

in the level head and judgment of the senator from Vermont.

So when he says that nothing has occurred to warrant the reversal "of a line of action which we believe to be based on principle and justice, which we believe to be the only honest and consistent course," the American people are confirmed in their amazement and indignation over a change for which there has been no reasonable explanation or excuse.

Senator Proctor dismissed the constitutional phase of the subject as not material to its settlement on lines of sound policy, good faith and unbroken American precedent. "The constitution may or may not follow the flag," said he, "but the good faith of the American people must stand unquestioned wherever the stars and stripes are seen."

Senator Proctor read a letter from ex-Senator Edmunds which expresses clearly both the judgment and the conscience of the American people on the Porto Rico tariff bill. "Any such measure, if enacted," wrote Mr. Edmunds, "will, I believe, be unique in our history. It will imitate and parallel the acts of the British parliament which forced our fathers to just resistance and revolution, and led them to establish a constitution which in studied and explicit terms forbade any such discrimination." Mr. Edmunds also claimed that the proposed legislation "is still less defensible, viewed in the light of those principles of liberty, justice and equality of rights we all profess to believe in."—Chicago Times-Herald.

#### W. E. H. LECKY ON THE WAR.

The following statement of the moral aspect of the war in the Transvaal, was written for the London Times by Rt. Hon. W. E. H. Lecky, the noted English historian:

"There can, I think, be little doubt what course would have been adopted by an intelligent military despotism had it existed during the last few years in the place of England in South Africa. It would have peremptorily forbidden the arming which was going on in the Transvaal, and if its protests had been neglected it would have long since enforced it by arms. There are statesmen who are of the opinion that England ought to have adopted such a course, but I don't think it would have been a feasible one. It would have had no legal justification in the language of the conventions.

"It could only have rested upon conjectural evidence, which might easily have been denied or minimized. It would at once have exposed us to the charge of pursuing as a government against the Transvaal the policy of the raid. It would have profoundly alienated Dutch opinion in the Cape, and it would have excited a not less serious division at home. It would not have been a mere party division, but a

division including much that is best and most solid in those classes who care little for party. In this country it is above all things necessary for a government to carry public opinion with it in a war.

#### Public Support Necessary.

"The overwhelming preponderance of opinion in support of the necessity of the present war would not have been attained if its immediate cause had not been a Boer ultimatum, which it was manifestly impossible for any self-respecting government to have accepted, followed by an invasion of British territory which it was the manifest duty of every British government to repel.

"For my own part, I am convinced that the war had on the English side for some time become inevitable and could not have been greatly postponed.

"It was impossible that a British government could permanently ignore the state of subjection and inferiority to which a great body of British subjects at Johannesburg had been reduced. The grievances of the uitlanders have, no doubt, been greatly exaggerated. Their position was not like that of the Armenians under Turkish rule. They went to the Transvaal to make money, and they did make it. The capitalists accumulated enormous fortunes. The industrial classes made large profits; the working classes obtained probably a higher rate of wages than in any other country, and Johannesburg was a great center of luxury and pleasure.

#### Government a Detestable One.

"But the government was a detestable one. A long series of progressive disqualifications had deprived the English population of every vestige of political power and subjected them to numerous and irritating disabilities. The Transvaal remained the only part of South Africa where one white race was held in a position of inferiority to another.

"Considering the distinct promise of equality that was made when England conferred a limited independence on the Transvaal; considering the position of England in South Africa, and the perfect equality granted to Dutch subjects in our own colonies, it was impossible that the British government could acquiesce in this state of things, and once they formally took up the grievances of the uitlanders it soon became evident from the disposition of the government at Pretoria that a peaceful solution was exceedingly improbable.

"There were, indeed, only two policies for the Transvaal government to pursue. They might have governed, as President Brand governed in the Orange Free State, in harmony with the government at the Cape, and keeping up constant confidential relations with it. In that case it is no exaggeration to say that the independence of the Transvaal would not have been in the smallest danger. Or they might have governed in a spirit of habitual alienation, which

would inevitably lead to a policy of hostility. To throw themselves in every disputable point into opposition to England, to seek incessantly alliances against her, and to turn the Transvaal into a great military arsenal was the policy which for several years they manifestly pursued.

#### Boer Distrust Not New.

"Dislike and distrust of England by the Transvaal Boers was no recent feeling, although it was intensified by several facts in our own generation. It was a deep, traditional, popular sentiment, which may be clearly traced as far back as the great trek. Neither the grant of a qualified independence after Majuba nor the still larger extension of self-government which, without any pressure, was granted to the Transvaal by Lord Derby, in the convention of 1884, in any degree mitigated it.

"When, most unfortunately, the great gold mines were discovered within its border in 1886, the conditions of the problem were wholly changed. The Transvaal at once became a wealthy and powerful state. The rude and ignorant farmers, who then formed the bulk of its population, had neither the tastes nor the capacities that would enable them to develop its wealth, and they gladly made concessions and issued invitations to the uitlanders. A great population, which was mainly English, collected on the Rand, built a large and stately city, raised the country to vast wealth, and paid nearly the whole of its taxation.

#### Boers Unequal to Demands.

"A large portion of this new population were permanently established in the land. But the Boer government was incapable of giving them tolerable administration, and firmly resolved to give them no political power and no real local self-government.

"Disqualification after disqualification utterly unknown when England conceded self-government to 'the inhabitants of the Transvaal' was introduced. Laws raising the qualification for citizenship from two to four years' residence, surrounding it with a number of vexations and arbitrary conditions; interfering with the press, with public meetings, and with the right of residence, and reducing the law courts to utter servitude by giving a simple resolution of the majority of the small Dutch Volksraad all the force of law, clearly showed the policy of the government, and there were abuses in administration which were probably even more irritating than the abuse in legislation.

"In the long run this could have but one result. The Transvaal government was not only different from but profoundly hostile to the whole colonial system of England. On every question that arose between the two countries this distrust was shown, and more than once, even before the Jameson raid, the policy of the Transvaal had brought the two powers to the verge of war."