

But there are concerns which are common in their nature. The preservation of the peace is a common concern; so is the prevention of the invasion by one person or set of persons of the rights of others, which is, indeed, a part of the peace question; so is the regulation of land tenure; so is the establishment of highways. These are concerns, so to speak, of the commune, and it is for the commune to regulate them.

How shall the commune do that? There is no rational alternative. It must be done by common consent, of course. No person or clique has a divine commission to administer common affairs. But how is common consent to be ascertained? In the

nature of things there is only one way. It must be ascertained by majority vote. To require unanimity regarding communal affairs is to turn over the commune to the rule of the minority, and it may be often of only one person. No aggregation of intelligent individuals would tolerate the despotism which that would involve. But a majority vote furnishes, as a rule, a fair indication of common opinion; and so long as it affects only common affairs and not individual affairs, it cannot even at the worst work substantial harm.

It is not enough, however, to consider only the government of the commune. There are degrees of communal interests, reaching up to the level of what we now understand by international relations. But there would be no difficulty in applying the principle of government here suggested. With the individual as such (that is, in reference to purely individual concerns) wholly outside the coercive operation of all government, the local settlement or commune would be the unit of government, for there would be the point at which common concerns would take their rise. In the line of the principle, whatever affected that settlement exclusively, would be subject exclusively to its control. But wider interests, necessitating federations, would come under the control of all the communes which those wider interests affected. To illustrate with our own familiar political divisions, township government should be absolute in township concerns; county government should have jurisdiction over the larger concerns in which several contiguous townships are involved; state government over the still larger ones; and national government over those that are national or international.

In that principle of classification lies the political truth toward which Kropotkin vaguely reaches out when he rejects the omnipresent and individual-destroying imperial power of the socialist programme, and endeavors to substitute for it a system of no-government, which involves, nevertheless, a communal government of uncertain and not altogether inviting possibilities. Appropriate gov-

ernment for communal affairs on their different levels, and no government for the individual in what concerns him only as an individual, is the communist-anarchism, or communal individualism, which not only deserves acceptance, but is within the possibilities of adoption in this country. The trend toward it is indicated by the growing popularity in various forms, but especially with reference to taxation, of the movement for local self-government.

NEWS

Aguinaldo's address to the Filipinos has been completed and published. It was given out at Manila on the 19th and appeared in the American papers on the 20th. Following is its text:

I believe I am not in error in presuming that the unhappy fate to which my adverse fortune has led me is not a surprise to those who have been familiar with the progress of the war. The lessons taught with a full meaning, and which have recently come to my knowledge, suggest with irresistible force that a complete termination of hostilities and lasting peace are not only desirable, but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippine islands.

The Filipinos have never been dismayed at their weakness nor have they faltered in following the path pointed out by their fortitude and courage. The time has come, however, in which they find their advance along this path to be impeded by an irresistible force which, while it restrains them, yet enlightens their minds and opens to them another course, presenting them the cause of peace. This cause has been joyfully embraced by the majority of my fellow-countrymen, who have already united around the glorious sovereign banner of the United States. In this banner they repose their trust and belief that under its protection the Filipino people will attain all those promised liberties which they are beginning to enjoy.

The country has declared unmistakably in favor of peace. So be it. There has been enough blood, enough tears and enough desolation. This wish cannot be ignored by the men still in arms if they are animated by a desire to serve our noble people, which has thus clearly manifested its will. So do I respect this will, now that it is known to me.

After mature deliberation I resolutely proclaim to the world that I cannot refuse to heed the voice of a

people longing for peace, nor the lamentations of thousands of families yearning to see their dear ones enjoying the liberty and the promised generosity of the great American nation.

By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the Philippine archipelago, as I now do, and without any reservation whatsoever, I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be thine.

On the day following the promulgation of his address, Aguinaldo was removed from his prison in the Molacorang palace to a private residence, though he is still held under military restraint, and on the 21st the newspaper correspondents were for the first time allowed to interview him. Before these interviews were permitted, the Associated press reporter described the circumstances of the address, deriving his information evidently from American military sources. He said that—

Aguinaldo composed his address without assistance. The original draft was in Tagalog. It was afterwards translated into Spanish. It is believed Aguinaldo is sincerely desirous of peace. He is not an educated man, but is possessed of considerable character and improves on acquaintance. Aguinaldo is not anxious to visit the United States, and it is considered best that he should remain here pending the completion of the work of pacification.

But when the correspondents were admitted to Aguinaldo's presence on the 21st, the representative of the Chicago Tribune, an administration organ, made this report of his visit:

Aguinaldo is still noncommunicative, fearing that if he talks on the situation he will be misrepresented and his position thus jeopardized. He said: "I will make no definite statements on public or private questions until I am familiar with the situation. I am learning English and studying the American government." When asked if he desired to visit the United States, Aguinaldo replied: "Yes, greatly; but I am at the disposition of the authorities."

The Associated press reporter, who also saw Aguinaldo on the 21st, wrote of him:

He was rather reluctant to talk for publication and considered every question carefully before answering. He said he was doing all he could to assist in the pacification of the Philippines, and expressed himself as

surprised at what the Americans had accomplished. When he was first captured, he went on to say, he was greatly astonished to find that a majority of the Filipinos entertained the opinion that American sovereignty was preferable to independence, but now he was inclined to believe that way himself. He explained that since the dissolution of the insurgent congress and the declaration of guerrilla warfare the chiefs had operated to all intents and purposes independently. They recognized him as commander in chief, sending him reports occasionally, and he issued some orders; but for the last seven months communication had been difficult and he had been almost disconnected. "I am now urging in the strongest possible manner," said Aguinaldo, "that all insurgents should surrender and swear allegiance to the United States." When questioned regarding the report that he would visit the United States he replied that he would like to do so, but had made no plans as yet, placing himself entirely at the disposition of the United States government. In concluding the interview, he observed: "Every word in my address to my countrymen, the Filipinos, came from my heart. I hope the Americans believe me thoroughly sincere in my efforts to secure peace, and, under American auspices, to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Philippines."

In considering the value of these interviews, it must not be forgotten that Aguinaldo is under the disabilities of a military prisoner, and that the reporters are subject to military censorship.

The Chicago Tribune correspondent's interview, the first given by Aguinaldo, comprises some information of historical interest, which for that reason we reproduce:

He said: "I was often close to the Americans. I expected to make my greatest stand at Calumpit. When I abandoned Tarlac I commanded 1,500 riflemen. I anticipated Gen. Wheaton's landing at San Fabian. I planned to retreat to Nueva Vizcaya, but was frustrated by the brave Gen. Lawton. I slipped through the cordon with 250 men only four hours before the landing party came ashore." In response to a question concerning his opinion of the American troops, he said: "How terrible are the Americans. They are splendid and ferocious fighters. I no sooner built arsenals and barracks than they destroyed them. Col. Marsh chased me in the most lively manner for two months in the western mountains until I worked eastward with

30 horses and 80 men. I crossed the Cagayan and lived on the east coast for eight months. My outposts often saw the Americans, but I did not participate in a single engagement, though I once commanded 40,000 riflemen. The watchfulness of the army and navy practically destroyed filibustering to Luzon."

Civil organization in the Philippines under the president's commission continues, with the usual appointment of natives as local presidents or governors and of American army officers as local treasurers. The island of Cebu was reported on the 19th as having been organized, with Juleo Ilorente as governor and Capt. Frederick Young, of the Forty-fourth regiment, as treasurer, Maj. James Case, of the same regiment, being appointed supervisor. That the Philippine conflict is regarded by the Washington administration as virtually at an end is indicated by an order of the 18th from Secretary Root to Gen. MacArthur, directing the reduction of the army in the archipelago to 40,000 men. The secretary is reported to have decided also that no more native Filipinos shall be enlisted, and that those already in the American military service shall be mustered out.

American casualties in the Philippines since July 1, 1898, inclusive of the current official reports given out in detail at Washington to April 24, 1901, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900 (see page 91)	1,847
Killed reported from May 16, 1900, to the date of the presidential election, November 6, 1900	100
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period.....	468
<hr/>	
Total deaths to presidential election	2,415
Killed reported since presidential election	36
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period.....	200
<hr/>	
Total deaths	2,651
Wounded since July 1, 1898.....	2,424
<hr/>	
Total casualties since July, '98...	5,075
Total casualties to last report...	5,044
Total deaths to last report....	2,634
Total wounded to last report...	2,410

The Cuban commission, which was to have left Havana on the 20th for Washington to confer with President McKinley (p. 24), has undergone a