

suffrage without the slightest prejudice to the principle of suffrage as a natural right. And as to convicts, the same principle that justifies the denial to them of life or liberty consistently with the theory of natural rights to life and liberty, may deny them the suffrage without raising any question of inconsistency with reference to the suffrage as a natural right.

In other words, to withhold the suffrage from persons incapable of performing ordinary obligations is not inconsistent with the principle that suffrage is a natural right. Liberty is a natural right. But consistently with that right children are held under tutelage. Consistently with that right also the "non compos" are restrained. Consistently with that right again convicts are imprisoned. To argue that the suffrage is not a natural right because it is properly withheld from immature individuals, from individuals adjudged "non compos," and from criminal convicts, is to argue that liberty itself is not a natural right. And if liberty be not a natural right, then the only basis of natural right is superior force, which is a moral absurdity.

These questions of government and suffrage would be very much simplified, if a clear distinction were drawn with reference to the legitimate functions of government. No form of government has any right to coerce an individual in regard to his individual concerns. Coercion of individuals in individual concerns is an invasion, an aggression; and it does not cease to be such because the invader and aggressor is a government instead of another individual or a mob. This is as true of government by all under universal suffrage, as of government by one under absolute monarchy.

The sole moral justification for government is the fact that social life is not limited to individual concerns. There are also common concerns. It is for the regulation of these, and only for that purpose, that government of any kind possesses just powers. Its solitary function is to protect common rights and administer common property. When government attempts to coerce

individual action except for the protection of such common rights as life and liberty, and the administration of such common property as highways and site values, it becomes a marauder.

With this distinction clear all rational objections to government by majority are removed. When government is conceived of as possessing power to regulate private concerns, government by majority is as intolerable as any other species of tyranny. But when it is conceived of merely as the agent for protecting common rights and administering common property, government by majority commends itself as fair and natural. It is the only method of securing common action in accordance with common agreement.

The same distinction also makes the naturalness of the right of suffrage self-evident. To have a voice in the management of the organization which is charged with the protection of every one's life and liberty and the administration of every one's interest in common property is a natural right if anything can be.

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## NEWS

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In the British war in South Africa the advance from Kroonstad to Pretoria has begun. At our last report Lord Roberts was at Kroonstad, which he made the center of his line, with the right wing, under Rundle, somewhat to the north of Thaba N'Chu, and the left, under Hunter, on the Vaal river not far east of the Bechuanaland border. On the 22d the center of the line, under Roberts, began its advance. At this writing it had reached the Rhenoster river, about half way between Kroonstad and the Vaal. The Boers in large force retreated before it, carrying all their supplies and munitions with them. There was but little fighting, the reports indicating that the Boers were outflanked by Roberts's long lines.

Buller's forces in Natal have made no decisive movement beyond Glen-coe, where they were last week; but over on the western border of the Transvaal the British have at last succeeded in relieving Mafeking.

Of the relief of Mafeking the first report came from Pretoria on the 18th, when the Boers announced that after one more severe bombardment of Mafeking, they abandoned the siege, which they had maintained since October 9, and that a British force from the south took possession of the place. There was no confirmation of this news until the 21st. Lord Roberts then reported that the flying column under Col. Mahon (reported last week as having passed through Vryburg) had entered Mafeking at four o'clock on the morning of the 18th, at the cost of five hours' fighting the day before.

Without waiting for this confirmation London crowds went into a frenzy upon receiving the first report. To quote from the cable dispatches:

By midnight the thoroughfares of the metropolis were overrun with jostling, howling crowds, and drum and fife corps paraded the streets, followed by vast, straggling processions of men, women and children, madly waving flags and yelling without intermission. The reminders of most conservative persons that the report might possibly be untrustworthy had no effect on the celebrators, who noisily rejoined: "Bobs said he'd relieve Mafeking today, and he's done it." And so the outpouring of popular ecstasy continued and grew in volume until all London was little else than a maelstrom of unreasoning revelers.

This hysterical excitement spread all over England. Says one of the dispatches: "Bells were rung and whistles blown and bonfires built all over the island, and at one o'clock in the morning the demonstrations were reported as still in full swing." The London Times described these demonstrations as having "had no parallel in recent times." They were kept up through the next day, when all business was suspended, say the reports, "except flag, button and drink selling." To continue quoting from the London dispatches:

Every conveyance save that of society, in the streets, is decked with union jacks. Cab drivers fly flags on their whips and horses' heads and tails. Some wear paper caps of red, white and blue. It is an exception to find anyone not wearing a favor. The vast majority have flags of various sizes. All the younger and a good many of the elder section of the population carry tin trumpets which they blow incessantly when not cheering vociferously, and aimlessly display on the whole an utterly childish, effusive unrestraint, absurd in its disproportion to the occasion. In the city yesterday shops were closed, while groups of stovepipe-

hatted, frock-coated, middle-aged and ordinarily staid citizens paraded the streets, arm in arm, waving flags, blowing trumpets and whistles, singing patriotic songs, and acting altogether as if they were mad or drunk. They were neither. They were only unduly elated and unable to give their enthusiasm any more dignified expression.

Public opinion regarding the war is being aroused in the United States by the appearance here of the peace convoys from South Africa—Messrs. Wessels, Fischer and Wolmarans. They were given an official and popular reception at New York on the 17th at the city hall. In welcoming them Mayor Van Wyck said:

I am delighted to welcome you to the city of New York and to be able to assure you that wherever you go in free America you will receive a cordial welcome from the liberty-loving people of this country. I desire to inform you that the representatives of the city of New York have asked me to extend to you a welcome, and that the municipal assembly has adopted resolutions tendering you the freedom of the city. Never since I have been in the mayor's office has a more pleasant duty devolved upon me than to welcome you in behalf of this free people and to assure you that you have their full sympathy.

Mr. Fischer responded:

We believe that no people can understand what it is to struggle for freedom except a people which has gained its liberty by such a struggle. We have been told to avoid intemperance, the pitfalls of party cliques and political entanglements, and we can say that to-day we are as ignorant of all party cliques as on the day of our arrival. Our appeal is to no faction, to no party, but to the whole American people, and we prefer to believe that the splendid welcome that has been given us voices the feeling of all classes alike. We cannot think that our mission to seek for our country peace with honor will be unsuccessful.

From New York the Boer envoys went to Washington, where they were received upon their arrival on the 18th by a committee of congressmen, senators and leading citizens. A mass meeting was held in their honor on the 20th. The audience, large and enthusiastic, was presided over by Congressman Sulzer, of New York, a democrat. It was addressed by Bourke Cockran, one of the leading McKinley orators of the campaign of 1896; by Senator Teller, of Colorado, a silver republican; and by Senator

Mason, of Illinois, and Senator Wellington, of Maryland, both republicans. The envoys spoke in response. Meetings of a similar character are being arranged throughout the country.

On the 21st the Boer envoys were accorded an informal and entirely unofficial interview with the secretary of state. According to the latter's subsequent account of the interview, they expressed a desire that the United States should intervene in the interest of peace. To this the secretary replied that while the president regretted the suffering and sacrifices of both combatants, he could do nothing but preserve strict neutrality. By way of showing that the president had exhausted his powers of inoffensive intervention the secretary recalled the request for intervention some weeks ago, made by the two South African republics, and said:

The president at once directed me to convey the substance of this telegram to the British government, and in communicating this request I was directed by him to express his earnest hope that a way to bring about peace might be found, and to say that he would be glad to aid in any friendly manner to promote so happy a result. The Transvaal government was at the same time informed of the president's action in the matter. Our representative in London promptly communicated the president's instruction to Lord Salisbury. In answer he was requested to thank the president for the friendly interest shown by him, and Lord Salisbury added that her majesty's government could not accept the intervention of any power. This communication also was immediately transmitted to our consul at Pretoria to be communicated to the president of the South African Republic. So far as we are informed the United States was the only government in the world of all those approached by the South African republics which tendered its good offices to either of the combatants in the interest of a cessation of hostilities.

An interview with President McKinley was obtained on the following day. This also was an informal, personal visit, the object of the coming of the envoys to this country being only briefly referred to. The president prevented any discussion by informing his visitors that the response made to them by Secretary Hay on the previous day must be regarded as final.

Meanwhile, some members of the senate had endeavored to secure for the

Boer envoys informal recognition by that body. A resolution was offered on the 21st by Senator Allen extending to them the privileges of the floor. It was antagonized by Senator Davis, and lost by a vote of 36 to 21. Mason and Wellington alone among the republicans voted for it. Morgan was the only democrat to vote against it.

From the Philipines the news is still of fighting. On the Island of Samar; at Catarma, May 1, there was a skirmish in which three Americans are said to have been wounded and 209 Filipinos killed. Six days later, at Pambugan, on the same island, the Americans report that they killed 75 Filipinos without any loss to themselves. On the Island of Mindanao a fight has occurred in the hills near Aquasan in which two Americans and 51 natives were killed. This conflict was not with Filipinos. It was with Mohammedan subjects of the sultan of Sulu. Another occurred near Cotobatto, also on the Island of Mindanao, where an American detachment had been sent to preserve the peace at a conference between two hostile chiefs. At last reports reinforcements were on the way to support this detachment. In the southern provinces of Luzon the Americans are unable to maintain order. They occupy a few coast towns there, but are surrounded by Filipinos, who constantly assail the garrisons, which are too small to operate in the surrounding country. Gen. Bell, in command of the hemp provinces in that region, has consequently been obliged to suspend Gen. Otis's order to organize municipal governments there. Referring to this embarrassing situation, dispatches from Manila state that several regiments are needed to control each southern province of Luzon, but that there are none to spare from their present stations.

Aguinaldo has been heard from in what purports to be a proclamation issued by him on the 4th of May from Pilillo island, which is adjacent to the eastern coast of Luzon. It is being circulated in Manila. This proclamation declares that the American commission, of which Judge Taft is chairman, has been appointed by President McKinley without authority from congress, and that it is therefore without lawful power to bind the American government in its dealings with the Filipinos. They are accordingly warned not to surrender their arms upon any promises of the