

ural functions at all, is to concede that the function of taxation, without which it could not exist, is natural also.

When these four functions of government—namely, police power, land tenure regulation, highway regulation and taxation—are named and their limitations considered, all the natural functions of government are named, and all the natural limitations of government are in general considered.

It might be said that some functions of a business character, such as water supply for cities, have been overlooked. But this would be a mistake. They are included in the functions already named. The only legitimate business function of government is in connection with services which cannot be rendered unless government renders them itself through its own employes, or invests private individuals or corporations with power to render them as monopolists. Upon examination these business functions will be found to be either incidental to general governmental action, as official bookkeeping, the constructing and heating and lighting of public buildings, and so on, or subservient to the highway function. The general principle regarding such functions may be stated in this form: When in its nature a business cannot be carried on without governmental permission, that business is in its nature governmental and its management consequently within the legitimate functions of government.

Now it is evident that government has not observed these principles. All governments are sinners in this respect, our own included. On the one hand they neglect functions that are governmental, and on the other they overstep the natural limitations of government and trespass upon private rights. It is this neglect that makes socialism plausible in its demands for more governmental interference, and this overstepping of natural limitations that makes anarchism plausible in its objections to all government.

Under cover of the police and taxing powers, government has invaded the field of private life and pri-

vate business. It taxes private occupations, for instance, to raise public funds which it should obtain, not by levying upon individual incomes, but from the obviously natural sources of public income which it persistently neglects; and it levies taxes upon the many to secure benefits for the few, as in the case of protective tariffs. Those are instances. The indictment against government for misuse of the police and taxing powers is too long to repeat in full.

In the land tenure power it is equally derelict. Instead of so regulating land tenure as to conserve the rights of all, it assumes to give perpetual titles to the planet, for the peculiar benefit of a few and to the perennial robbery of the masses of mankind.

Likewise with highways. Under color of governmental authority a class of robber barons has sprung up which it is the duty of government to suppress, but which, instead, it fosters by abandoning its own highway functions to private manipulation.

In these derelictions of government are to be found the explanations of socialism and anarchy. Let government faithfully administer its natural functions, and the cry of the socialist for more government would subside; let it keep within its natural limitations, and the complaints of the anarchist would be answered.

NEWS

Although the people of the United States have been confidently assured from Washington that the war in the Philippines ended nearly a year ago and that the islands have since that time been in a forward state of pacification, the Americans have just suffered their greatest disaster. This is less surprising to readers of current news who have read between the lines of dispatches from Manila or given serious thought to interviews with persons recently returned from the islands or who are in correspondence with friends located there, than to such as have taken Washington assurances on faith. Indications of the true situation in the Philippines have appeared from time to time during the summer in these columns. At page 250 we recorded the fact that the Filipinos were still in arms for inde-

pendence in the islands of Cebu and Bohol, and in the province of Batangas, Luzon, and that after an unsuccessful trial of civic government in those districts by the Americans it had been abrogated. In a later issue, at page 312, we told of a five hours' fight in Batangas province, and also of the capture of Cabrera, whom the dispatches described as controlling the Filipinos in southern Batangas. Congressman Hull was quoted on page 345 as reporting that a full military equipment is necessary to hold together the civil governments in the islands; and a news dispatch was given as authority for assurances that "everything points to the early capture or surrender of Miguel Malvar, the insurgent leader," which would make everything "favorable to the establishment of permanent peace." In our latest reference to the subject (p. 395) we quoted a mail dispatch predicting "a renewal of guerrilla hostilities," and saying that "Malvar still has enough men to be troublesome." Besides these indications that the Filipinos are struggling desperately for the independence of their country, occasional interviews in the newspapers have pointed in the same direction. On the faith of a private letter from Manila, Gen. Wesley Merritt was cabled from London as saying on the 26th of September:

The present situation is a source of great anxiety to the authorities in the field. There is a strong feeling among them that the real facts in the case have been kept back by the Washington government. The United States are in possession of a rich but small area of the whole territory. The insurgents are likely to maintain guerrilla fighting for an indefinite period, thus seriously retarding the final conquest of the island. The enemy is blackmailing the native towns and villages without difficulty, obtaining all necessary supplies, since a native can live on a handful of rice a day. Doubtless the American people will be sorry to be assured that a permanent army of 40,000 soldiers will be required to hold the Philippines, but conservative officers on the spot are convinced that this view of the situation is correct.

And Gen. Hall, who left Manila last April, was reported, September 29th, as having said:

The conditions were not satisfactory when I left, and I understand there has been considerable fighting ever since. The southern end of Luzon, whence I came, is peopled largely by the Tagalos, a vast majority of

whom are densely ignorant. They have no idea of freedom. They look on the United States as a little island and cannot comprehend the motives of this government.

These indications that the Philippine "pacification" of the past year has been a dream of optimistic officials and partisan newspapers, are tragically verified by the disaster to the American arms alluded to above.

This disaster occurred near Balangiga, a sea port of the island of Samar, on the 28th. Samar lies south and east of Luzon, from which it is separated by the San Bernardino channel. It is occupied by from 2,000 to 3,000 American troops. While Company C, of the Ninth infantry (whose colonel, Liscomb, was killed in China), was at breakfast on the 28th, it was surprised by a body of Filipinos. The company was 75 strong and was accompanied by a regimental surgeon. Out of this total of 76, only 24 escaped, of whom 11 were wounded. Of the remaining 52, the bodies of 45 have been found. They had been burned in a trench, and in numerous instances had been mutilated. The captain's body, saturated with kerosene and partly burned, was found tied at the heels. The Filipinos captured all the company supplies and all its rifles except three. The Filipino casualties are not credibly reported. When a battalion of the same regiment reached the town after the disaster it was deserted, and this battalion razed it to the ground. It is suspected that the presidente and chief of police of the town, under the American regime, led the destructive attack upon the Americans.

Concurrently with this sanguinary news from Samar come reports from Manila that in the provinces of Batanga and Tayabas, which comprise the whole southern part of the island of Luzon, "the worst form of guerrilla warfare prevails." In those provinces, say these reports—the insurgent forces are distributed under cover along every road and trail and wait for travelers in ambush. The insurgent leader Caballos (who formerly belonged to Gen. Cailles' command, but who refused to surrender with Cailles) is retreating to the mountains. The main forces of the insurgents are scattered in bands over the province, where they dig up rifles when there is an opportunity to use them.

In South Africa, also, the path of the foreign invader continues to be strewn with thorns. The biggest battle for several months was fought on the 26th, and though the Boers were forced to withdraw, according to British reports, they made an attack with so large a force as to discredit Kitchener's assurances that the country is pacified except for "a few malcontents." This battle took place on the borders of Zululand, southeast of the Transvaal. Some 1,500 Boers, supposed to have been led by Gen. Botha, attacked the British forts Itala and Prospect. The battle lasted all day on the 26th, and the Boers were finally repulsed, though with a loss to the British of 12 killed, 43 wounded and 63 missing. Boer losses, according to the first report, were 20 killed; but subsequent British dispatches put them at 200 killed and 300 wounded and captured. Some curiosity has been excited over these reports, which account for 63 British as missing, though the attack upon the forts was repulsed; and it has been inferred that the 63 were killed. Hardly had this battle near the eastern border of the Transvaal been heard of, when news of another, at the western border, hundreds of miles away, came over the wires. Gen. Delary had on the night of the 29th attacked the British garrison at Moedwill, under command of Col. Kekewich, who defended Kimberley. Here also the Boers were repulsed, but only after two hours' fighting, in which the British lost 33 killed, 88 wounded, including Col. Kekewich, and 40 missing. The report of Boer losses is 14 killed and 114 wounded.

It is evident that Lord Kitchener is in narrow straits, for, on the 30th the British war office made public his request for 25,000 more men, together with plenary power to hang prisoners charged with rebellion, treason or murder, without reference to the home government. No response to this request is yet reported. The depletion of the British war chest, however, is exposed by the announced decision of the ministry to call for an additional loan of \$750,000,000. And as to the need for men and the few enlistments the military journals of London are calling for conscription. The Naval and Military Gazette, for instance, comments upon Kitchener's need for men by asking:

Where are they to be got, unless indeed the colonies be asked to send more men? The yeomanry are not

coming forward as it was expected they would, and the experiment of sending out raw recruits is not likely to be repeated. On the whole, there is little enough on which to congratulate ourselves just now except the magnificent spirit of the army in the field, and of that we are ashamed to take advantage. Perhaps the government will redeem its past feebleness by taking the only step that meets the case—putting in force the only form of conscription that will be accepted in England.

The same paper, deploring the state of things in Cape Colony, and admitting that large numbers of the colonial Dutch are joining the Boers and that practically the entire population in invaded districts is giving them assistance, says:

In 1899 ministers thought there would be no war. In 1900 they thought the war would end. In 1901 they think peace can be secured by proclamations. These miscalculations have been paid for in the devastation of South Africa, rivers of blood and millions of treasure. Nevertheless, the nation still refuses to learn its lesson, perhaps because it is not bitter enough. Do we intend to wait for an awakening that may come too late?

That British public opinion is being affected by the discouraging situation appears probable from the fact that 500 public meetings have been arranged, to be held throughout Great Britain in October and November to protest against the ministerial policy of unconditional surrender, and to demand an honorable peace.

Regarding the petition of the Boers to The Hague council for a decree of arbitration (p. 395), the London Times verifies the report that the members of the council have unanimously decided that the question of assuming the initiative in arbitration or intervention in any form in regard to the South African war must be definitely abandoned.

We can cross the ocean on the news of the yacht race between the Irish "Shamrock II." owned by Sir Thomas Lipton and the American "Columbia," owned by J. Pierpont Morgan, which began at New York on the 28th. The race is to be decided by the best three in five trials, with a time limit of five and a half hours. The trial of the 28th, 15 miles by windward and return, was won by the Columbia by 1 minute and 22 seconds, official computation. She had actually gone beyond the time limit by 6 seconds—having started at 11:00:16 and re-