

perialistic tendencies, they are for the trust from start to finish. If their tendencies are socialistic, they advocate the appropriation of trusts by the whole people. If they are like Mr. Hadley, they would punish every trust beneficiary who forgets his obligations of honor to society, and punish him severely by striking him hard with a feather.

Yet, after all, the whole matter is a simple one. A little less minute learning and a little more broad common sense would soon solve the problem of the trusts, which does in fact turn on the question of competition.

Mr. Hadley had hold of the "clew end of the skein," when in his speech at Berkeley he distinguished individualistic from socialistic government. But he held the clew in an unfamiliar and awkward way. The true distinction is not between two kinds of government, but between two kinds of function. There is no such thing as individualistic government, unless in a loosely colloquial or very fanciful sense. But there are individualistic functions. There are also socialistic, or governmental functions. Let these functions be kept distinct in thought and in legislation, and many a perplexing problem will solve itself.

What are governmental or socialistic functions, then, as distinct from individualistic? There should be little difficulty in deciding, if individual freedom is really desired. They can all be summed up in the one word, "monopoly." The management of those things which are monopolies necessarily, is a social function if there is any. Delegate to private management the preservation of the public peace, and you have a destructive monopoly, such as feudalism developed. Turn over the highways to private control, and you have a destructive and multiplying monopoly, such as our corporate railroad system has developed. Make the earth private property, and you have a monopoly to which all others are as pigmies to giants. One of its marked manifestations in our day is a continent fenced in and barely used, with every city and town displaying more valuable vacant lots many times over than valuable buildings, while half the population is landless and the whole of it is

land hungry. Whatever other functions, then, may or may not be socialistic, these certainly are—the regulation of land tenure for the equal good of all, the maintenance of highways for the equal use of all, and the preservation of the peace for the equal safety of all. When those unmistakable social functions shall have been socialized, we shall be able to judge what other functions, if any, belong in the same category. Until then we can only guess.

The object of this socialization is to secure to everybody complete freedom to perform individual functions; to secure to all, in other words, the right of free bargaining, which means the right of free competition. This is the natural, the truly scientific way of escape from the dangers of which trusts are significant. We have but to distinguish the field of competition from the field of monopoly. Many monopolies are created by legislation. Let them be abolished. Many grow out of restrictive laws, such as the tariff statutes. Let restrictive laws be repealed. Some are necessarily monopolies. Let the appropriate government control them for the common good. This done, competition will be free; for then bargaining will be subject to the mutual desires and productive capabilities of bargainers.

NEWS

Philippine news looms up sensationally again, through the capture of Aguinaldo. This was accomplished by a trick invented and executed by Gen. Funston. Three weeks ago Funston, with four other American officers, set out for Aguinaldo's retreat, which had been revealed by a treacherous Filipino officer. Funston and his companions pretended to be prisoners of war in the custody of a body of Maccabebes (who bear to the Americans in the Philippines similar relations to those of the Indians to the British in the American colonies a century and a quarter ago), and the Maccabebes pretended to be Filipino "friendly," bringing their distinguished American prisoners to headquarters. The ruse succeeded. Access to Aguinaldo's presence was thereby secured, and when this had been done the Maccabebes and their prisoners

seized his person and brought him to Manila. The capture was made near the east coast of Luzon, about 200 miles northeast of Manila, and in the wild and mountainous province of Isabela. Aguinaldo's influence with the Filipino people is conceded by his captors to have been so great that they herald his capture as ending the war and making further enlistments of American troops for the Philippines unnecessary.

There have been during the week reports from Manila of occasional fighting in a small way at widely separated points. Surrenders of Filipinos are also reported. The surrender of a Filipino command at Antique, in the province of Panay, was announced by Gen. MacArthur on the 22d as ending "the insurrection in Panay." The arrest is reported from Manila on the 25th of Jose Lozado and Francisco Revera, prominent members of the Filipino junta at Hong-Kong. General progress is reported in regard to the organization of civil government, and it is semi-officially announced that the military system will be superseded by civil authority by the 30th of June. Five leaders of a secret society—the Mando-Ducat—have been sentenced to be hanged at Calamba on the 5th, another to imprisonment for life, and four others to imprisonment for 20 years, for the alleged murder of the native president of the town of Calamba. On the 27th MacArthur approved these sentences of the military commission.

The British-Russian difficulty at Tientsin, which we reported last week, has been amicably adjusted. Lord Lansdowne announced the agreement on the 21st in the house of lords. He explained that the dispute concerned an extensive area on the left bank of the Peiho river, upon which Russia had entered last fall and which had subsequently been ceded to her by China. As the area comprised property of the Northern Chinese railroad, Great Britain had undertaken to protect the construction of this road within the area in the interest of British owners of the railroad's bonds. Hence the difficulty with Russia. The agreement between Great Britain and Russia, regarding the matter, reserves the question of title and proprietary rights for future examination, Great Britain mean-

while withdrawing from the disputed territory.

With this settlement of the comparatively trifling quarrel over the Tientsin concession, the Manchurian question, of which we told two weeks ago (page 775), resumes its prominence. At the time of our former report on this subject, secret negotiations between Russia and China were known to be in progress for the establishment of a Russian protectorate over Manchuria, which Russia has for five years past been gradually occupying. These negotiations were objectionable to both Great Britain and the United States as tending to the dismemberment of China, and to Japan as steps toward the appropriation of Corea by Russia. It was at that time feared that the upshot might be a general war, with Russia, supported by France, on one side, and Great Britain, supported by the United States and Japan on the other. The United States had gone so far as to warn China against making concessions to any power without the consent of the others, and Great Britain has done the same. But now this affair, in so far as it is a menace of war, has settled down to a possible conflict between Russia and Japan. Russia's secret negotiations with China had led up to a demand on Russia's part that China enter into two treaties regarding Manchuria, to be signed on the 26th. What these treaties are is not yet known, except as Chinese officials have vaguely divulged their terms. Russia declines to disclose them. A British diplomatic request of Russia for information is reported to have been curtly refused. Pending the date for signing, China begged the other powers to warn Russia instead of herself; but none of the powers has exhibited any disposition to go beyond the action of the United States in its hint to Russia through its warning to China. Three of them, however—Great Britain, Germany and Japan—have notified the United States that they will regard the signing of the Chinese-Russian treaties as freeing them from their obligations to preserve the integrity of China (see page 344), and will take such measures as they deem advisable for the protection of their own interests. This notice is understood to foreshadow a policy of Chinese partition. At a cabinet meeting on the 26th, the United States decided to make no protest against the

treaties, but to stand for the "open door" policy, if Great Britain, Germany and Japan do make the Russian-Chinese treaties regarding Manchuria the pretext for a general partition. Whether the treaties have been signed is not yet known, though the time limit for signing them, the 26th, has expired.

On the brink of a foreign war which her policy of "benevolent assimilation" is provoking, Russia is also in a state of domestic turmoil. Allusion was made to this in these columns last week (page 793). The trouble began on the 17th with students' riots in St. Petersburg and the university cities of Odessa, Kieff and Kharkoff. These disturbances have continued and have been supplemented with workmen's strikes and other demonstrations. Preceding the rioting, the minister of education was assassinated and the minister of justice was fired at. An attempt has been made also upon the life of the chief procurator of the holy synod. On the 23d there was publicly posted in St. Petersburg a call to "all intelligent members of Russian society to join the ranks of the students in the struggle for freedom." It is reported, too, that a mine, intended for the assassination of the emperor, has been discovered. Though indefinite and untrustworthy in their details, the reports that reach this country nevertheless indicate a general disturbance, and it is not improbable that Russia is, as some of the reports state, upon the brink of a revolution.

There is little news regarding the war in South Africa, except that the history of the peace negotiations between Lord Kitchener and Gen. Botha have been made public in a parliamentary document given out in London on the 22d. They began with a dispatch of February 22d from Sir Alfred Milner to Mr. Chamberlain, stating that Mrs. Botha had returned from a meeting with her husband, to whom she had carried a verbal message from Milner offering to meet Botha for a discussion of peace conditions with the understanding that the question of independence should not be broached. Mrs. Botha brought back a written reply from her husband proposing a meeting at Pretoria. This meeting took place between Botha and Kitchener on the 28th. Kitchener then proposed certain terms subject to modification by his

government. They were stiffened somewhat by Sir Alfred Milner and still further by Mr. Chamberlain. As finally offered, they proposed to grant, upon the cessation of hostilities and the surrender of all arms, a general amnesty "for bona fide acts of war;" to "move the governments of Cape Colony and Natal to similar action, qualified by the disfranchisement of any British subjects implicated in the war;" to bring war prisoners back to the country; to replace military law by civil administration, and "as soon as circumstances will permit, to establish a representative government;" to establish a high law court; to respect landed property, church property and orphan funds; to teach English and Dutch in the public schools, and use both languages in the law courts; not to extend the franchise "to Kaffirs in the Transvaal and Orange River colony before a representative government is granted;" and "as an act of grace, to set aside \$5,000,000 to repay the inhabitants for goods requisitioned by the republican governments." The significant thing about these negotiations is the fact that they were initiated by the British government in the face of its frequent notification to the Boers that they must surrender unconditionally. Next to that in point of significance is Botha's refusal to accept the terms.

It is evident that fighting has been renewed since the failure of the peace negotiations, but the news regarding it is not important in itself.

NEWS NOTES.

—The guillotine has been substituted for the ax by Sweden as the instrument for capital executions.

—Charlotte Mary Yonge, the famous author, died at Winchester, England, on the 24th at the age of 78.

—The New York prison village of Sing Sing, on the Hudson, has secured from the legislature a change of name to Ossining.

—H. H. Kohlsaat has sold the Chicago Evening Post to a syndicate headed by J. C. Shaffer. The rumored price was \$200,000.

—The various tin can companies of the United States have been consolidated in a trust under the corporate name of the American Tin Can company.

—The Chicago Record has been sold by Victor F. Lawson to H. H. Kohlsaat, who intends to combine it with the Times-Herald under the name of the Chicago Record-Herald. Such is the authoritative announcement.